University of Sussex

A University of Sussex DPhil thesis

Available online via Sussex Research Online:

http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/

This thesis is protected by copyright which belongs to the author.

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the Author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the Author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Please visit Sussex Research Online for more information and further details

Who do you think you are? Investigating the Multiple Identities of Speakers of Other Languages Teaching English.

Andrew Murray Blair

**Thesis submitted as final part
of the Doctor of Education**

University of Sussex

February 2012

Contents

Glossary of abbreviations and acronyms

EAP: English for Academic Purposes

EIL: English as an International Language

EFL: English as a Foreign Language

ELF: English as a Lingua Franca

ELT: English Language Teaching

IATEFL: International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language

L1: First language

L2: Second language

NS: Native Speaker

NNS: Non-Native Speaker

NST: Native Speaker Teacher

NNST: Non-Native Speaker Teacher

RP: Received Pronunciation

SLA: Second Language Acquisition

SOLTEs: Speakers of Other Languages Teaching English

TESOL: Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been, and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another university for the award of any other degree.

Signed   ....

Andrew Blair

Acknowledgements

I would like to take the opportunity to thank some of the people who, one way or another, helped me to complete this thesis and the Doctorate over the past few years. In particular, the six teachers who were at the centre of the research project, whose commitment and ideas brought me new perspectives on what it means to be an English Language teacher. My supervisors, Pat Drake and Jeremy Page, should be recognised for almost limitless degrees of patience and understanding, in addition to their insight and expertise. The stimulation, fun and comradely support provided by my various Professional Doctorate and teaching colleagues have also been a valuable part of the whole experience. Another source of inspiration and assistance has been students, past and present, with an eye on those to follow in the future.

Closer to home, I must express profound gratitude to my family, especially my partner Tamsin, our children Alex and Ella, my mother and sister, and even our dog Bobby – all of whom had a part to play in the completion of this project, and had to suffer some of the consequences at various times. Lastly, I want to dedicate this thesis to the memory of my father, the first doctor in the family.

<u>**UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX**</u>

Andrew Murray Blair

Doctor of Education

Who do you think you are? Investigating the Multiple Identities of Speakers of Other Languages Teaching English.

Thesis summary

Language is the tool of tools, essential to our identities as individuals and as a species. All living languages change continuously, and people are responsible for that change, primarily to express identity and build relationships (Trask, 2010). This thesis is about language, English Language Teaching (ELT), and in particular the evolving identities and development of Speakers of Other Languages Teaching English (SOLTEs). It is presented against a contemporary backdrop of globalisation and complex forces of sociocultural and educational transformation, which influence the field of language and identity research. English in the early 21st century is indisputably the world's Lingua Franca (Ostler, 2010), in that billions of people use it alongside thousands of other languages: a growing majority of its speakers are thus defined as 'non-native'. There is a similar pattern in the proportions of teachers: the majority are local to their professional context, share the first language of their students, and work in mainstream school systems. Crystal (2003) expresses an ideal balance between multilingualism and a globally-intelligible world language. This also implies the presence of multilingual, multicompetent language practitioners, and it is these people who stand at the centre of the study.

The thesis addresses the following related research questions:

1. What does it mean for Speakers of Other Languages Teaching English (SOLTEs) to say: "I am an English teacher"?

2. How do these multilingual, multicultural teachers develop their identities and what influences their professional practice and beliefs?

3. What are the implications of the globalisation of English for the field of English Language Teaching, and the impact on the position of SOLTEs?

In exploring these questions, the study aims to discover more about these ELT practitioners' attitudes towards the definition of their subject, and the development of their own multiple identities in relation to the language they teach, its learning and use. For example, do teachers see language as essentially a body of knowledge to be taught and learnt, or a social practice, a set of skills to be acquired and developed? To what extent does their own language learning experience condition their beliefs and teaching approach? How

do they see themselves in terms of professional competence and personal confidence? In short, who do they think they are?

The study uses semi-structured interviews and online discussion with a small group of six teachers based in various European ELT contexts, including the UK. The research methodology is participative and interpretative, designed to be relevant to the central questions and the individuals involved. An inductive approach to qualitative data analysis is adopted, where meaning is uncovered and categorised through a process of iterative engagement with the raw narrative texts produced with the participants. The aim is to present a fuller picture and tell a credible and interesting story.

In answer to the question "Who do you think you are?" the participants claim both competence and confidence as English language teachers, yet also express self-doubt and reservations towards a still-powerful 'native' model that they themselves increasingly question. The implications of this study suggest that the field of ELT needs to move away from debates on 'nativeness', 'ownership' and idealised norms, towards notions of 'beyond-native' language competence, a 'multilingual principle' for teaching and learning, and more appropriate teacher education programmes. Pedagogical targets for all living languages also change continuously, as do people's local communicative needs and identity claims, in a globalised world where multicompetent teachers can act as role models for their learners. If these new realities are recognised, a pedagogy for the 21st century can evolve which embraces teachers' and learners' multiple identities, as part of Crystal's (2003) ideal world of mutual understanding, where English in its infinite varieties and idiolects can sit alongside all other languages.

1: Introduction: Who do they think they are?

I believe in the fundamental value of multilingualism, as an amazing world resource which presents us with different perspectives and insights. In my ideal world, everyone would be at least bi-lingual. […]
I believe in the fundamental value of a common language, as an amazing world resource which presents us with unprecedented possibilities for mutual understanding... In my ideal world, everyone would have fluent command of a single world language. (Crystal, 2003: xiii)

1.1 Research area and aims

Language is the tool of tools, the "dress of thought" as Samuel Johnson put it (1779), essential to our identities as individuals and as a species. All living languages change continuously, and people are responsible for that change, primarily to express identity and build relationships (Trask, 2010). This thesis is about language, English Language Teaching (ELT), and in particular the evolving identities and development of Speakers of Other Languages Teaching English (SOLTEs). It is presented against a contemporary backdrop of globalisation and complex forces of sociocultural and educational transformation. English in the early 21st century is indisputably the world's Lingua Franca (Ostler, 2010), in that billions of people use it alongside thousands of other languages: a growing majority of its speakers are thus defined as 'non-native'. There is a similar pattern in the proportions of teachers: the majority are local to their professional context, share the first language of their students, and work in mainstream school systems. Crystal's belief statement above, while appearing to articulate a paradox, in fact represents "two sides of the same coin" in expressing an ideal balance between multilingualism and a globally-intelligible world language (2003: xiii). It also implies the presence of multilingual, multicompetent language practitioners, and it is these people who stand at the centre of the study.

Some of the implications for the field of ELT of language change and the spread of English, in particular the critical discourses emerging over the past twenty years or so, were previously investigated in the Critical Analytic Study, *Global English as a double-edged sword?* (Blair, 2008). However, other questions remain to be explored in greater depth, and form the foundations of this thesis. Widdowson (2003) writes of the difficulty inherent in "defining the subject" of ELT, and equally of the need to do so. Others refer to "English in a Globalized context" (Seargeant, 2008), or "global dilemmas" with regard to critical pedagogy (Hall, 2009). Sharifian (2009) floats the concept of "meta-cultural competence", which language learners and users would demonstrate by their ability to understand a wider range of world English varieties, not just those from the traditional, 'native' homelands. Ushioda (2009) highlights the problematic notion of 'target' language and culture in pedagogy, when that language is global in terms of spread, use and 'ownership'. Who are the pedagogical models or reference group for learners, teachers or materials writers? Surely no longer the traditional 'native-speakers' from the Inner Circle countries, for instance the "white Americans" referred to by one of my previous (Korean) interview participants.

Earlier doctoral work in preparation for this thesis, noted above (Blair, 2008), addressed the following key themes and research questions:

1. What is known about the current debates in ELT relating to the underlying issues of the globalisation of English, ownership, standards and models for language use and pedagogy?

2. What is the impact of these debates on ELT practitioners?

3. How problematic are the ideas emerging from these debates for the interested parties: e.g. 'Native' and 'Non-Native' English teachers, learners, teacher educators, curriculum planners, policy makers?

The interview participants ('Non-native teachers', or SOLTEs) in that pilot study held "double-edged" attitudes and beliefs. There were understandable inconsistencies in the views they expressed, for example double standards regarding themselves and their learners on pronunciation goals and expectations. The critical linguistics-influenced, post-colonial discourse employed by Pennycook (1998) and others was not central to their identity or

frame of reference: these teachers did not see themselves as "following in Crusoe's footsteps", so to speak (Pennycook, 1998), nor for that matter Friday's. As noted by Brown (2001), paradigms take a lot of shifting, especially if those involved do not see themselves as part of a paradigm. The sense of identity, of who these people are in relation to their language and mine, and in relation to their professional training or earlier language learning, merits further exploration. The rationale for continuing this line of inquiry lies in its growing significance within the academic and professional field, evidenced by some of the sources above, and its relevance for my own working life. Additionally, I am increasingly drawn to the area of teacher identity, and similarly concerned about the tensions, both actual and potential, that are appearing in my own practice, primarily responsible for a Masters programme in ELT at a British university.

A recent stumble upon *The Korea Times* website revealed some interesting aspects to this globalised, pluricentric English and its many manifestations. On part of the site, written in both English and Korean, there are articles such as 'Role of Korean Teachers of English' (Leaper, 2010), arguing for a balanced approach to teaching English as a global language with local and imported teachers. DeMarco (2010) quotes a figure of 'at least 23,000 foreigners' teaching English in the country, and again refers to the changing nature of the language and teachers' roles (citing Graddol, 2006). Other titles include 'English teachers should learn Korean' (Maurer, 2008), and 'Non-natives can become English teachers' (Kang, 2008). The site returns a total of 13,200 results from a search for 'English Teachers', mostly posted in the last three or four years, and many appear to be concerned with issues of the 'native'/'non-native' speaker debates, hiring practices, implied (or blatant) racism, qualifications, training and teaching standards. This snapshot of a specific Expanding Circle ELT context (i.e. beyond the 'native' Inner and post-colonial Outer Circles; Kachru, 1985, 1992; see Chapter 2) illustrates some of the contemporary issues relevant to this thesis.

The six research participants in this study are practising English Language teachers, who have chosen to teach a subject, a language which they themselves have learnt, not acquired as a birthright. They are usually referred to as 'non-native speaker teachers', though

definitions in this area are problematic, as discussed in Chapter 2. They may otherwise be described as local teachers, or more recently as Multilingual English Teachers (Kirkpatrick, 2007), in various attempts to avoid connotations of deficit associated with the 'non-' prefix. Here, in an adaptation of the acronym TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages), they are labelled SOLTEs (Speakers of Other Languages Teaching English). Further discussion of this follows in Chapter 2, along with more on the complexity and ideological dimensions to such labelling. The question "Who do you think you are?" is one that could be asked of such teachers, and indeed is one they appear to ask themselves. This is meant both in the literal querying of identity or role, and as a form of accusation: "who do you think you are, trying to teach a language that is not your own?" This in turn raises questions of what exactly languages are (objects to be owned?), and who is best placed to teach the learners of a second or foreign language.

The argument that these SOLTEs are now viewed more centrally within the field is supported by recently-published work, discussed in more detail in Chapters 2 and 3. For example, in the 'Key concepts' series of short articles in the *ELT Journal* is Selvi (2011), summarising the issues under the title 'The non-native speaker teacher'. The fact that the topic is now regarded as a 'key concept' is a reflection of this movement towards mainstream discussion, and with good reason if, as Canagarajah (2005) claims, 80% of English language teachers around the world belong to this 'non-native' category. Mahboob (2010) argues that such teachers are perceived as having lower professional status than their 'native' counterparts. Selvi (2011) mentions frequent employment discrimination, tracing the causes back to the "native speaker fallacy" (Phillipson, 1992), which assumes that 'nativeness' is a central component of the ideal language teacher. This in turn leads to negative impacts on 'non-native' teachers, in terms of self-esteem and professional performance, even the "impostor syndrome" described by Bernat (2008). Moussu and Llurda (2008) criticise the field for the false 'native'/'non-native' dichotomy they argue has been allowed to develop. Others, such as Braine (2010) problematise this discourse for the questionable link between language proficiency and pedagogical approach. Summarising the current state of the academic debate, both Mahboob (2010) and Selvi (2011) promote

professional collaboration and welcome the diversity of teachers, language and sociocultural range they view as appropriate to contemporary global ELT practice.

The implications of this study suggest that ELT needs to move away from debates on 'nativeness', 'ownership' and idealised pedagogical norms, towards notions of 'beyond-native' language competence, a 'multilingual principle' for teaching and learning, and more appropriate teacher education programmes. Pedagogical targets for all living languages change continuously, as do people's local communicative needs and identity claims, in a world where multicompetent teachers can act as role models for their learners. "Welcome to the twenty-first century flux" (Sawday, 2010), where English as a global language sits alongside multilingualism and multiculturalism as an "amazing world resource" (Crystal, 2003: xiii).

1.2 The 'hairdresser question'

One way of beginning to examine the complexities of language teacher identity is the use of what is termed in this thesis 'the hairdresser question'. This is not entirely frivolous, and is how the topic has been introduced in interviews with participants: "what do you say to the hairdresser (or taxi driver) when they ask what you do for a living?" In other words, to the uninitiated, untouched by professional discourses and research findings, how do you simply define your line of work? The answer should be revealing: it is how we label ourselves when put on the spot, when time and words are limited by the nature of the social context. The hairdresser question is a way of opening the door to that complicated, perhaps contradictory and messy picture of who we think we are. Except, of course, it is not a picture, in the static, framed and mounted sense: much of the research and theorising on identity (e.g. Norton, 2000; Block, 2006) reviewed in Chapter 3 tells us how unstable, context-dependent and emergent this construct is. Try telling that to the hairdresser, though.

The methodological approach for such a study becomes concerned with finding ways of investigating identity issues for specific SOLTEs, focused by research questions that take account of the broader context. The power and limitations of self-report in social research,

for example, are relevant considerations here. Asking participants to think about how they see and define themselves, and how others might do the same, is an inherently tricky business. There is also the risk of this kind of research intervention distorting the picture (moving and emergent or not) we can present as findings in any study, however carefully designed. There are questions, too, about credible claims to knowledge when following such an approach, discussed in Chapter 4. In short, the study aims to examine the views of SOLTEs in European contexts and analyse questions of their identity, confidence and competence as language educators in the 21st century.

It seems clear that questions of identity, the global spread of English and pedagogical implications of demographic and sociolinguistic change are starting to make their presence felt in the field. The review of literature presented in Chapters 2 and 3 attempts to seek evidence of an emerging consensus or clearer direction with regard to these questions. There is some sign of a growing recognition of such issues in recent professional (e.g. IATEFL) and academic (e.g. *ELT Journal*) publications, in the UK and elsewhere. Materials aimed at practitioners, beyond the normal research community, dealing with pedagogic models and targets, testing and assessment, syllabus design, course books and (perhaps more slowly) teacher education now tend to reflect at least partial awareness of the questions central to this thesis (e.g. Harmer, 2007; Hall, 2011).

Within ELT, there are arguably idealised portrayals of disempowered 'non-native' teachers in the research literature (reviewed in Braine, 2010), which perhaps do little to genuinely shift perceptions. There is always the danger of unintentional 'Othering' or patronising of groups we may seek to support, or whose rights we wish to promote (a theme discussed in Holliday & Aboshiha, 2009). Many claims are made about them and on their behalf, often by 'native' researchers and academics (e.g. Jenkins, 2007; Holliday, 2005), and this study needs to tread carefully to avoid the potential traps. Writers in these circumstances, and with these complex issues in mind, need to be aware of their own potential status as 'impostors' in the discourse. These points are returned to below, in both the *Methodology* (Chapter 4) and *Conclusions* (Chapter 6).

1.3 Structure of thesis and research questions

Bearing the above discussion in mind, the thesis aims to address the following related research questions:

1. What does it mean for Speakers of Other Languages Teaching English (SOLTEs) to say: "I am an English teacher"?

2. How do these multilingual, multicultural teachers develop their identities and what influences their professional practice and beliefs?

3. What are the implications of the globalisation of English for the field of English Language Teaching, and the impact on the position of SOLTEs?

The data obtained from the study have been organised into four broad themes, outlined in Chapter 4, forming a matrix of corresponding lines of thought when set against the above research questions. This follows Hayes (2008) and Kvale (1996), in adopting an inductive approach to qualitative data analysis, where meaning is uncovered and categorised through a process of iterative engagement with the raw narrative texts produced with the participants. The aim is to present a fuller picture and tell a credible and interesting story. In exploring the questions, I have attempted to discover more about these ELT practitioners' attitudes towards the definition of their subject, and the development of their own multiple identities in relation to the language they teach, its learning and use. For example, do teachers see language as essentially a body of knowledge to be taught and learnt, or a social practice, a set of skills to be acquired and developed? To what extent does their own language learning experience condition their beliefs and teaching approach? Do teachers think of themselves as teaching 'language', or some broader conception of 'culture', or 'intercultural competence' for the globalised contexts referred to above? Or simply as a professional teacher situated in a local community? How do they see themselves in terms of professional competence and personal confidence? In short, what does it mean to them to say: "I am an English teacher"? Who do they think they are?

Chapter 2, *Contemporary questions for English language practitioners*, examines the debates central to ELT practice, including language variation and change, 'nativeness' in

language speakers, global English, and their pedagogical implications. Further literature and theoretical approaches are reviewed in Chapter 3, *Identity, language and English Language Teaching*, which aims to connect broader conceptualisations of identity to the field, and specifically in relation to SOLTEs. Research methodology issues are discussed in Chapter 4, including questions of ethics and researcher position, the study design, rationale and practical issues, with brief descriptions of the process, participants, and the approach to analysis and presentation. Chapter 5, *Discussion and Analysis of Findings*, uses the four main themes as a way of framing an extended discussion of the data obtained. Conclusions and implications for ELT in relation to the research questions are presented in Chapter 6, *Multiple identities for a multicompetent future?* This includes a postscript, *Reflections as a researching practitioner*, in an attempt at both reflexivity and completion of a process begun several years ago.

1.4 Personal aims and aspects of the study

The organisation Quality in TESOL Education (QuiTE) held its December 2010 seminar at the British Council in London on the theme 'Crossing Borders: Voices of International Teachers and Students of English: Language and Identity'. The theme was outlined as follows:

> *International teachers of English have a singular claim on the English language: they learnt it as a new language for themselves, and they have a special relationship with English in their role as teachers. How does this claim sit with their experiences of living in an English-speaking country such as the UK? Language, however acquired, is a unique ingredient not only in our legal identity, but also in our sense of self, and its constituent parts. The QuiTE Annual Conference offers overseas teachers who are training in the UK to speak for themselves on this topic.*
> (QuiTE website)

I was invited to speak at the seminar, and presented a brief overview of aspects of this thesis, relating specifically to those participants in the study who are based in the UK. As part of the introduction to the talk, I questioned my own status within this context and regarding this theme: who am I to represent these 'International teachers of English'? Far from offering these people the chance to speak for themselves, as claimed in the seminar

outline, surely there is a danger of voicing their part in the narrative, no matter how strenuously we try to avoid this: "Who do I think I am?" (See 6.6, *Postscript*). On that occasion, as in this paper, one strategy employed was to use extensive quotations from the data, from the participants' own accounts in the interviews and online discussion, to ensure their voices are heard essentially unmediated. This in turn opens up methodological and ethical questions, some of which are dealt with in Chapter 4, concerning the nature of the knowledge presented, its ownership and credibility. Above all, it is credibility we seek in research, especially in presenting studies based on other people's accounts and perspectives on the phenomena we wish to explore.

The following extract from an earlier methodological essay (Blair, 2007), written as part of the Doctoral programme, sheds some light on both the substantive territory and some of the researcher/practitioner identity issues:

> One clear message that emerged from the interviews was the potential of education, and teachers, to effect real social change. Another was the issue of the relevance of the ELT programme here to the home country of the participants, the substantial investment in time and money, and the emotional, personal stake they have in their own teacher education. [...] The 'cultural politics' of English may be complex, but as one participant said, coming to the UK 'was kind of a dream'. I think that places an obligation on me, as both practitioner and researcher, to take a methodological position and adopt or adapt methods that allow me to investigate their stories as honestly and effectively as possible. (2007: 16)

This last comment remains foregrounded in terms of the efforts made to develop these ideas into a coherent, meaningful and credible study. Indeed, the act of involvement in research of the kind presented here, whether as researcher or participant/subject, has potential for bringing about change, at a personal or professional level. This again reinforces a sense of obligation and an appreciation of potential impact, however minor; a point returned to in Chapter 6, *Conclusions*.

Canagarajah (2006a) and Akbari (2008) refer to the blurring of boundaries characteristic of contemporary ELT research concerns, professional roles, pedagogical approaches and goals. The teachers involved in the present study, echoing the theme of the seminar

mentioned above, have certainly 'crossed borders' themselves, in both metaphorical and literal senses: from language learner to teacher; novice to expert; in some cases, home to the UK, and teacher to trainer. More contentiously, perhaps they have crossed from 'non-native' to 'native' speakers or users of the language they teach, to achieve 'beyond-native' competence. This last boundary is the hardest to blur, conceptually and actually, depending on how we respond to some of the issues presented in this thesis, and discussed in detail in the chapters that follow.

2: Contemporary questions for English Language Practitioners

The combined forces of technology, globalization, and World Englishes, raise new questions for our profession. What does it mean to be competent in the English language? [...] What do we mean by language identity and speech community?
(Canagarajah, 2006a: 26)

2.1 Key ideas, claims and questions arising

The foundational ideas of this study can be summarised as a series of claims and hypotheses, emerging from my own developing understanding of the field, and forming the basis for the investigation that follows. The research questions, noted in Chapter 1, and the main themes interpreted from the data, presented in Chapter 5, have evolved from this understanding and consequent positions adopted on the substantive issues. The contemporary questions for ELT discussed in this chapter are rooted in these ideas, and in how researchers and practitioners have responded to them. In short, they provide a starting point and a rationale for the direction and focus of the study as a whole.

Our tool of tools, language, can be conceptualised as a formal, abstract system or a context-dependent social practice. Additionally, how we conceptualise language informs how we define goals for language pedagogy. Language change is natural, normal and continuous (Aitchison, 2001), and language professionals need to understand this and the implications for pedagogy (Kirkpatrick, 2007). Language is a crucial component and expression of social identity, and a key element of the notion of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991); this relates to first or additional languages, varieties, dialects, accents and registers. Second language learning can therefore be seen in terms of "investment", in both the target language and the learner's own identity (Norton, 2000), with the purpose of enhancing cultural capital. The definition of terms such as 'native' and 'non-native' language speakers (learners, users or teachers) is increasingly problematic and contested, as are traditional conceptions of linguistic norms, pedagogical models and teaching methods.

The English language is used in a wide range of contexts and for varied purposes; it is both cause and effect in the processes of globalisation. English cannot therefore be 'owned' by its historically-based Inner Circle of native speakers, but all users have some stake in its multiple and evolving varieties. These factors make it a special case among languages in the 21st century, with potential impacts on attitudes towards the subject and on pedagogical approaches. English as a foreign/second/international language is therefore a complex and difficult subject to define, along with the purpose and process of teaching and learning it (Widdowson, 2003). The subject (the 'what'), the purpose (the 'why') and the process (the 'how') of ELT are all affected by a range of global, local and personal factors.

Teachers of English (the 'who' of ELT) can be seen as ambassadors of the dominant global language and values associated with its 'native' speakers, or as agents of change and appropriation of the language with multicultural and multilingual perspectives (Canagarajah, 1999). Alternatively, they may see themselves in an entirely different light. 'Non-native' teachers of English (or Speakers of Other Languages Teaching English: SOLTEs) are likely to have multiple and emergent identities, with particular and complex issues to address as part of their professional development and practice. SOLTEs may experience tensions between their own language learning investment, professional role development, multiple identities and their beliefs as language teachers.

By typically sharing the first language of their learners, SOLTEs are not normally defined as 'Lingua Franca' users of English in their professional lives (though they may be so outside their teaching role); nor are they 'native-speakers'. They may feel ambivalent towards the relevance of such constructs for their ELT practice, particularly if they 'cross borders' into Inner Circle countries such as the UK. SOLTEs have to find ways to reconcile these tensions within themselves and their professional roles, in order to perform as successful teachers and users of English with competence and confidence. Furthermore, it is possible to investigate how they do this through a research process involving personal interviews and discussion. The future of ELT in most educational settings probably lies with well-trained SOLTEs who have managed to achieve this balance of knowledge, skills, experience and identity formation. Pre- and in-service teacher education and development

programmes need to recognise these factors, and professional/academic discourses should both reflect the above changing realities and involve SOLTE communities more positively.

The contemporary questions for ELT raised in this chapter emanate from two broad reconceptualisations within the field: the first relates to the impact of the globalisation and pluralisation of English as a (moving) target for learners and users, which could be referred to as the 'post-native'; the second is the so-called 'post-method' era of language pedagogy. In essence, these are the 'what', 'why' and 'how' questions referred to above: what is the subject, why do people learn it, and how do we teach it? The 'what' and 'why' concern defining the subject adequately, responsively and ethically in the 21st century. This needs to take account of the complex and occasionally divisive debates around global English, 'ownership' and post-colonial social and economic forces. If the pedagogical target is indeed moving, then perhaps we need to move with it; we may therefore be considering the implications of a 'post-native speaker' model for ELT.

The 'how' question (Widdowson's "process parameter", 2003) encompasses the contemporary 'post-method' era that some researchers and (arguably fewer) practitioners claim the profession has entered (e.g. Kumaravadivelu, 2006b). This reflects the field's abandonment of the search for grand theory, the generalisable 'best method' for achieving pedagogic goals (Akbari, 2008). This process of recognising the need for multiple, complex and context-driven solutions to educational questions mirrors that in Second Language Acquisition research, along with other related disciplines. It also has its equivalence in the area of identity theory, in wider educational studies and those focused on language pedagogy (e.g. Norton, 2000). Thus we are back to teachers, our SOLTEs (as part of the 'who' question), and the impact of methodological theorising on their thinking, practice and formation of identities. Indeed, one participant in the study highlighted the relative importance of teaching methods over 'nativeness' in her contributions. Saraceni (2010: 17-18) makes the valid point that academic discourses, for instance on the role of English in the world, can divide along 'expert' versus 'layman' lines, where practitioners are marked as holding naive, traditionalist views by a more 'progressive' research community. This

study aims to address this divide, too, by focusing on teacher responses towards such discourses and their professional relevance.

Recent textbooks on ELT and Applied Linguistics acknowledge the growing impact of these contemporary questions. Hall (2011) includes chapters on 'post-method' and 'ELT in the world', and explicitly links awareness of socio-political contexts of learning to effective professional practice, encouraging teachers to reflect on broader goals and concerns (2011: 234). Li Wei (2011) presents an edited reader including several of the authors discussed below; the first section is entitled *Reconceptualizing the native speaker and the language learner*, and another on *Critical issues in applied linguistics* contains pieces on social identity and language, multilingualism and globalisation. The aim of this chapter is to review the most significant current themes informing the field in which SOLTEs and other ELT practitioners are operating. First of all, the nature of language is examined, followed by discussions of 'nativeness', global English in its various formulations, and the pedagogical implications of a 'post-method' and 'post-native' era. Finally, these questions are drawn together with a view to establishing a basis for investigating identity, confidence and competence, in relation to SOLTEs and their professional experience.

2.2 Language, variation and change

> Time changes all things: there is no reason why language should escape this universal law. (Ferdinand de Saussure, *Cours de Linguistique generale;* 1916; cited in Svartik & Leech, 2006: 206)

We need to establish what we mean by 'language', or 'a language'. Without this, it is difficult to examine the concepts of variation and change, and therefore discuss questions of standards, models, 'nativeness' and 'ownership' – all of which are relevant here, especially concerning 21st century English(es). McCarthy (2001: 44) argues that the field of linguistics, where one might expect such examination to occur, has tended to favour a model of language as "an abstract system, existing independently of its contexts of use". The alternative is to view language as essentially a social practice or phenomenon. From

this perspective, language is something people do, rather than something we have or own. Pennycook (2010), in *Language as a Local Practice,* similarly challenges assumptions about languages as entities, proposing instead a conception based on activities and located sociocultural practice. Language is "a central organizing activity of social life that is acted out in specific places"; recognising this means that "the notion of language as a system is challenged in favour of a view of language as doing" (2010: 2).

This distinction is fundamental if we are debating what it is that language learners should learn, and so what teachers should teach. If language is conceived as a system, it implies a certain kind of knowledge, which can in theory be transferred from teacher to learner; it also implies a certain kind of person most likely to possess that knowledge, the ideal informant, the notional 'native speaker' of linguistic study. If, on the other hand, language is conceived as social practice, this implies a somewhat different knowledge (or skill) for teachers to impart to learners. Freire (1970) claimed that education is about communication and dialogue, *not* "the transference of knowledge" (in Meddings & Thornbury, 2009: 7). This surely applies to language education as much as any discipline, but who is best placed to be involved in such dialogue is a matter of some disagreement, discussed in 2.3 and Chapter 3, and central to the aims of this study.

Whatever language is, or is not, many learners aspire to something called 'native-like proficiency', and see a "genetic connection" (Saraceni, 2010: xiii) between that target language (e.g. English), a group or nationality (e.g. the English/British/Americans) and a nation (e.g. England or Britain, the USA). Saraceni argues that this aspiration and conception of language is understandable, albeit based on a set of myths:

1. That one variety of a language may be qualitatively better than other varieties.
2. That the best variety of a language is the oldest or original one.
3. That each language or variety has its origin in a country which bears the same name.
4. That only inhabitants of that country are the ones who speak that language or variety correctly. (2010: xiii)

It is not difficult to extend such a line of thinking to include the belief (or myth) that therefore the best teacher of a language is necessarily one of those native inhabitants, with

(arguably) complete knowledge of correct forms and usage. Saraceni makes the crucial point that the above analysis derives from a notion of language as an object, and objects "can be owned, accepted and refused" (2010: xiv).

All living languages change, as word meanings are "slippery", and people lie at the centre of this change, for example in expressing their identity and building relationships (Trask, 2010). This natural propensity for languages to evolve, along with the humans using them and in response to their ever-changing communicative needs, is clearly a troubling notion to some. It is certainly an inconvenience to learners, teachers, grammarians, and lexicographers:

> Language is only the instrument of science, and words are but the signs of ideas: I wish, however, that the instrument might be less apt to decay, and that signs might be permanent, like the things they denote.
> (Samuel Johnson, Preface to *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 1755)

Johnson evidently worked extremely hard to fix the unfixable, as more recent national language academies have attempted to do (in France and Spain, for example, but not England) in prescribing the standard language. The clear message is that integrity and order are what languages need, with change seen as fundamentally destabilising and debasing, a view which has remained widespread. Aitchison (2001) adopts a different line on language change, taking issue with the simplistically negative attitudes towards this essentially social phenomenon. She views such change as "natural, inevitable and continuous" (2001: 249) and based on a complex interplay between social forces and linguistic patterns. These points bear consideration in light of recent debates on global English and proposals for recognising new, 'non-standard' communicative norms in pedagogy (e.g. Jenkins, 2000), discussed below. Even Trudgill (2002), regarded by some in the field as relatively conservative, argues strongly that: "Standard English is NOT: a language, an accent, a style, a register, or a set of prescriptive rules; *it is a social dialect* and subject to linguistic change" (2002: 159-70; emphasis in original). Thus, even where a prestige variety of language is widely recognised, codified and reified, it is in a constant state of flux, and Dr Johnson's plea for permanence remains futile, almost three centuries later.

Bringing us up to date, Schneider (2011: 15) argues that the monolithic concept of English into which most speakers are educated, with its strict demarcation of right and wrong, is itself an erroneous mindset. Linguistic diversity can even be seen as parallel to biological diversity, a process of evolutionary selection essential to human relationships and development (2011: 25). He adds: "all languages always change, and practically all languages are in contact with other languages and are modified thereby" (2011: 25-26). It is these extra-linguistic, ecological factors, in particular language contact, that have the greatest impact over time, and English(es) is (are) no different (2011: 38). In fact, of course it is people who make the contact, not languages; as Trask (2010) reminds us, people lie at the centre of all change. If language change is inevitable, that is arguably how it should be: language as social practice, as the tool of tools, as the essential human activity, a personal technology; expressing both power and resistance, oppression and freedom.

The functions of language can be defined in terms of communication, identity and culture (Kirkpatrick, 2007). The question of culture is returned to below, and is certainly an aspect of language teaching that participants in this study discussed, often highlighting cultural knowledge as an area of weakness in their own practice. Identity is central to the current investigation, in particular regarding the ways SOLTEs address the identities of their learners and themselves in their various contexts. The first function of language, communication, is especially complex for English, with its globalised, international presence and functionality. Indeed, the English as a Lingua Franca perspective (reviewed in 2.4) is based upon the evident need for many learners/users of English to communicate with others similarly defined as 'non-native' speakers. Therefore, the model for pedagogy may well be different, in many educational settings, from that traditionally associated with second or foreign language learning: the idealised 'native speaker' possessing full knowledge of the target language. If the learners' communicative aims are largely based on successful Lingua Franca use, the absent 'natives' are not so relevant.

In Kirkpatrick's (2007: 2-3) discussion of language variation with regard to World Englishes (see 2.4), several key themes are highlighted, serving here to link the

sociolinguistic discussion to one of pedagogy, alongside a claim about the "ideal" ELT practitioner:

1. Variation is natural, normal and continuous – ELT professionals must establish a tolerance and understanding of variation.
2. While prejudice against varieties is likely to occur, these prejudices are simply that – prejudices.
3. The specific teaching and learning contexts and the specific needs of the learners in those contexts should determine the variety to be taught.
4. Multilingual non-native teachers represent ideal teachers in many ELT contexts.

This last point brings teachers centre stage: in Kirkpatrick's terms, "METs" - Multilingual English Teachers; in the terms of this study, SOLTEs. Whether or not these teachers agree with Kirkpatrick, and how or if they display the tolerance of variation noted above, are questions this thesis also aims to address. Their attitudes and responses are central to developing an understanding of their position, identities and (contested) status as "ideal teachers".

On the function of language to express culture, there are persistent and problematic issues of definition and implication. The concept of culture has often been bounded by terms of nation, linked to the modernist sense of speech communities correlated with nationality and monolingualism, particularly in Europe (Kramsch, 1993, 2010; Saraceni, 2010). Kramsch explores the issues around language and culture, and in particular intercultural competence (also Byram, 2000) and the metaphor of a third place/space which language learners (and teachers) occupy. A more recent formulation presents this "third culture" less in terms of place, and more as a "symbolic process of meaning-making", going beyond those dualities of national language/culture (Kramsch, 2010: 2). The responsibility for developing the key asset of intercultural competence in people (for the implied post-modern world) rests with educators, arguably none more so than teachers of English.

In the present study, SOLTEs identified what they saw as the teaching of culture as a key, and challenging, part of their role. This appears to be linked to their self-evaluations of professional competence and sense of confidence (discussed in Chapter 5). One aspect that

has recently emerged as problematic is the relevance of a definable 'target culture' (to go with 'target language') from the perspectives of the globalised, pluricentric use of English (see e.g. Lamb, 2004; Ushioda, 2009). Teachers' views can be seen as contradicting the arguments in Kramsch (2010) noted above, that we cannot see language and culture in such reductionist, simplistic terms, which tend to result in stereotyping and banality. There is a parallel issue here for pedagogy: the necessary simplification and modelling of content for pedagogical purposes; similar to the "language for learning" (as opposed to "language for using") discussed by Widdowson (2003). It may be that the SOLTEs in this study find the cultural modelling more problematic than the linguistic. We need to consider more carefully the people at the heart of languages, with their associated cultures, variation and change, and examine what defines language speakers and their speech.

2.3 'Native' and 'non-native' language speakers

Inextricably tied to our conception of language are notions of 'nativeness', and some definition of who qualifies as a 'native speaker', a member of a given speech community. Davies (2003) examines this construct in terms of myth and reality, introducing an extensive search for definition with his own sociolinguistic background as an English-speaking Welshman. He states that he had assumed that "like masks, identities could be added on" (2003: vii), by in his case learning the Welsh language as an adult. This was unsuccessful, at least in part, because he felt he was being forced to choose between a British/English/Welsh identity, when in fact he did not wish to be defined in such narrow linguistic terms, echoing Kramsch (2010) on language, culture and nation. This led Davies to develop his own ideas about language and identity, and about what it is to be, or to claim to be, a 'native speaker' of a language.

> … being a native speaker is only partly about naïve naturalness, that is about not being able to help what you are. It is also, and in my view more importantly, about groups and identity: the point is that while we do not choose where we come from we do have some measure of choice of where we go to. (2003: viii)

In raising the question of the mythical and/or real properties of the 'native speaker', the central role of this construct in linguistic theory is recognised, in particular the Chomskyan notion (e.g. 1957) of the idealised, decontextualised speaker as a model for language acquisition. As Davies points out, "Chomsky, like many theoretical linguists, is not interested in languages: what he studies is language" (2003: 3). The 'native speaker' is both informant and judge (e.g. of grammaticality), as well as model for the language. This creates one of the main ambiguities of the 'native speaker' idea, in that it refers to "both a person and an ideal" (Davies, 2003: 5). It is important to examine and demystify the complexity of the concept, in terms of knowledge and skills involved, especially for 'non-native speakers'. This is intended to benefit both learners and teachers, and help them "feel more confidence about their knowledge, their communicative ability and their intuitions" (2003: 9). Davies also notes that the boundary around the 'native speaker' idea is created as much by 'non-native' speakers' as by 'natives' themselves (2003: 9), a point covered by the SOLTEs in this study.

We also need to address the implications of global English (discussed further in 2.4) in terms of processes of standardisation, knowledge and proficiency, and the question of 'non-native speakers' identifying with groups deemed as the target, and whether they wish to "pass as native speakers" (Davies, 2003: 72). This is most clearly demonstrated in second language (L2) features such as retaining first language (L1) accent, perhaps as an identity marker. The question of whether, in certain circumstances, a 'non-native' or L2 user can 'become' a 'native' remains problematic. Davies acknowledges the connection of language to identity, but notes that it is not necessarily or exclusively the first-learnt or 'native' language that provides this link (2003: 155). However, he appears somewhat sceptical of the Lingua Franca perspectives (see 2.4) adopted by Seidlhofer (2001) and others, arguing that abandoning 'native speaker' models "takes learners into a setting without maps" (Davies, 2003: 164). This echoes a fairly common view among ELT professionals on the application of such principles to pedagogy: nice idea, but perhaps impractical; if we move away from traditional models based on Inner Circle, 'native' norms (e.g. British or American), what do we move towards? The dilemma encapsulates the inherent paradox Davies highlights: the 'native' both as myth (almost impossible to define logically, yet

members tend to know what they are) and reality (non-members tend to know what they are not). The theme of membership is picked up in earlier work by Davies (1991) and Medgyes (1994; discussed in Chapter 3), seen as largely self-ascribed, although "those who claim native speaker status… do have responsibilities in terms of confidence and identity" (Davies, 1991: 8). Confidence and identity, along with the related notion of competence, are key elements of the study of SOLTEs presented here, whether or not they claim or seek 'native speaker' status.

The "natural authority" conferred by birth to Inner Circle English speakers is also questioned by Schneider (2011: 220), who relates the notion to 19th century nationalism (as Kramsch, 1993, 2010 does with 'culture'; above). This is seen as no longer appropriate if we adopt a critical view of the 'native speaker', taking account of 21st century multilingual and multicultural realities (2011: 227). Kirkpatrick (2007: 10) reasonably argues that the terms 'native' or 'mother tongue' speaker are too imprecise to be of use when discussing World Englishes, and should therefore be avoided. He suggests alternatives, such as 'L1' defined by proficiency rather than order of learning. Similarly, Rampton's (1990) term "expert user" and Cook's (1999, 2002) focus on successful L2 learners/users as models (and teachers) are potentially helpful perspectives on these definitional questions. Indeed, Cook's (1992) multicompetence model for bilingual users of language establishes a firm foundation for the idea of Multilingual English Teachers (Kirkpatrick, 2007) or SOLTEs, and the concept is updated in Alptekin (2010) with regard to Lingua Franca English. Cook's multicompetence construct describes "knowledge of two or more languages in one mind" (2003: 2), in contrast to an idealised, monolingual 'native' competence. Alptekin (2010: 101) takes a usage-based perspective on this construct, involving a degree of context-sensitive biculturalism in addition to the interaction between the two (or more) linguistic codes. This approach is developed further in relation to English as a Lingua Franca in 2.4, below.

The 'native speaker' can be seen in terms of majority-minority situations, where minorities can be defined using criteria set by the majorities, as in Davies (2003), referring to the social identity theory of Tajfel (1981). However, there are questions begged in the specific

case of English, with its acknowledged global presence, where 'non-native speakers' are now the clear and growing majority. Finally, "membership is determined by the non-native speaker's assumption of confidence and identity" (Davies, 2003: 215). This is a point worth pursuing with SOLTEs, in terms of their identity construction, which may be seen in relation or opposition to the 'native' ideal and norms. Myth or reality (or both, as Davies maintains), the problematic nature of the definition and impact of the 'native speaker' idea is felt most keenly by teachers, especially those who categorise themselves outside its boundaries.

The complexity of 'nativeness' is also recognised specifically in relation to language teacher perspectives, discussed further in Chapter 3. This extends to positive connotations relating to "a birthright, fluency, cultural affinity and sociolinguistic competence", with corresponding minority status and professional discrimination for 'non-natives' (Braine, 2010: 9). Braine is surely correct to highlight the potential for stigma and discrimination, but 'non-native speakers' are no longer carrying "the burden of the minority" (2010: 9) in the case of globalised English, as noted above. Their specific position in Inner Circle countries (such as Britain and the USA) is examined by Braine, where issues of identity and status are arguably more acute (2010: 10). He also mentions the relatively recent growth in Masters programmes in ELT in these countries, and consequent increase in international graduates seeking teaching work in such contexts. These job applicants often meet "stiff resistance from employers", who clearly preferred 'native speakers' as potential language teachers in the commercial environment they operate within (2010: 10). This is also the experience of several of the SOLTEs involved in the present study.

Holliday (2005) also focuses on the terms 'native speaker' and 'non-native speaker', which he places (as here) in inverted commas "to show that they are as stated by the discourse, and as such are disputed" (2005: 4). In particular, he problematises the suggestion of deficit implied by the 'non-' prefix; a point picked up by Moussu and Llurda (2008) regarding teachers (discussed in Chapter 3). This is developed into use of the term 'native-speakerism', defined as: "an established belief that 'native-speaker' teachers represent a 'Western culture' from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English

language teaching methodology" (Holliday, 2005: 6). These linguistic and pedagogic 'ideals', or rather their interpretation and influence on SOLTEs, are central to this thesis; they also stand in stark contrast to the 'ideal' teachers proposed by Kirkpatrick (2007). 'Nativeness' is evidently a key construct in all languages, however defined or disputed; we now need to consider the specific case of English, its global spread and implications for ELT and its diverse practitioners.

2.4 Global English: issues and implications

The spread of English

Linking a global language to identity, Crystal (2003), claims:

> It is difficult to write a book on this subject without it being interpreted as a political statement. Because there is no more intimate or more sensitive index of identity than language, the subject is easily politicized. (2003: xii)

The spread of English, with its 'double-edged' and 'politicized' implications, was the focus of the Critical Analytic Study (Blair, 2008), discussed in Chapter 1. The intention here is to summarise the main perspectives as they relate to the present study: if English is a special case among languages, why is this so, and what are the implications for those engaged in teaching it as a subject? Furthermore, if the subject itself has essentially changed, as some claim (e.g. Jenkins, 2006), to what extent and how should ELT professionals respond, or modify what and how we teach? Svartik and Leech (2006: 1) describe English as "the working tongue of the global village" - the electronically connected community foreseen by Marshall McLuhan back in the 1960s. However, the notion of 'ownership' remains problematic, as noted above. As Rajagopalan comments, global English "belongs to everybody who speaks it, but it is nobody's mother tongue" (2004: 111).

This is a significant current debate: Schneider (2011: 4) cites the US magazine *Newsweek*'s cover story from March, 2005 entitled: 'Who owns English? Non-native speakers are transforming the global language'. Widdowson makes the point that "the very fact that English is an international language means that no nation can have custody over it" (2003: 43). He asserts that, despite 'native speakers' of English feeling pride that 'their' language that has been adopted for so much international communication, "it is not a property for them to lease out to others while still retaining the freehold" (2003: 43). Moreover, as discussed above (in 2.2), if we see language as social practice (any language, or perhaps 'language' as a verb, an activity), there is no 'it' to own, and this is all the more apparent in the case of English(es). A sense of ownership can be the result of appropriation and "how one positions oneself in relation to a language", an essentially psychological stance which depends on "whether one locates the English language within one's own Self or sees it only as the property of the Other" (Saraceni, 2010: 21). This argument connects with the notions of 'ideal' and 'future selves' (Dornyei & Ushioda, 2009) as an approach to examining identity formation in language learners and users, including teachers such as SOLTEs.

The Global Language Monitor claimed the English lexicon reached a total of one million words in June 2009, with the addition of 'Web 2.0' - used to denote the second generation, social networking phase of the internet. This beat 'Jai Ho' - a Hindi expression popularised among British and American English speakers by the film *Slumdog Millionaire* - to the million mark, thus demonstrating the eclectic source base of the language. Currently a new word is created every 98 minutes; about 14.7 words per day (reaching 1,009,753 on 11th July 2011). It is perennially difficult to count words and compare languages, but it is clear that we are talking about a very large lexicon and a vibrantly living language (or languages). As the *Global Language Monitor* website explains, "English has become a universal means of communication; never before have so many people been able to communicate so easily with so many others." This is language as a social practice in action. Whether it is in matters of lexis or grammar, languages evolve largely outside the control of whoever seeks to control them, as claimed by Aitcheson (2001) and Trask (2010), above. Perhaps this dilemma is an example of what Widdowson (2003) refers to as the "virtual language" and its spread, based on the notion of language as a social phenomenon, with

infinite potential, rather than the "actual language" in its various (and contested) codified forms. This analysis makes a crucial distinction between spread and distribution:

> … we might think of English as an international language not in terms of the distribution of a stable and unitary set of encoded forms, but as the spread of a virtual language which is exploited in different ways for different purposes… The distribution of the actual language implies adoption and conformity. The spread of virtual language implies adaptation and nonconformity. The two processes are quite different. (2003: 50)

This raises interesting questions and analogies: language is more like a virus, or a rumour, or a belief (all spreadable) than it is a container load of goods, or a document, or electricity (all distributable). Furthermore, languages are adaptable to the local communicative needs of their users; in the case of English, these needs may also possess a broader, possibly global, dimension that requires a plurality of forms and purposes.

World Englishes

It has long been recognised in ELT that the increasingly global reach of the language must have pedagogical and teacher education implications. Halliday et al (1964) presciently, and progressively for that time, recognised the growing range of varieties of English, no longer the 'possession' of the British or Americans. Smith (1976) promoted the idea of English as an international auxiliary language, with shared ownership held by users of identifiably distinct varieties. Strevens (1980) identified various aspects of English as an International Language, including the issue of the appropriacy of localised varieties of English for teaching purposes (1980: 84-90). Quirk and Widdowson (1985) helped develop the debates around intelligibility, varieties and pedagogical standards with an edited volume *English in the World*. Some scholars, including Quirk, defended a purist stance regarding a single Standard English, from which localised varieties diverged; others, including Widdowson and Kachru, took a more tolerant, sociolinguistically-sensitive and pragmatic line on the spread of the language (Saraceni, 2010: 38-40). From these debates emerged Kachru's post-colonial, pluralistic model of the uses and users of these varieties. Kachru (1985, 1992) conceptualised the development of World English(es) as three concentric circles, a

paradigm that has endured. In this, he characterised the Inner ('Native speaker'), Outer (Second language) and Expanding (Foreign language) regions and their relationships:

- Inner circle: norm-providing
- Outer circle: norm-developing
- Expanding circle: norm-dependent
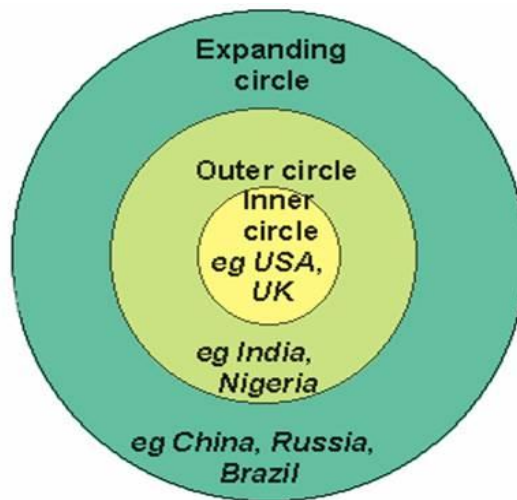
Figure 1: Kachru's World Englishes paradigm (1985, 1992; in Crystal 1997: 54)

Although this model has proved both influential and convenient, the basis for categorisation, largely historical and geographical, has been called into question. Saraceni (2010) sees contradictions in the World Englishes paradigm, in that it (paradoxically) presents an essentially Eurocentric view of the world, rooted in a liberal, anti-imperialist perspective particularly suited to a reconceptualisation of English use in the Outer Circle. In terms of its labelling and epistemology, Saraceni argues that the model fails to escape the First/Third World discourse of "Othering" (Said, 1978) which marks Malaysian or Nigerian English as 'oriental' forms, as opposed to the occidental, Anglo-Saxon, 'proper' varieties of the Inner Circle (Saraceni, 2010: 81). Developing the paradigm, more recently Kachru (2004) has referred to the "functional nativeness" of an inner group of high-proficiency English speakers, regardless of first language, rather than "genetic nativeness" (Schneider, 2011: 221), using language proficiency rather than affiliation or ethnicity as the basis for the distinction between speakers (Harmer, 2007: 18). Kachru himself, an Indian-born

academic, living and working in the USA, writing and published in Standard English, is an interesting embodiment of some of the issues, as are some of the SOLTEs in this study. The notion of "functional nativeness" in a redefined Inner Circle is returned to in Chapter 6.

Critical perspectives

Not everyone sees the spread of English around the world in benign terms. McKay (2002) problematises global English in three areas:

> The main negative effects of the spread of English involve the threat to existing languages, the influence on cultural identity, and the association of the language with an economic elite. (2002: 20)

The Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation promotes itself as "the world's local bank", stressing diversity in its customer service (HSBC website). English can arguably be seen as 'the world's local language'. The parallel between global capitalism and a global language might appeal to those belonging to the critical school of thought, which sees these developments in terms of power and post-colonial oppression, a kind of "linguistic imperialism" (Phillipson, 1992). For Phillipson, English is "an essential cornerstone of the global capitalist system" (1992: 10), and thus it is impossible to defend much of ELT practice and purpose without seeming to defend such a system. The language has often uncritically been "equated with progress and prosperity" (1992: 8). Similarly, Pennycook (1994) refers to the "cultural politics" of English, and connections between its spread and language teaching methodology. He also characterises ELT as "development aid", cultural propaganda, and a global commodity, and condemns the essentially positivist view of languages being free from the influence of social, cultural and political forces. This includes the export of 'Western-trained' language teachers along with their applied linguistic theory and teaching practices, which are often inappropriate for their diverse destinations (Pennycook, 1994: 159).

However, others take a different line on the impact of English: Widdowson (1998: 397-398) highlights the contradictions inherent in the 'linguicism' view of language, arguing

that English is now used to express dissent as well as conformity. These paradoxes are illustrated in the pervasive use of English and the internet in anti-globalisation protests, reminding us of Trask's (2010) assertion that people lie at the heart of language change, and that languages do not exist independently of their users; thus languages themselves are powerless. Svartik and Leech (2006) refer to the radical stance of Phillipson *et al* as: "an anachronism, based on the unjustified assumption that a language somehow acquires, by attraction, the guilt of its native speakers in the era of imperial expansion" (2006: 243). They argue that, in countries like South Africa or Singapore, "the link between English and imperialism seems to have been broken" (2006: 244), a point reinforced by writers such as Salman Rushdie, who draws attention to generational differences:

> The debate about the appropriateness of English in post-British India has been raging ever since 1947; but today, I find, it is a debate which has meaning only for the older generation. (1991; in Crystal, 2003: 184).

Rushdie goes on to claim that young people in India are unconcerned about the cultural colonial provenance of English, instead considering it one "of the tools they have to hand" (1991; in Crystal, 2003: 184). Canagarajah (1999: 174) perhaps offers a workable proposal by suggesting that it is time to move to a new position, recognising the dangers of both linguistic imperialism and of accepting English unproblematically. This balanced stance arguably mirrors the parallel attempt in the present study to move beyond the 'native'/'non-native' distinctions evaluated in 2.3, above.

Graddol (2006) also addresses the questions of appropriation discussed by Canagarajah (1999), arguing that learners of global English should "signal their nationality, and other aspects of their identity, through English", using a local rather than 'native' accent (Graddol, 2006: 117). He credibly concludes that, as global English as a basic skill grows, countries such as Britain and the USA will need to embrace other languages, and the economic advantage of being able to speak English will diminish. Graddol notes the paradoxes and contradictions created by contemporary modernity/postmodernity tensions and how English is implicated:

> Indeed, the postmodern model of English may be seen as a threat to many who have invested heavily in its modern form – not least native speakers whose identity was created by modernity and is now under challenge. But the new realities also pose a challenge for many non-native speakers, including members of those existing elites for whom English represents an identity marker, and many of those involved on the traditional English teaching business itself. (2006: 20)

This last point regarding social elites may be particularly applicable in Outer Circle contexts, such as India and Pakistan. However, in terms of the present study, the "challenge" Graddol refers to also faces European SOLTEs, with their heavy "investment" in English, both as a second language (Norton, 2000) and as a subject of professional practice. The messages emerging from these perspectives are mixed: some may indeed be desperate to wrench the language free from its history, connotations and power; for others, it is those very constructs (or realities) that hold its attraction, and lead to the desire to study English or appropriate it into their lives.

English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)

> *And if the English language is the Lingua Franca of this planet,*
> *never say that it should be a closed system.*
> *Welcome to the twenty-first century flux*
> *for now, English is the language of choice*
> *But when it dies, as every tongue eventually must*
> *let it be said you added your voice.*
> (From *The 21st Century Flux,* Rowan Sawday/Dizraeli, 2010)

English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) usually refers to the role English has when used for communication between people with no other common language (Saraceni, 2010: 98). Research focused on ELF is comparatively new, building on the World Englishes principles of the pluricentricity of English, language as adaptive and emergent, and focusing on the discourse strategies of its users (Saraceni, 2010: 83). To an extent the field is still finding its feet, but has undoubtedly grown in scope and significance in the last few years. The 4th International Conference of ELF was held in Hong Kong in May 2011, following previous meetings in Helsinki, Southampton and Vienna; Istanbul is scheduled for 2012. Saraceni discusses some of the problematic issues of definition of ELF, particularly in its earlier formulations (e.g. Jenkins, 2000; Seidlhofer, 2001) as a potential variety in its own right,

for instance regarding the role (if any) for 'native speakers' in Lingua Franca communication. There are also conceptual questions of form and function, as noted by Berns (2009), who concludes that 'Lingua Franca' is an abstraction, not a language or variety.

One of the fundamental principles behind the study of ELF is that if the majority of interactions in global English are between 'non-natives', this should be reflected in pedagogy, with Jenkins (2000) proposing a Lingua Franca Core for pronunciation and grammar. Jenkins (2006) argues that ELF research is not concerned with "proposing the concept of a monolithic English for the entire world"; however, a broad linguistic repertoire, accommodation skills and context-sensitivity are all highly valued in international, Lingua Franca communication (2006: 161). On the subject of language testing, Taylor (2006) responds to Jenkins' (2006) call for greater ELF awareness in examinations by claiming that the emphasis on 'native' competence is being reduced. Taylor (2006: 52) also highlights the problematic implications of such change, especially for teachers "whose own English proficiency us based upon exposure to a particular ['native speaker'] model". This paradox emerged in some of the interviews in the present study, discussed in Chapter 5.

Opposing views to Jenkins (2000, 2006), relating to 'non-native' teachers and attitudes towards pronunciation, come from practitioner researchers such as Kubota (2006), from Japan, who argues that it is natural for such teachers to view 'native' accents as a model or target. She claims that her research and experience suggest acquiring 'native' pronunciation is viewed as necessary in order to be identified as both a good learner and teacher, but that this "is not equivalent to identification with native speakers" (Kubota, 2006: 606). She shares the views of Prodromou (2007) in questioning Jenkins and the Lingua Franca perspective as presenting a potentially limiting (if more teachable and learnable) target that may keep 'non-native speakers' in a "powerless position", ironically echoing colonial practice (Kubota, 2006: 607). The extent to which SOLTEs might claim identification with 'native' models and competence, but not with the speakers themselves, is an interesting dimension to the current study, and is raised by some SOLTEs in the data presented below.

Examining ways to apply an understanding of English as a Lingua Franca to pronunciation norms, Walker (2010: 13) stresses the importance of accent ('native' or otherwise) in a speaker's cultural identity: losing one means losing part of the other. Walker argues that "local norms should be central to pronunciation if speakers are to retain their identity through their accent" (2010: 21), and proposes specific practical features for classroom attention, based on Jenkins' (2000; 2007) Lingua Franca Core. However, Bruthiaux (2010) takes a different stance, claiming that the majority of learners are in settings where English is a foreign language, and has limited presence in society, with low proficiency and poor educational resources. In these contexts, counter to the arguments proposed by Jenkins (2000), Walker (2010) and others, using World Englishes or ELF models is questionable and variation should be minimised (Bruthiaux, 2010). On the other hand, ELF can be conceived not as a reduced linguistic form, but processes of successful communication achieved through accommodation strategies and mutual tolerance (House, 2010). Nor should ELF be seen as a threat to local languages, translation, multilingualism and multiculturalism; people choose English for its communicative range or "linguistic capital":

> Most non-native speakers use English as a medium only; they retain their national, local, regional and individual linguistic and cultural identities. English is, for them, a language for communication, not for identification. (House, 2010: 16)

The ELF research focus appears to have shifted from code to behaviour, from which linguistic features are present or absent to how interactions occur successfully (Saraceni, 2010: 92-93). Prodromou (2008: 246-7) argues that ELF, as with all language(s), involves diverse users "constructing and co-constructing multiple identities in the modern world", and is therefore not a model or variety, but "varied processes of interaction". Indeed, recent emphasis (e.g. Seidlhofer, 2009; House, 2009; Dewey, 2007) has centred on pragmatic processes, language dynamism, diversification and a transformationalist perspective on globalisation, all tending towards a more functional approach (Saraceni, 2010: 94-95). Jenkins et al (2011) review these research developments, highlighting the "linguistic fluidity" of ELF and the impact of attitudes towards ELF-oriented teaching, in particular on teachers and examination bodies. Saraceni argues that Lingua Franca users of English are not a special category, in that their pragmatic exploitation of socio-linguistic resources

appropriate to communicative purposes is common to all successful language users (2010: 97). He reasonably concludes that future ELF research should move away from a focus on formal linguistic features and codification, towards a contribution to a reconceptualisation of 'language' more generally, with greater emphasis on how people use English in their lives (Saraceni, 2010: 99). This position is particularly helpful in establishing a basis for investigating the impact of globalised English on its teachers, as reflected in one of the overarching research questions for the present study.

Thus, as previously discussed, the conception of language more as a social practice than as an entity must increasingly influence our research focus, and the study of ELF is a case in point. As noted by Jenkins et al (2011: 297), notions of language variety and speech community need revisiting in the 21st century, and research into Lingua Franca use and users is contributing to this debate:

> The challenge for ELF researchers and, even more, for English teaching professionals, then, is to find ways of dealing with this variability so that it can be incorporated into teaching in ways that are digestible to learners. (2011: 297)

That challenge lies at the heart of the contemporary questions for ELT central to this thesis, and facing the SOLTE participants in the study, with significant implications for both language pedagogy and teacher education, returned to in Chapter 6.

Recent perspectives

English in the 21st century can be viewed as both elitist code and useful social tool with broader practical applications (Schneider, 2011). Schneider argues that "complex identities in multicultural environments find their most widespread expressions in rapidly growing mixed codes", and from these perspectives local (endonormative) pedagogical targets and multicultural teachers are ideal (2011: 227). Good news for our SOLTEs, if they subscribe to this view. Schneider (2011: 228-9) closes on the continuing trend of "global spread and local adoption" of English around the world, termed "glocalization". This complex set of processes, mirroring those associated with other global/local movements concerning trade,

technology and the environment, is seen by Schneider and others as encouraging. Language as the tool of tools, once again.

Substantial recent contributions on English as a global language come from McCrum (2010), Saraceni (2010) and Ostler (2010). McCrum's *Globish* (2010) offers a journalistic perspective on the history of the language and its current influence. He credits the French author Nerrière (e.g. 2004) with coining the term for what has emerged as "the world-wide dialect of the third millennium" (McCrum, 2010: 209). McCrum discusses examples from popular culture to illustrate the scope of recent expansion, citing the film *Slumdog Millionaire* (the source of 'Jai ho', noted above) as "a Globish movie", mixing fictional and cinematic conventions - both Hollywood and Bollywood, with a British director, Indian cast and frequent code-switching: a recipe for surprising Oscar success. Business, sport, the world-wide web, advertising, tourism and other domains are motors of the supranational momentum enjoyed by English since the end of the colonial period. McCrum sees English/Globish uncritically as a "workable Lingua Franca" for the world, crucially "neutral and intelligible" in these diverse and evolving contexts, its growth unstoppable (2010: 254). The language (its linguistic status and plurality left largely unanalysed) is viewed as "above and beyond British and American influence" (2010: 260). McCrum may be criticised as naïve in this respect, but he concludes his bullish case for Globish with some interesting pointers for the future. He dismisses the Latin analogy for English, where the language fragments into mutually unintelligible varieties, and claims forces of culture, identity and freedom will perpetuate its position, essentially supported by the web and progressive social change (2010: 264-5).

Ostler (2010) sees things rather differently, arguing that English is likely to be the last Lingua Franca, and that its fall from dominance, while not imminent, is predictable, based on historical analysis of previous 'lingua-francas' (*sic*) such as Sanskrit, Persian and Latin. He contends that the world is not moving towards English monolingualism, but a more complex, diverse and multilingual future (2010: xix). Ostler also appears to disagree with those who propound an apolitical view of English (e.g. McCrum), where its spread and instrumental use will eradicate historical connections to Britain or the USA. In this

analysis, the language becomes "so pervasive that its identity would disappear, as a language that stands in contrast to any other, as a disembodied skill, and standard of best practice" (2010: 30). Ostler echoes the fear expressed by Said (1978) that English could be reduced to a mere functional skill set, devoid of cultural or artistic richness. Ostler's case for a multilingual future is linked to the global use of electronic media and information technology, which will not lead to "the monolingual dream" of machine translation, but rather the "undercutting of the need to have a lingua-franca at all" (2010: 263). There is a paradox here, in that as greater numbers of people learn English to gain access to global culture, jobs, technology and information, those same forces (particularly ICTs) are enhancing mutual accessibility between languages internationally (2010: 263).

Some may find the continued association between languages and nations an outdated, Eurocentric notion (e.g. Saraceni, 2010), but Ostler's point is well-made: the role of English might increasingly be the 'world's favourite second language' (as noted in Chapter 1), but that implies the existence of others. Ostler cites Graddol (2006) in clarifying that "what has spread around the world since the 1950s is not English so much as bilingualism with English" (Ostler, 2010: 276) – a crucial point. This should remind ELT scholars and practitioners that the goal of Second Language Acquisition is indeed bilingualism, not "fake native-speakerism" (see e.g. Cook, 2008). Ostler predicts that the need for a global 'lingua-franca' such as English will diminish by perhaps the middle of this century, and that multilinguality will become the norm. As major trading nations realise they can thrive in global markets using technology to support their own language, rather than relying on some form of international English, motivation to invest in learning the 20th/early 21st century 'lingua-franca' will disappear (2010: 286).

Such views echo those of Alptekin (2010) on multilingualism and English as a Lingua Franca, and Saraceni (2010) on the "relocation" of English alongside local languages, representing a plurality not only of Englishes but also of multiple language use. Saraceni strongly argues for an approach to English in the world based on non-linguistic perspectives, not focused on form but rather on a rebalancing of language use on both a global and individual level (2010: 131-2). Reminding us of the debates (noted in 2.2) on

language and nation, he comments that boundaries between languages are "much fuzzier" than political borders (2010: 136). Saraceni reinforces the point that languages are political and social constructs, not distinct entities, and therefore the study of linguistic features to characterise varieties (or ELF) is irrelevant. The relocation of English is concluded when it "ceases to be somebody else's language, or the language of the Other" and becomes "one of the Self's languages" (2010: 143). Consciously echoing Achebe's (1965: 30) call for English to "carry the weight of my African experience", Saraceni closes with the claim that this relocation is achieved by "treating English as a language that can carry and share the weight of a plurality of experiences, worldviews and inner thoughts" for all those who wish to use it in this way (2010: 143). It is to the teaching and learning of such a global language that we now turn our attention.

2.5 The 'post-method' and 'post-native' era?

The following discussion attempts to frame the issues concerning method (pedagogy) and 'nativeness' (in language users or teachers), arguing that, in both cases the field and the profession are entering uncharted territory.

> It is generally assumed that in setting the objectives for English as a subject we need to get them to correspond as closely as possible to the competence of its native speakers. This raises two questions: who are these native speakers, and what is it that constitutes their competence? (Widdowson, 2003: 35)

The pedagogical implications of English as a global language have been the subject of debate over the past few decades, at least in the academic discourse, as discussed above. Kachru (1992) outlined some of the realities of the World Englishes paradigm (see 2.4), and the ramifications for ELT, arguing that teacher training programmes and practice have not yet reflected a reconceptualised profile for English (1992: 355). Although some of these claims may not quite hold true today, it is still reasonable to argue that the full impact of globalised English and its users has not been felt on pedagogical models, approaches and teacher education in many parts of the world.

Two decades ago, Richards (1990) claimed ELT methodology had already moved "beyond methods"; Kumaravadivelu (1994) first talked about the "post-method condition", and Brown (2002) referred to the "death of methods". However, Bell (2007) argues that teachers take a pragmatic view, adopting an eclectic approach, and claims that teachers have always been "beyond methods", but methods themselves are not dead. Akbari (2008: 643) also cites the earlier argument propounded by Prabhu (1990) that teachers base pedagogical decision-making on a "sense of plausibility", or a principled pragmatism, and that this process is not greatly helped by generalised theories and concepts of the 'best' method. Kumaravadivelu (2001, 2006b) outlines a framework for 'post-method' pedagogy, leading to teachers' own "theory of practice". The net effect of recent shifts in approach is a "major transition" in ELT methods during the previous decade or so (Kumaravadivelu, 2006b: 71-72). These claims are also arguable if we consider the global range of ELT contexts and educational settings, for instance with the more recent adoption (at least in policy) of Communicative Language Teaching in places such as Japan or parts of China, regardless of whether the Inner Circle now sees it as passé.

In a similar vein, Akbari (2008: 641) claims that language teaching has "parted with its quest for metanarratives and grand theories", replacing this with an involvement in what Canagarajah (2006a: 30) describes as "the messy *practice* of crossing boundaries". This means ceasing the search for the holy grails of best methods, materials, uniform approaches and single explanatory theories of Second Language Acquisition (Widdowson, 2004; Canagarajah, 2006a). Some of the arguments concerning global English propounded by Canagarajah (1999) and others, as noted in 2.4, are echoed by McKay (2002), criticising the exclusive emphasis on Inner Circle norms in teaching methodologies, recognising the huge variation possible between and within cultures and individual classrooms (2002: 104). On pedagogical models, she argues that in an international context, "bilingual users should be allowed to take ownership not only of the language but also of the methods used to teach it" (2002: 107).

However, Akbari (2008) problematises 'post-method' discourse and practice, foregrounding the competence and confidence issues raised by Kumaravadivelu (2001)

central to the present study. These include an emphasis on teacher qualifications and education, and imply a social transformation goal for ELT (Akbari, 2008: 642). This stance touches on the critical pedagogy discourse recently emerging from the broader educational field into ELT, examples of which are Norton and Toohey (2004), and Thornbury (2009a; 2009b), using the influential ideas of Freire (1970) to argue for social change through language learning. Norton's (2000) conception of identity (discussed in Chapter 3) is brought to bear on the idea that language teaching, and specifically ELT, can be a force for social change, and therefore the teacher's role is central. Critical pedagogy for ELT involves:

> … connecting the word with the world. It is about recognizing language as ideology, not just system. It is about extending the educational space to the social, cultural, and political dynamics of language use… (Kumaravadivelu, 2006b: 70)

This interpretation echoes the critical discourse employed by Phillipson (1992) and Pennycook (1998), discussed in 2.4. A recent pedagogical approach emerging from the UK is the 'Dogme ELT' movement, which seeks to emphasise an "unplugged", materials-light, conversation-driven, emergent language classroom focus (Meddings & Thornbury, 2009: 8). Proponents claim this amounts to "another way of teaching" and "another way of being a teacher" (2009: 21). Thornbury directly links the Dogme approach to critical pedagogy:

> In challenging the hegemony of coursebooks, especially those written outside of their contexts of use, the Dogme ELT movement […] positions itself in the Freirian tradition. Moreover, it explicitly identifies itself as having 'critical' credentials… (2009b)

Meddings and Thornbury (2009: 84-85) also address the issue of 'non-native' teachers. Responding to criticism that the 'unplanned' Dogme ELT approach may suit 'natives' more, they counter that this has not been their experience, and that many of its features (e.g. seeing the language through learners' eyes), along with a recognition of the implications of global English, may in fact favour L2 users as teachers. In a point that is reflected in some of the views expressed by SOLTEs in this study, they conclude that their approach suits a new paradigm for both the language and its pedagogy, where the 'native'/'non-native' speaker distinction is seen as "incidental, even trivial" (2009: 85).

On the 'post-native' theme, Graddol (2006) offers a fairly bleak prognosis for (monolingual) 'native speakers' of English, and teachers who fit that description. They could be seen as "bringing with them cultural baggage in which learners wanting to use English primarily as an international language are not interested" (2006: 114). Additionally, such teachers may not have some of the necessary skills for this new situation, such as translation and interpreting, or have "remote" accents which do not relate to learners' communicative needs. Walker (2010: 69) concludes his proposals for ELF-aware pronunciation teaching, noted in 2.4, with the view that the best teacher in many settings is bilingual in English and the learners' L1, being both model and having some kind of shared experience with them. However, market forces and prevailing attitudes may privilege 'native' teachers. Seargeant (2009: 95-96) investigates ELT in Japan, noting that in the substantial private sector there is an emphasis on 'authentic' English and teachers (meaning employing 'native speakers'): the 'authenticity' referring to interaction, "demoting the language to being of secondary importance in comparison to the teacher's cultural status". The picture is therefore mixed, but perhaps we should not announce the death of the monolingual 'native speaker' language practitioner prematurely.

Pennycook (2008) returns to a critical examination of ELT, viewing English as a language "in translation", meaning here more than the "reductive" version of this concept known to the traditions of language teaching, but now "a language of translingual use" (2008: 34). According to Pennycook, teaching methodology has divided the world into two, with the "vast majority" still using "traditional", old-fashioned, local, grammar-translation methods, denigrated by the "enlightened" centre. Whereas:

> Native speaker English teachers travelled the world, able to market their monolingual skill above their bilingual counterparts… teacher educators were flown around the world to run seminars, to advise how to shed outmoded uses of other (outmoded) languages, and to teach using only English; and applied linguists colluded, developing theories, writing books, showing how English was the only language the world needed to teach English. (Pennycook, 2008: 35)

On a personal level, this claim is troubling, as an ELT practitioner and teacher educator who has perhaps been guilty of the above charges, albeit unwittingly. Most teachers trained

in the Inner Circle over the past thirty years have been presented with a communicative, learner-centred pedagogical model that presumes the use of the 'target language' takes precedence over learners' first language, in the classroom, and by extension in the processes of Second Language Acquisition - the "monolingual principle" (Howatt, 2004), returned to below in Chapter 3. The influence of this model on global ELT pedagogy, materials and examinations, in conjunction with the goals of communicative competence and predominantly 'native speaker' models of accuracy (e.g. in pronunciation), has been pervasive. Its impact has extended to classroom contexts where many of its basic premises simply do not apply, and this reality becomes more obvious the more SOLTEs from different contexts one meets.

Teacher education implications of the globalisation of English and the 'sociocultural turn' are evaluated by Johnson (2006) and Kumaravadivelu (2006a), but the fundamental restructuring they advocate at all levels of the profession, from policy through training to classroom practice, seems problematic to deliver. There may be a degree of consensus that the "proficient L2 user" (Cook, 2008) is a more relevant model for 21st century ELT than the traditional 'native speaker', but the mechanics of implementing such change are complex. Similarly, adopting a 'post-method' or 'Dogme' approach brings significant challenges for most language teachers in most learning contexts. The themes of 'nativeness', teacher training and employment practices all figure in the SOLTE contributions to this study, and are presented in Chapter 5. The need for a 'multilingual principle' to replace the monolingual one mentioned above is discussed in *Conclusions* (Chapter 6).

2.6 Summary and further questions

Summarising the contemporary issues presented in this chapter, we have the 'post-native speaker' question of purpose in ELT (the L2 user target), recognising English as a global language, and we have the 'post-method', 'post-grand theory' question of process. In both of these cases, it is also arguable, as Akbari (2008) and Saraceni (2010) point out, that the

attendant academic discourse risks leaving behind the very practitioners it is intended to influence and support. There is a strong and growing case made on behalf of 'non-native' teachers (SOLTEs) as effective and, in many educational contexts, the most appropriate source of language instruction for learners (e.g. Kirkpatrick, 2007; Moussu & Llurda, 2008; Braine, 2010), examined in Chapter 3. However, this case is often made in ideological and intellectual terms that may be inaccessible or irrelevant to those groups themselves (e.g. Akbari, 2008; Waters, 2007).

Therefore, in light of the globalised, pluricentric realities of 21st century English(es), there are further key questions to address: How can we teach and learn a language with around one million words, and two billion speakers? The growing majority of speakers and teachers of English can be described as 'non-native': what are the implications of this for "defining the subject" (Widdowson, 2003)? Most interactions in English are Lingua Franca-based, and do not involve 'native speakers' (however they are defined; see Davies, 2003): how does this affect learning goals? These sociolinguistic realities surely make English, currently at least, a special case amongst languages, with potential impacts on multilingualism and people's identities. This applies even more particularly to teachers who have chosen to teach a language they themselves do not regard as their first.

Alptekin (2010) claims the pedagogic emphasis has shifted from dependence on the monolingual 'native speaker' as model and expert towards a more globally-aware, Lingua Franca-informed conception of Cook's (1992, 2002) multicompetence. In most educational settings, the successful bilingual, bicultural model and teacher is appropriate (Alptekin, 2010: 104), as is a more pluralistic view of competence which takes account of "the need for multiple proficiencies in the communication of linguistic resources" (Dewey, 2007: 346). Jenkins et al (2011: 305) claim the pedagogical implications of English as a Lingua Franca (discussed in 2.4) include a reassessment of the knowledge base for language teachers, and thus for teacher education. The recent conceptualisation of ELF (and language more generally) in terms of pragmatic processes rather than fixed linguistic product, encourages a more critical engagement with some of the questions raised in this chapter. Specifically, how do SOLTEs see themselves in relation to the language and their teaching

competence, given that both are arguably subject to redefinition? Is this redefinition, in fact, a challenge to their identity as English language teachers, within their own context and communities, having invested so much to reach their current professional positions? The following chapter aims to address the questions of identity, confidence and competence in more detail.

3: Identity, language and English Language Teaching

*'Just as history tells us who we are, identity is made
of the stories we tell ourselves.'* (Riley, 2007: 244)

3.1 Identity theories, language and Second Language Acquisition

Identity constructs and is constructed by language. (Norton 1997: 419)

The previous chapter reviewed some significant contemporary issues for English Language Teaching in relation to the central research questions posited for this investigation. If the field and profession are, contentiously perhaps, now entering a 'post-native' and 'post-method' era, what does this mean for language practitioners, in light of the global and local forces at work in their varied contexts? This chapter moves the discussion on to questions of identity, language and pedagogy, before bringing these threads together to form the rationale for the present research study.

Concepts of identity have been adapted from Social Psychology into Applied Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition studies (Mitchell & Myles, 2004: 246), and influenced some ELT professionals through teacher education programmes. The purpose here is not so much to evaluate theories of individual and social identity construction, but rather to discuss their impact on and implications for the field. In particular, this discussion provides a framework for considering the relevance of identity issues for the teachers at the centre of the study. Much of the literature on identity builds on the poststructuralist foundations laid down in particular by the work of Bourdieu and Giddens. In *Runaway World* (2002)*,* Giddens analyses the shrinking of tradition and custom across global societies, and the consequent impact on identity and our sense of self. No longer sustained through stable social positions within communities, this self-identity "has to be created and recreated on a more active basis than before" (2002: 47). Bourdieu's presence can be seen in the widespread use of his notion of social capital (e.g. 1991), as a framework for examining

issues of identity, power and language in various fields of sociolinguistics and ELT. An example is Norton (2000), discussed below, who conceives of language learning in terms of "investment", which is an especially relevant perspective for investigating SOLTEs.

Poststructuralist theorising on identity is summarised by Block (2006: 26): "First and foremost, identity is seen not as something fixed for life, but as fragmented and contested in nature". In his discussion on migrants in London, he notes ambivalent attitudes and tensions, with relevance to transnational language teachers, be they labelled 'native' or 'non-native', whose roles and identities can be seen in terms of their hybrid nature. Riley (2007) reviews the history of theoretical work on identity and self, and concludes that identity is socially constructed, and that "our sense of self can only emerge as the result of communicative interaction with others" (2007: 83). These social identities therefore depend on recognition and legitimation by other people, who may have the power to withhold this and so deny group membership (2007: 92). This point may have a resonance for SOLTEs, and in particular those engaged in training, postgraduate study or employed as teachers in the UK or USA, having 'crossed borders', so to speak.

Identity can be defined in both individual and social terms. Block (2007: 865), for instance cites the work of researchers adopting Lave and Wenger's communities of practice framework (e.g. 1991), within which learning is situated in social experience and identities "constructed in relation to these communities" (Wenger, 1998: 4). The individual gains access to a community of practice through "legitimate peripheral participation", and "newcomers must be granted enough legitimacy to be treated as potential members" (Wenger, 1998: 101). Block (2007) draws on the notion of "two-way action" in the work of Bourdieu (e.g. 1977) and Giddens (e.g. 1984), arguing that identity is simultaneously conditioned by and conditions social interactions. This argument embraces issues of power relations, and Bourdieu's metaphors of economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital. In summary, "social theorists share the view that identity is a process as opposed to an essentialized fixed product" (Block, 2007: 866).

In relating identity to second language learning, the field has also considered how static or dynamic the concept is, including the influential work of Norton (2000), who uses the term "identity" to refer to:

> How a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future. (2000: 5)

Norton elaborates in terms of the interaction of language, identity and context, arguing that individuals negotiate their sense of self through language, in different places and at different times, and thus gain or are denied access to the power of social networks (2000: 5). This adds another dimension to the discussion of 'native' and 'non-native' language speakers in Chapter 2, if we see the former as performing a gate-keeping role for the latter. Block (2006) attempts to define the relationship between language and identity as one that connects our sense of self with our means of communication. The use of online chat rooms and similar communication media allows and encourages the development of electronically-mediated L2 identities, "new third-place identities", using both resources from an L1 past and an L2 English present (Block, 2007: 869). This relationship can be seen in terms of language competence and social association, or language expertise, affiliation and inheritance (Leung et al, 1997). A significant point for the present study is, as Block (2006: 36) contends, that the linguistic birthright conferred by inheritance does not necessarily indicate expertise or positive affiliation. These three sociolinguistic constructs carry particular weight for SOLTEs, for whom such questions are professionally and personally significant. For example, as some participants noted, their language expertise may be superior in some respects to many 'native speakers' of English, and their pedagogical skills may be more effective as a result of their own learning experience, in contrast to some monolingual 'native' teachers. These issues certainly seem worth investigating, and are revealed in some of the research themes presented in Chapter 5.

The prominence of identity-based studies in the field is further demonstrated by recent book-length publications, such as Block (2009) *Second Language Identities.* Ortega (2009) also picks up on the discourse employed by second language identity researchers, where, as

we have seen, poststructuralist terms such as 'shifting', 'fragmented' and 'hybrid' are common currency. Returning to Norton's work in this field (Norton Pierce, 1995; Norton, 2000), described by Ortega (2009) as the most influential model of L2 identity theory, it is the key concept of 'investment' that resonates:

> … if learners invest in a second language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital. (Norton Pierce, 1995: 17)

Norton Pierce (1995) conceives of identity/ies as multiple and the site of struggle. We can understand the investment in language (or any) learning in terms of identities, desires and the changing social world of the individual, and these factors work alongside people's affiliations to their communities of practice (Ortega, 2009: 242). Norton's identity model also encompasses the "right to speak", with implied inequalities in the exercise of that right, particularly for L2 learners (Norton, 2006; Ortega, 2009: 242). Thus, much broader theoretical influences are pulled together by Norton, from sociology, cultural anthropology, literary criticism and feminism, to develop a comprehensive model for investigating identity and L2 learning (Ortega, 2009). A question to address in the present study is the extent to which this identity model applies to SOLTEs, and when and how they exercise their "right to speak".

A compelling and much-cited case for a broader, socially-based perspective on Second Language Acquisition is presented by Firth and Wagner (1997), who criticise the narrow view of identity in most research, which focuses on that of a learner (or 'non-native speaker') over all other relevant social identities. This point can also be viewed in relation to Davies' (2003) examination of the complexity involved in defining the concept of 'nativeness' in language speakers, discussed in Chapter 2. There is a risk of adopting a similarly narrow view of the participant teachers in the present study, and a reductionist approach that perhaps unintentionally ignores both the multiplicity and the mobility of the social identities involved. SOLTEs are both learners and experts, and Ricento (2005: 898) comments that earlier research paid insufficient attention to individuals' "multiple memberships" in different contexts, and how these are understood and enacted. Ricento

goes on to join the debates on language standards, norms and 'nativeness', also discussed in Chapter 2:

> Many of the world's [Native Speakers] do not speak the standard language, which is in many cases an ex-colonial language, nor do they speak only one language… There are also increasing doubts as to whether any monolingual speaker can be upheld as the norm for L2 learners who are, by definition, aspiring bilinguals. (2005: 911)

The issue of (multiple) language competence becomes central to the discussion below in relation to teachers and their claims to professional identity. They are the "aspiring bilinguals" that Ricento (2005) refers to, even if they do not always see themselves as role models in terms of achievement of that aspiration.

3.2 Global English and identity issues

The global spread of English and implications for ELT were discussed in Chapter 2, including the argument that there may be specific or unique factors related to English, which do not apply to other major world languages, such as Arabic, Spanish or Mandarin Chinese. McKay (2002: 1) asserts that pedagogy for an international language "must be based on an entirely different set of assumptions than the teaching and learning of any other second or foreign language". Therefore, English as an International Language is "no longer linked to a single culture or nation but serves both global and local needs as a language of wider communication" (2002: 24). McKay also stresses the need to focus on the majority of ELT practitioners as bilingual speakers, "challenging the native speaker fallacy" to generate a fuller appreciation of how the language is used, taught and learnt around the world (2002: 45). This point, echoing the work of Cook (1992, 2002) on multicompetence and the L2 user, emphasises the "rightful place as valid users of English" that local ELT educators can occupy in their own contexts (McKay, 2002: 129). The question then becomes the extent to which such educators (SOLTEs) feel able to take their "rightful place", locally and globally, and this can be seen as a choice built on their sense of confidence, competence and identity, discussed further in 3.4 below, and Chapter 5.

A key construct within sociocultural perspectives on Second Language Acquisition and successful L2 learning is that of integrative motivation, relating to the desire to integrate with communities of target language speakers, perhaps as a result of migration. Lamb (2004) argues that this notion is now redundant in the case of English:

> … as English loses its association with particular Anglophone cultures and is instead identified with powerful forces of globalization, the desire to 'integrate' loses its explanatory power in many EFL contexts. Individuals may aspire towards a 'bicultural' identity which incorporates an English-speaking globally-involved version of themselves in addition to their local L1-speaking self. (2004: 3)

Although the claim here refers to language learners, the same can be said of those learners who subsequently become teachers: our SOLTEs. Developing this point, Lamb (2004: 14) explores the term "integrativeness" (Gardner, 2001), as do Dornyei and Csizer (2002: 454), who claim "the term may not so much be related to any actual, or metaphorical, *integration* into an L2 community as to some more basic *identification process* within the individual's self-concept." This again has implications for SOLTEs, in particular if we conceive of language learning goals in terms of actual use and identity expression, which will "represent a real challenge for their teachers, whose own original motivation to learn English may have been very different" (Lamb, 2004: 17). This specific issue is raised in the teacher interviews in the current study, presented in Chapter 5.

Ushioda and Dornyei (2009) also focus on motivation in language learning, which has been viewed as central to theoretical discussion in the field for decades (e.g. Corder, 1967). More recent attention has been paid to how this construct needs to be re-theorised for a new global reality, where people have different motivations for learning English, including the aspiration to "acquire global identity in particular" (Ushioda & Dornyei, 2009: 1). They echo Lamb (2004) in making the valid case that the concept of integrative motivation may not remain applicable where there is no obvious target group with which to integrate (2009: 2). If English belongs in some sense to a growing global community, this target can no longer be conceptualised as external to these learner/users of the language (and thus their teachers?), revealing a "shift of focus to the internal domain of self and identity" (2009: 3). This thinking leads to a consideration of language learners' transportable identities and

possible future L2 selves (Dornyei, 2005; Ushioda & Dornyei, 2009), a concept particularly relevant to those individuals making their career out of teaching their L2.

Similar arguments can be extended to embrace the field of research centred on English as an International Language, or Lingua Franca, discussed at length in Chapter 2. Jenkins (2007) offers a substantial discussion of identity issues through this lens, highlighting the apparent ambiguity in 'non-native' teachers' perceptions in relation to 'native' norms and accents. She claims such conflicted attitudes are concerned with identity, where teachers have multiple and perhaps competing roles as members of their own first language groups, a Lingua Franca community, and as professionals (2007: 197). This is a crucial question for our SOLTE group, and the presumption of 'conflict' and 'ambivalence' made by Jenkins is worth investigating. The discussion can be broadened to encompass the effects of globalisation and complex implications for identity, including the "range of identities available to individuals" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004: 2). Regarding English, with its Lingua Franca dominance, this is creating both diversity in use (particularly in spoken forms) and competing attempts to restrict variation through the "distribution" of 'native' norms to expanding numbers of learners and users worldwide (Jenkins, 2007: 198). This last point echoes Widdowson (2003) on the distinction between distribution and spread of a language and its norms, noted in Chapter 2.

Jenkins appears surprised that most 'non-native' teachers contest the principle of English as a Lingua Franca, and cling to 'native' models and goals, for instance with regard to pronunciation (2007: 203). An unasked question here is whether such teachers in fact reject not the notion of ELF but its use as a pedagogical model (as also discussed in Chapter 2). Or is it an identity question, related to their investment in a 'native speaker'-based model for their own L2 English; or their sense of professional responsibility, however that has developed? The participants in Jenkins' study "revealed ambivalent attitudes towards their own English accents" (2007: 211). One Polish participant was "proud of my English", but also owned up to "probably a little bit of linguistic schizophrenia", holding a positive attitude towards the Received Pronunciation accent, whilst recognising it as not necessary (Jenkins, 2007: 214). Participant teachers appeared to be suffering from a "double

standard", as one of them put it (2007: 225), in relation to accent and identity, a point also noted in my own previous pilot study (Blair, 2008).

Once again, questions of competence and confidence emerge, with 'native-like' accents preferred as demonstrable signs of these attributes, and as an aspiration, despite any future Lingua Franca pronunciation model for pedagogy (e.g. Walker, 2010). Regarding possible changes in policy towards ELF and "linguistic insecurity", Jenkins argues more optimistically that 'non-native' teachers might see that their identities as successful Lingua Franca users of English can "overlap" with their identities as "successful, competent teachers and confident English speakers rather than conflicting with them" (2007: 247). In conclusion, Jenkins follows Widdowson (2003) in deconstructing the TESOL acronym (just as I have attempted to with the term 'SOLTE'), enabling discussion of "Teaching English *of* Speakers of Other Languages: teaching the ELF of proficient L2 users themselves" (2007: 252). This leads us on to a consideration of who is best placed to teach such a subject.

3.3 Language teacher identity: from 'non-native' to SOLTE?

> How do international speakers of English assert their identities as legitimate teachers of English given the privileged position of the native speaker? (Golombek & Jordan, 2005: 513)

Much of the research conducted over the past twenty years on identity and language learning has tended to focus on learners, in particular adolescents and adults (Mitchell & Myles, 2004: 247-249). Less attention has been paid to language *teachers* with regard to identity issues, and in particular to those English teachers who may also regard themselves as learners; that is, SOLTEs. The work discussed above on identity and English as a Lingua Franca, focusing on the influential work of Jenkins (2007), whilst covering some aspects of teacher identity, is equally directed at establishing ELF as a credible field of linguistic research. However, Clarke (2008), a book-length investigation of language teacher identities, involves the first cohort of teacher education degree students in the United Arab

Emirates, which "offers a way of thinking about teacher formation as a dynamic process of identity development within an evolving community of practice" (2008: 1). Clarke argues that for some of his participants, the social prestige of English as a global language extends to its teachers, compared with other subjects, influencing their career choices (2008: 83-84). This issue of prestige as English teachers was a topic mentioned by participants in the current study, and discussed in Chapter 5.

There are crucial questions here of self-perception, confidence and competence. Bernat (2008) notes Canagarajah's (1999) claim that 80% of English Language teachers are from a 'non-native' background, and comments on the limited research on these teachers and related identity issues, including "feelings of inadequacy in the role of a language teacher or 'language expert' of one's non-native tongue" (Bernat, 2008:1). This theme was previously developed by Llurda (2005), describing 'non-native' teachers as still feeling like "impostors… in a world that still values native speakers as the norm providers and the natural choice in language teacher selection" (Llurda, 2005: 2). Bernat (2008: 2) argues that with the global spread of English, more 'non-natives' are now "stepping into the shoes of someone often perceived by them to be superior for the task – a native speaker." This in turn influences identity formation and self-image:

> … during their quest for constructing their identity as language teachers, [Non-native teachers] may encounter conflicting views related to language standards, 'correct' pronunciation, role modelling, and so on, which may likely shape their perceptions of self and lead to negative self-evaluation. (2008: 2)

The importance of pre-service teacher education courses is also stressed, along with another comment on the small number of studies of teachers' self-perceptions, despite the likelihood that they must have consequences for the classroom. In an exception to this trend, Rajagopalan (2005) reports on studies in Brazil, finding a widespread but "often unconfessed complex of inferiority" among 'non-native' teachers (2005: 284). Medgyes, in an earlier (1994) survey, used self-report to show how such teachers saw themselves as inferior in all language skills compared to 'native speakers'. Medgyes' study also refers to 'native' and 'non-native' teachers as "two different species", based on differences in language proficiency and teaching behaviour, though both groups can be equally effective

teachers in their own terms (1994: 27). The question of precisely whose terms are actually used to measure teacher effectiveness remains problematic.

The aim of Bernat's study was "to investigate the self-constructed notions of identity in relation to current and projected 'self' as a [Non-native speaker teacher] of English", as well as providing an opportunity for self-reflection (2008: 3). However, this was based on participants who were initial trainees on an ELT programme in an Australian university, half with some previous teaching experience. This is relevant in contrast to the present study, where the focus is on practitioners with reasonable levels of experience, and therefore (presumably) concomitant degrees of identity construction. The findings of Bernat's self-report data seemed to confirm that 'non-native' teachers "felt inferior in their role as language teachers and had deep concerns over their ability to teach English and to fit into the teaching role." (Their trainee status is left unanalysed here.) Bernat compares this evidence with Medgyes (1994), who refers to "pseudo-native" teachers, acting as "a rather clever impostor who was bound to be caught out in due course – which is precisely the concern voiced by many teachers in this study" (Bernat, 2008: 5).

Bernat concludes that the "impostor syndrome" investigated does appear to exist, especially for female teachers, and that the resulting problems concerning professional credibility are not confined to those individuals, but affect wider society, and the ELT field (2008: 6). The claim is that the profession is divided along language proficiency lines, "according to a caste system" (2008: 6) and with regard to teacher anxiety about their language skills. Bernat is right to argue that teacher education programmes need to address the issues relating to 'non-native' English teaching professionals, but it is not altogether clear how this is to be achieved. The closing remarks of the paper do, however, provide a useful reminder of the relevance of these debates to the broader context of global Lingua Franca use:

> …. with the massive spread of English, currently accepted norms of native speaker status will be revisited and perhaps revised to include populations presently excluded from the native speaker speech community. Such a process will relocate the locus of power and control among English speakers, transforming and reshuffling notions of currently perceived native and non-native identities…

> [leading to a] gradual acceptance of ELF, with a consequent decrease in the role of native-speaker teachers in setting the principles and norms on which this Lingua Franca will be taught in the future. (2008: 7)

The 'revisiting' of the construct of 'nativeness' proposed above, and the consequent implications for ELT and teacher education, are significant questions to be carried forward into the present study, and emerge strongly in the data and conclusions offered in later Chapters. The rather controversial, and certainly striking, notion of SOLTEs as 'impostors' becomes a key theme, when presented directly to the participants, as does the impact of English as a Lingua Franca, noted by Bernat above, discussed further in Chapter 6.

Pavlenko (2003) is a study of particular relevance to this paper, focusing on pre- and in-service teachers on a Masters programme in the U.S.A. Using the title '"I never knew I was a bilingual": Reimagining teacher identities in TESOL', it examines the challenges facing teachers, through the lenses of imagined communities (Anderson, 1991) and Cook's (1992, 2002) model of multicompetence and the L2 user, discussed in Chapter 2. Reviewing literature on 'non-native' teachers' status, Pavlenko concludes that there is a key role for teacher educators in supporting the development of "a new sense of professional agency and legitimacy" (2003: 251). She also argues that seeing the entrenched 'native'/'non-native' divide solely in terms of socially-constructed identity fails to recognise the "power of linguistic theories to legitimize social identities" (2003: 252). The status of the idealised 'native speaker' in theories of Second Language Acquisition, in the long shadow of Chomsky (1957), still holds a magnetic attraction, it seems. This point is clearly relevant to Pavlenko's study participants, and an explicit question here is how to "broaden their options" (2003: 254). Cook's multicompetence model (1992, 2002) argues that the obsession with 'native' standards is bound to result in a sense of failure in adults learning a language. This same sense was experienced by Pavlenko's students, whose self-perception included the negative impact of a lack of success in entering the imagined community of 'native speakers'.

> (T)he discourse of native-speakerness exerts a price on those who believe that in order to validate their personal and professional identities they need to enter this imagined community. (2003: 259)

 The suggestion is that joining such a community of L2 learners is not attractive compared to the 'native speaker' community, and that these ELT students had not previously been aware of alternative identity options, such as Cook's multicompetent L2 user (1992, 2002), noted above. This potentially holds true for the SOLTE participants in the present study, and for some of my own international postgraduate students. Pavlenko goes on to claim that the process of reading and discussion of these issues, as embedded in the MA programme, in addition to transforming students' knowledge of professional identity issues, also "offered them a new imagined community of multilingual individuals and legitimate L2 users" (2003: 261). Realisation of this concept of multicompetence and its application to themselves appeared to have a "therapeutic" effect on some students, in terms of linguistic self-perception and self-esteem (2003: 263).

Not all participants in Pavlenko's study demonstrated such repositioning or identity reimagining, as she points out, and some reflected on the impact of these ideas on their own professional practice back home. However, the study makes a persuasive case for integrating this thinking into pre- and in-service teacher education for L2 users of English (i.e. SOLTEs), as these are the people "whose legitimacy is challenged most often" (2003: 266). Concluding, Pavlenko argues that such reimagining of identities "is only worthwhile if it is followed by continuous reflection, action, and change" – perhaps a tall order for many ELT professionals – and further investigation is needed into long-term impacts of these issues inside and outside the classroom (2003: 266).

Moussu and Llurda (2008) offer a comprehensive survey of the research into 'non-native' teachers over the previous twenty years. This revisits some old debates within the fields of Applied Linguistics and ELT, back to Chomsky (1957; noted above) and linguistic theories that viewed 'native speakers' as the "only reliable source" of data, resulting in a limited focus on 'non-native speakers' before the 1990s (Moussu & Llurda, 2008: 315). Relatively early critical attacks on this approach are cited as Paikeday (1985) ("The native speaker is dead"; better term is "proficient user" of a language) and Rampton (1990) ("expert user" means all successful users of a language). Moussu and Llurda do, however, also see the practical convenience of the 'native'/'non-native' distinction, and its wide use in

professional discussion and research. This pragmatic position presents something of a paradox, of which the authors are aware, but this nonetheless complicates all progressive or critical discussion of the topic.

> Additionally, many speakers consider themselves to be either native or non-native speakers of a given language, and these self-allocations within or outside a linguistic community are frequently used as a way of positioning themselves as members or as aliens in a particular social community. (2008: 318)

The authors point out that most Masters ELT programmes, especially in the USA, are not aimed at training teachers for their own local context, working with English as a Foreign Language. Theoretical and pedagogical content taught on these programmes does not always relate to 'non-native' teachers' professional needs (2008: 320), despite there being a significant number of international students attending them. This is another point of relevance for my own practitioner role as teacher educator on such a programme in the UK, where this is a live and problematic issue. With regard to the "impostor syndrome" mentioned above (Bernat, 2008), Moussu and Llurda note the effects of some 'non-native' teachers spending more time in English-speaking countries, thus becoming more aware of their strengths and less hampered by an "inferiority complex" than colleagues without this kind of experience (Moussu & Llurda, 2008: 339). This and related issues of confidence and competence are discussed further in 3.4, below.

Linking back to the examination of 'nativeness' in Chapter 2, Braine (2010) presents a substantial review of what he defines as the "Nonnative Speaker Movement", which he also traces to the initial work of Medgyes (1994; discussed above). Braine cites the growth in research studies focusing on this area as partial evidence of a developing confidence and rising self-esteem among the movement. This also accounts for what he (unusually in the field) sees as the unproblematic preferred term 'nonnative speaker', which he claims has moved from pejorative to politically correct, and reasonably widely accepted as descriptive of the research, researchers, teachers and learners involved (2010: 5-6). Braine recognises the questions of sociolinguistic competence and connotations of the terms 'native' and 'nonnative' speaker, and the complexity of adequate definition, discussed in Chapter 2 (e.g.

Davies, 1991; 2003). Despite this lack of clarity, the 'non-' prefix still implies deficit and discrimination, and a desire among some researchers and practitioners to avoid the label.

Braine (2010) concludes that there has now been an extensive investigation into 'non-native' teachers' strengths and shortcomings, self-perceptions (e.g. on accent and language accuracy) and that the bulk of this research has been conducted by those empowered teachers themselves. Braine is mildly critical, however, of what he perceives as their failure to remove themselves from the data gathering process in many cases, which makes some of the studies questionable methodologically. This is arguable, in terms of the scope and type of projects undertaken, and likely practical limitations. It is a theme picked up again, when Braine discusses his own research approach in terms of attempting to showcase the voices of his 'non-native' speaker teacher participants with "the least intrusion" (2010: 61). Issues of researcher position in the current study are examined further in Chapter 4, *Methodology*.

Discussion of 'non-native' teachers' self-perceptions is important here, along with the related and influential factors of the perceptions of learners. The complex and controversial issues of appearance and race (Braine, 2010: 19), where such teachers may be prejudicially regarded if not Caucasian, seem to be particularly prevalent in parts of Asia (Hong Kong is cited as an example). This begs a set of questions with regard to the SOLTEs studied in this investigation, who are all European, white and female, and so may meet certain 'native' criteria for some learners, despite their 'non-nativeness'. Holliday and Aboshiha (2009) claim the existence of an ideology of racism relating to the 'non-native' teacher label, and that this is a truth denied by the profession. They argue that debates on the 'ownership' of English have distracted the field from issues of race, whereby liberal attention towards equality has unconsciously imposed a form of "Othering" (Said, 1978) on the majority of teachers. Braine returns to this point in summarising students' perceptions (2010: 39), and questioning the reliability of questionnaire data, for example, based upon respondents' confused and racially-influenced understanding of the 'native'/'non-native' distinction.

Further explanation of the discrimination 'non-native' teachers face in parts of Asia is offered by Braine (2010: 74), among them continued belief in the superiority of 'native'

varieties and teachers, counter to the "native-speaker fallacy" argument proposed by Phillipson (1992). Braine pulls no punches on this point, however, stating that this is partly caused by the fact that many local teachers are "not competent users of the English language" (2010: 74). This argument appears to run slightly at odds with conceptions of English as a Lingua Franca, based on 'non-native' interactions and intelligibility (e.g. Jenkins, 2007), reviewed in Chapter 2. Furthermore, the "native speaker fallacy" is preserved by local teachers and their disconnection from recent academic discourse and changes in attitudes among some parts of the ELT profession (Braine, 2010: 74). This raises interesting questions with regard to in-service teacher education and development, and the broader issue of the impact of academic research on practitioners (as noted by Saraceni, 2010). The SOLTEs participating in this study certainly made similar points, which are presented in Chapter 5.

Hayes (2008: 2) argues for local (Thai) teachers of English being 'non-native' speakers of the language they teach, but 'native' in the sense of their "situational teaching competence". Concerning professional identities, and of particular relevance to SOLTEs, Hayes claims many 'non-native' teachers have local social responsibilities associated with their career role, in contrast to many highly mobile 'native' teachers (2008: 9). The academic discourse surrounding ELT as a global profession has perhaps masked this reality, according to Hayes, and others. These responsibilities are highlighted by one of the SOLTEs in the present study, discussed in Chapter 5, as distinctly double-edged in terms of her own personal and professional identity.

In closing this review of literature on language teacher identity, we should return to a specific tenet of the Inner Circle model of ELT, often expounded and exported as more communicative and modern than local pedagogical practices. This is the so-called "monolingual principle" (Howatt, 2004), which emphasises the classroom use of the target language to the exclusion of the learners' first language, as noted in Chapter 2, above. It is challenged by Cummins (2009) in terms of pedagogy, cognitive views of language acquisition and identity:

> The perpetuation of the monolingual principle as "common-sense knowledge" in countries around the world is associated with multiple forms of injustice to both teachers and learners of English. It reinforces the empirically unsupported and socially problematic assumption that native speakers are superior English language teachers as compared with non-native teachers. (2009: 319-320)

One of the arguments used by Cummins here is that by legitimising the learners' L1 in the classroom as a cognitive tool, it may challenge their "subordinate status" and affirm their "identities of competence" (2009: 319). It is a point related to previously-discussed critiques of the "native-speaker fallacy" (Phillipson, 1992) and the privileging of 'native speaker' teachers in a monolingual pedagogy, which may just happen to suit their competence more than that of local teachers. The important issues raised by the practical impact of teachers' confidence and competence form the next theme to be addressed.

3.4 Confidence and competence

The principal concerns of 'non-native' teachers are summarised by Kamhi-Stein (2000):

1. low confidence and self-perceived challenges to professional competence
2. self-perceived language needs
3. lack of voice and visibility in the TESOL profession
4. self-perceived prejudice based on ethnicity or non-native status

The issues of confidence, competence and voice are fundamental to the study of SOLTEs, and much of the discussion of identity presented in this chapter is connected to these themes. Rajagopalan (2005) makes the strongest case for 'non-native' teachers to shed their professional anxieties. He connects the resulting marginalisation they encounter to a systematic academic discourse over many years, which has elevated the 'native speaker' to the position of unquestioned sole informant on the language, discussed in Chapter 2. According to Rajagopalan, this superiority is foregrounded in 'non-native' teachers' professional training, resulting in low self-esteem and a sense of second-class status (or the "impostor syndrome" discussed above; Bernat, 2008). He argues strongly for retraining such teachers away from their belief in the "native speaker fallacy", and urges them to

respond: "Non-Native Speaker Teachers of the world wake up, you have nothing to lose but your nagging inferiority complex!" (2005: 300). This rallying call, with its historical echoes, is arguably both powerful and patronising. The reaction of such teachers, the SOLTEs of this study, surely merits exploration.

Richards (2011) highlights the key qualities he argues comprise the concepts of competence, expertise and professionalism in language teachers. These include language proficiency (though not necessarily "native-like command"), content knowledge (disciplinary and pedagogical), performative teaching skills and contextual knowledge: "learning to teach means becoming socialized into a professional culture with its own goals, shared values, and norms of conduct" (2011: 4). Additionally, Richards discusses teachers' identity ("what it *means* to be a language teacher"), stressing that 'native' and 'non-native' speakers might "bring different identities to teacher-learning and to teaching" (2011: 4). Ideas such as these inform the development of the research questions in the present study. Richards also notes that untrained 'natives', away from their Inner Circle home context, may "sometimes be credited with an identity they are not really entitled to" and "have a status and credibility which they would not normally achieve in their own country" (2011: 5). This interesting observation rings true for those who have witnessed such phenomena personally, and stands in contrast to the struggle to achieve credibility by many 'non-native' teachers. Among the other qualities Richards notes are learner-focused teaching, and "theorizing from practice", which involves developing a "personal system of knowledge, beliefs and understandings drawn from the practical experience of teaching" (2011: 5). With reference to all the teacher competences above, one could argue that well-trained, motivated SOLTEs are ideally placed to perform such a role in the majority of contexts, as claimed by Kirkpatrick (2007) in his template for the Multilingual English Teacher.

It is the central issue of teacher proficiency in the target language that we need to return to, alongside the other pedagogical skills and experience that make up the ideal practitioner. We cannot separate this from learning goals and models, because "the teacher is the target", as Kirkpatrick (2010) points out. Indeed, it can be argued that 'native speaker' teachers who

are twenty or thirty years older than their learners do not necessarily exemplify a contemporary model of the language, in terms of lexis, colloquialisms or register (a point returned to in Chapter 6). Similarly, social background, education and personal preferences may either help or hinder the process of presenting a relevant and appropriate model. 'Native' teachers may not, in fact, have kept up with pedagogical developments or ideas, and some 'non-natives' may work harder at this aspect of their own competence, perhaps because they feel they have to, for example through short courses and visits to predominantly English-speaking countries, mentioned by the SOLTE participants in this study.

Regarding language competence, Braine (2010: 82-83) refers to the established distinction between declarative and procedural knowledge, arguing that 'non-native' teachers may possess the former (e.g. grammar rules) but lack the latter (in terms of their own spoken and written performance and fluency). The advantages for SOLTEs may lie in language awareness, which includes an understanding of learners, their knowledge and difficulties; 'native' speakers are not always best-placed in this regard (Braine, 2010: 83). The challenge for 'non-native' teachers and teacher education, therefore, is to enhance their implicit and procedural knowledge, to avoid stagnation in language proficiency (although this criticism could also be applied to some 'natives', as noted above), through continuous engagement and development. Teachers should "practice what they preach" in terms of language exposure; something they often fail to do (Braine, 2010: 83). Furthermore, Braine claims that most 'non-native' teachers are "oblivious of the benefits provided by professional organizations", perhaps with good reason given their circumstances, preferring instead to "reclaim their lives away from English teaching" (2010: 87). This point on feeling a sense of membership of the profession (or not) is returned to in the data presented in Chapter 5.

Braine concludes by offering suggestions for broadening the scope of research on and by 'non-native' speaker teachers. He highlights, perhaps unfairly (as noted above), what he sees as weaknesses in some of the "one-shot", small-scale insider research projects undertaken by teachers, raising doubts concerning "the validity and reliability of the data"

(2010: 88). There is still a strong tendency, discussed in Chapter 4, to privilege essentially positivist constructs for evaluating research methodology in the field of Applied Linguistics and ELT, which Braine does not appear to question here. He argues for more longitudinal studies (though again the practicality of this approach for many practising teachers is unexamined), and more collaborative work between 'native' and 'non-native' speaker colleagues. This is something the current study attempted to address, through its final stages of data co-construction with some of the participant SOLTEs. Specifically, Braine reasonably suggests that the prime focus of future research should be the ideal competencies and qualities for 'non-native' teachers, how to overcome the limitations discussed above, the relevance and effectiveness of 'western' teaching methodologies in English as a Foreign Language settings, and the place of local contexts and culture in teacher training programmes (2010: 89). Several of these themes relating to ELT teacher education form the basis for the concluding discussion of the present study, in Chapter 6.

3.5 Summary and rationale for research focus

This chapter has summarised some of the issues regarding identity, language and ELT, building on the discussion of relevant contemporary questions for the field in Chapter 2. If languages always change, if language is a social practice, and if English occupies a unique (and contested) position as a means of human communication and subject of educational study, researchers and practitioners need to make sense of these realities and investigate their meaning. Norton and Toohey (2011) review poststructuralist theories and future research directions into language, learning, social change and identity. Reiterating the point that constructs and contexts are complex and dynamic, they highlight perspectives on language and society which I believe form an apt basis for the present study:

> No longer are static views of language as system and language learning as internalization of that system seen as adequate in a world in which boundary-crossing, multilingualism, and human agency are recognized. (2011: 436)

Therefore, we should consider the role of language pedagogy in such a world, and the development and attitudes of the practitioners involved. With a globalised language (or languages) and multiple local contexts of use, we have considered the range of identity options from 'non-native' teacher to SOLTE, and the issues of confidence and competence associated with the performance of the professional role. Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (1999) refer to "disempowering discourses" in ELT teacher education, setting up 'non-native' teachers as inferior, which need countering if we are to construct "a unifying identity for all English teachers and professionals" (1999: 418). How a small group of such teachers respond to these issues, and the questions of social and professional identity implied by this perspective on language and pedagogy, is the central focus of the study. The research questions attempt to articulate this focus, and the research methodology and design presented in the following chapter aim to explain the process by which the "stories we tell ourselves" (Riley, 2007: 244) can be told to others, and then interpreted for credible and interesting conclusions to be drawn.

4: Methodology and research design

In the miner metaphor, *knowledge is understood as buried metal and the interviewer is a miner who unearths the valuable metal… The alternative* traveler metaphor *understands the interviewer as a traveler on a journey that leads to a tale to be told upon returning home.*
(Kvale, 1996: 3-4)

4.1 Research questions

As set out in Chapter 1, the research questions for the study are:

1. What does it mean for Speakers of Other Languages Teaching English (SOLTEs) to say: "I am an English teacher"?

2. How do these multilingual, multicultural teachers develop their identities and what influences their professional practice and beliefs?

3. What are the implications of the globalisation of English for the field of English Language Teaching, and the impact on the position of SOLTEs?

The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate how these questions were investigated, and outline the positions taken regarding realities and knowledge which informed the methodological choices made. In focusing on what teachers think and know about the substantive issues, certain principles seem appropriate for the design and conduct of the study. These are reviewed in relation to broader fields of social and educational research (4.2), and then examined through the lens of language and ELT research (4.3). This is followed by a brief discussion of methods, in particular the use of semi-structured interviews and an online forum (4.4), whose purpose is to construct the "tale to be told" about these questions (Kvale, 1996: 4; above). Ethical and researcher position issues are then considered, along with their potential impact and responses (4.5). The research design, process and participants are described in 4.6; the thinking behind the approach to analysing and presenting the findings of the study is explored in 4.7.

4.2 Methodological influences and positions

This study is informed by characteristics of Lincoln and Guba's (1985) naturalistic inquiry paradigm, which incorporates use of human research instruments, tacit knowledge, purposive sampling, inductive data analysis and emergent design. This approach includes specific criteria for "trustworthiness", replacing positivist notions of validity and objectivity with those addressing credibility, transferability, and dependability (1985: 39-44). Therefore, the guiding methodological beliefs for the project reflect the naturalistic axioms summarised by Lincoln and Guba (1985: 37):

1. realities are multiple, constructed and holistic.
2. knower and known are interactive, inseparable.
3. only time and context-bound working hypotheses are possible.
4. all entities are in a state of mutual simultaneous shaping, so that it is impossible to distinguish causes from effects.
5. inquiry is value-bound.

In adopting this framework, the aim is to avoid the positivist outcome of producing "research with human respondents that ignores their humanness" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985: 27), but rather to highlight their individual responses to the issues within the picture presented. The approach also complements, rather than conflicts with, the post-structuralist conception of identity (discussed in Chapter 3), and my own beliefs concerning what constitutes the researchable and knowable in this subject area. The following extract is from a methodological essay submitted as part of the Doctorate:

> I am beginning to see myself as a critical realist, with constructivist and pragmatic leanings (Robson, 2002), yet with scepticism as regards such labelling (perhaps through relative inexperience in formal research practice). This could be seen as taking an inductive stance, too, in that any theoretical claims are likely to be the outcome of the research, rather than its starting point (Bryman, 2004: 9).
> (Blair, 2007: 2)

Much of this sense of uncertainty concerning my own methodological position remains. All this constitutes part of a process of "finding a place to stand" (Dunne et al, 2005: 11), and the sense of learning a new language myself, that of critical social research. In addition to

the research literature, some of which is discussed in this chapter, there is the influence of supervisors and tutors (past and present), peers and colleagues, to be acknowledged here. From the closer field of language teacher identity, Clarke (2008: 61) offers some reassurance on epistemological doubts, citing Phillips and Jorgensen (2002: 203-210), who view the process of writing research as a "positioned opening for discussion". It is indeed a process, and a beginning in a sense; a continual revision of positions held (methodologically and on the substantive issues), which is both unsettling and liberating. To return to Kvale's (1996) metaphor of researcher as traveller, we may be similarly unsure of the maps and compass in our hands as we attempt to navigate our way. I believe that knowledge and understanding of the complex issues central to this study can be developed by talking to the relevant teachers. I also believe that any strong claims resulting from this effort will be open to challenge and in need of interpretation (see also 4.4.). That is what an interpretavist, qualitative approach to small-scale research means to me, and what seems most appropriate for the purpose of this project.

The study is thus framed on naturalistic principles, which position "people, and their interpretations, perceptions, meanings and understandings, as the primary data sources" (Mason 2002: 56). Likewise, Mason (2002) suggests that texts and other sources of data are usable in this approach, but with an emphasis on what they *mean* to participants; there is an "intellectual puzzle" the researcher seeks to explain (2002: 124). Selecting a "relevant range" of a population is appropriate, rather than aiming for a representative sample; using "purposive sampling" ensures a connection between research questions and suitable participants (Bryman, 2004: 333-334).

Rubin and Rubin (2005) also take an interpretative, constructionist approach, and define the essence of qualitative interviewing, as a key instrument (and the one adopted here), as "the art of hearing data". Their model works within the naturalistic philosophy outlined by Lincoln and Guba (1985) cited above, and focuses on in-depth, "responsive interviewing", studying problems in their "natural settings", allowing for complexity and contradiction (Rubin & Rubin, 2005: viii). Interviewees are seen as conversational partners, whose active role helps shape the direction and focus of the research. Issues of researcher/partner

relationships, relative status and perceived power differentials are not discussed in detail by Rubin and Rubin (2005), but remain pertinent to the present and similar projects (see 4.5). Their responsive interviewing model emphasises interaction and "not simply learning about a topic, but also learning what is important to those being studied" (2005: 15). This aims to minimise any problematic impact of relationships and roles, in addition to enhancing the relevance of the research to the researched. Rubin and Rubin acknowledge that in naturalistic investigation the researcher "inevitably affects what is learned" (2005: 21), and awareness of this is a characteristic of successful implementation of the model. Here, this interpretavist approach guides the design and performance of the interviews, recognising the value and limitations of each perspective revealed (and my own), as part of a fuller picture. In doing this, I am telling my version of the teachers' understandings, following Geertz (2001; in Rubin & Rubin, 2005: 37).

Holliday and Aboshiha (2009) argue for a postmodern viewpoint on research methodology, rejecting modernist notions of efficiency and freedom from ideology. Instead they embrace ideology in order to "engage with the persuasive subjectivity which this implies" (2009: 671). From this perspective, sound research and methodological rigour are not based in methods, such as interviews, but rather "in the manner in which researchers manage their subjective engagement with the world around them" (2009: 673). An essential part of this approach is "researchers using their own professional experience as a basis for dialogue with the data" (2009: 677). This is a relevant factor during the development of the present study: the source of some of its potential strength, and perhaps of some of its limitations. Developing this theme, Holliday (2010: 166) talks of "the struggle to balance my own agendas with submitting to emerging meaning", taking specific steps to achieve this:

1. Asking exploratory questions
2. Submitting to the data, allowing themes to emerge
3. Selecting extracts in support of each theme
4. Engaging with each extract in discussing the theme
5. Reassessing themes and extracts as discussion develops
6. Inviting respondents to comment on the whole discussion of which their response is a part
7. Developing the discussion accordingly (2010: 166-7)

He describes the process as one of shedding researcher ideology and rethinking his own position and voice in relation to the data; at a practical level this includes presenting longer strings of data alongside his own interpretation. This approach influenced the decisions made here regarding the use of data extracts from interviews and online contributions from participants. It is an attempt to allow their voices to appear in the narrative, however flawed and mediated the end product might appear. The notion of "submitting" to the data is perhaps problematic, or is at least not an act that comes naturally to the practitioner-researcher seeking firmer methodological ground. The thorny issue of attempting to allow others' voices to be heard through presentation and interpretation, through the mouthpiece of a researcher, was the subject of discussion at the 'Crossing Borders' conference talk referred to in Chapter 1. There, the representation of teachers' voices, especially those presumed to be otherwise unheard, was a key theme, and one that raises questions concerning whose rights and responsibilities are at stake.

This small-scale study also takes elements from the narrative approach, in using semi-structured qualitative interviews, spoken and written interaction with participants as a means of creating data. There has been a growth in such narratives across the social sciences, notably in education since the 1990s (Nelson, 1993). The study of such data shows people as "natural storytellers" and "reveals how humans experience and create their lives" (1993: 151). The central plank of this approach is to focus on what is important to participants, the factors with personal significance to them as individuals. Within ELT, narrative research has gained prominence over recent years, to explore both the processes of language learning and issues of identity. Ricento (2005: 904) claims that personal narratives and life stories are well-suited to investigating language learner identity questions, and the "introspective accounts of their experiences 'crossing' into other cultures and languages". In a similar vein, Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000: 174) suggest that "crossing a border is about 'renarratizing' a life." This thought bears further examination with regard to the SOLTEs under consideration here, and the themes introduced in previous chapters.

A recent volume of *TESOL Quarterly* focused on narrative research, including contributions by Johnson and Golombek (2011) on teacher education and development

aspects, Norton and Early (2011) and Vasquez (2011) on "small stories" as material for investigation. Vasquez (2011: 536) argues that if researchers wish to investigate the "situated social identities of language teachers and learners" we need to exploit the potential of "sociolinguistic small story analysis" for ELT. There is a link between narratives and identity construction, in the ways we represent and claim our identities through the telling of such stories, to a researcher, for instance (Menard-Warwick, 2011: 565). The present study makes use of narratives that are 'partial' (in both senses of the word), elicited through the interviews and online discussion. These are indeed "small stories", holding significance for both the tellers and the substantive issues of language teacher identity, confidence and competence.

4.3 Research approaches in English Language Teaching

Borg (2009) reports on an online survey of English Language teachers' conceptions of research, from which the following themes emerged:

1. The researcher is objective
2. Hypotheses are tested
3. Results give teachers ideas they can use
4. Variables are controlled
5. Information is analysed statistically
6. A large number of people are studied (2009: 368)

These views suggest that teachers generally favour a rather conventional, positivist, natural science model of research, something essentially removed from their practitioner experience. The prevalence of this kind of attitude is apparent in my own role, supervising small-scale dissertation research projects conducted by postgraduate students. Many, including those with substantial teaching experience themselves, initially tend to regard research as something abstract and disconnected from their practical, professional concerns. Where it does have relevance (e.g. focused on Second Language Acquisition or specific action research issues), questions of reliability, validity and application to their own context seem to dominate discussion on research methods courses. Widely-used texts, such as

Nunan (1992) and Brown and Rogers (2002), cover a broad range of methodological positions and instruments appropriate for pedagogic and linguistic research, but the overall impression is still arguably one that reinforces the traditional theory/practice, researcher/practitioner divides.

Recent research methods books in ELT (e.g. McKay, 2006; Richards, 2003) take a more qualitative approach, favouring the type of naturalistic, interpretative study used here, as appropriate to many of the topics being investigated. Dornyei (2007) takes a pragmatic line, for instance playing down ideological aspects to the quantitative-qualitative dichotomy, and encouraging language professionals to believe in their own ability to be "good researchers". He stresses the need for a practical, "to-the-point" research methodology, perhaps involving a mixed methods approach. On the question of reporting research, while quantitative studies may contain their own internal coherence and structure, leading to a relatively clear-cut template for the writing, Dornyei argues:

> … (Q)ualitative accounts are longer and contain far richer details, are based on an iterative and recursive data collection/analysis process, and often describe multiple meanings. The only way to present this well is by becoming *good storytellers*. (2007: 293)

This echoes Kvale's "tale to be told upon returning home" (1996: 3-4), and the "small stories" mentioned in 4.2, though caution must be exercised, as travellers' tales can be prone to exaggeration. Dornyei (2007: 293) reminds us of the strengths of qualitative studies that make effective use of reflexivity and researcher involvement. The result can and should be readable and vivid, where both participants' and the researcher's voices are audible above the data and theorising. Effective use of this approach can achieve impact and accessibility, and offers situated examples which help interpret and express complex phenomena (Dornyei, 2007: 299). The language teachers at the centre of this project are certainly situated examples of the potentially rather abstract notions of 'non-natives', 'multiple identities' and 'bicultural' educators. The question of researcher position is returned to below (in 4.5), and issues relating to the writing and reporting of the study in Chapter 6.

Pertinent to the substantive issues here, Moussu and Llurda (2008) make some interesting comments on the task of researching teachers and their beliefs. They distinguish this focus from studies investigating language phenomena or pedagogical practices, stressing the complexity (and fascination) inherent in "describing and interpreting the characteristics of a group of professionals" (2008: 332). Beliefs may be socially-constructed and part of our identities, but Pajares (1992: 314) notes that they "cannot be observed or measured, but must be inferred from what people say, intend and do". Despite this difficulty, beliefs can be viewed as "knowledge of a sort" (1992: 310), and are thus worth the investigative effort. Richards (1998: 51-52) defines teachers' belief systems as "sources of reference", built up gradually and relating to the various dimensions of teaching, including a theory of language, teacher roles, and effective teaching practices. Part of the rationale for the approach taken in the present study is the presumption that the selected participants have something to say on the issues, and have the (L2 English) linguistic and personal resources available to do so, in an interesting and illuminating fashion. It also relies on a degree of access to some aspect of their identities and beliefs, as expressed in the narratives they present to the researcher; the "stories we tell ourselves", and others (Riley, 2007).

4.4 Interviews and online forum posts as data

In the key ideas and questions outlined in Chapter 2 it was argued that a research process involving talking to the right people might enhance our understanding of SOLTEs, their beliefs and the influences on their practice. The resulting knowledge gained through the stages of qualitative interviewing, analysis and follow-up discussion will inevitably be open to charges of subjectivity and irrelevance to the wider world. These charges have to be responded to in order to establish the overall credibility of the study, its implications and claims made. Adopting a naturalistic, interpretavist approach led to the selection of such interviews as the most suitable instrument for obtaining relevant and interesting data. Kvale (1996: 2) makes a strong case for their use as essential to a "construction site of knowledge" – an "inter view" or exchange between people sharing a mutual interest in a particular theme.

> If you want to know how people understand their world and their life, why not talk with them? [...] The qualitative research interview attempts to understand the world from the subjects' points of view, to unfold the meaning of people's experiences, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanation. (1996: 1)

The implication here is that this process of "unfolding" and "uncovering" is a joint endeavour between the participants, working as fellow "travellers", to employ Kvale's (1996) metaphor. The interview is thus a conversation with structure and purpose which, despite being shared between unequal partners (with the researcher generally retaining control and definition of the scope), can result in the acquisition of "thoroughly tested knowledge" (Kvale, 1996: 6). Human interaction through spoken language is therefore a key component of knowledge production, and can be argued to be especially appropriate for a study of language teachers and their identities. In this case, it seems natural to tackle research questions focused around identity, professional competence and personal confidence with language educators in a manner designed to open up discussion and support participants in expressing their views. Nunan (1992: 150) describes interviews as offering "privileged access to other people's lives". Robson (2002) stresses the flexibility and depth that can be achieved:

> …face-to-face interviews offer the possibility of modifying one's line of enquiry, following up interesting responses and investigating underlying motives.
> (2002: 272)

Echoing Lincoln and Guba (1985), Silverman (2001) examines the "truth" of interview data through a constructionist lens, regarding responses less as "reports" on reality, and more as "displays" of perspectives; thus interviews provide access to a "repertoire of narratives" we can use to produce accounts of the subject (2001: 112). There is also a caution against naivety in accepting participants' viewpoints as explanations in themselves. Only by moving "beyond the gaze of the tourist" can we discover where "the interesting analytic questions begin" (2001: 289). Certainly, in this study the intention has been to get beyond the tourist traps. Within ELT identity research, Moussu and Llurda (2008: 335) also make the case for interviews and email interactions, enabling researchers to construct narratives based on participants, who "lend their own words" to a shared construction of teacher identity. Clarke (2008: 60), also looking at teacher identities, evaluates the merits of online

discussions and focus groups, in particular drawing attention to the crucial (and relevant) issue of language: "a key assumption of this study is that language – and conversation – is of prime significance in generating meaning". Clarke is echoing Kvale (1996), in addition to bringing sociocultural theory and notions of learning communities based on the negotiation of identity into the online era (Clarke, 2008: 63-64).

In another ELT study, Hirano (2009) used semi-structured interviews with an individual language learner, using the first to discuss past experiences and events seen as formative in terms of identity. At the second interview, preliminary data analysis was presented to the participant for corroboration and interpretative adjustment, as part of a collaborative approach (2009: 36). This approach is followed in the present study by the use of the online forum and final interview with two of the teachers (see 4.6). A further example is Kiernan (2010), who uses narrative interviews with teachers in Japan to investigate their professional lives, noting that practitioners are "intrinsically involved with linguistic identity" (2010: 5), and this applies equally to their own identities as teachers. As Kiernan notes, "whether evaluating applicants for a job or doctoral candidates for their degree, interviews are treated as the ultimate test of authenticity" (2010: 175).

Bryman (2004) mentions the desirability of ongoing analysis, where themes that emerge during the process can be explored more directly in later interviews, for example. This leads to the possibility of a two (or more) stage process in order to allow research participants the genuine space to co-construct the data that will lead to some form of new knowledge. It would seem reasonably likely, therefore, that the overall focus of the study may evolve towards specific teachers, and that this selection will help provide greater definition and coherence. The choice of semi-structured, face-to-face interviews for the first stage of the study (as opposed to more structured versions of the instrument) is aimed at allowing participants to use their own words, relatively unconstrained by predetermined categories of question or topic. The risks of inconsistency, context- and time-dependent responses, labour-intensiveness and other doubts have been judged to be outweighed by the potential for motivated participation, leading to credible and interesting data. Further

description and discussion of design and methods issues in practice are in 4.6; see Appendix B for interview schedule.

The use of email, discussion groups and other online forms of data gathering is becoming more prevalent, for reasons of practicality, access and convenience. Denscombe (2007: 186-188) outlines some of the factors involved, including potential gains in terms of cost, time and contactability (e.g. between people in different time zones); disadvantages could be the loss of personal interaction or visual clues (e.g. compared to face-to-face interviews), or technical problems. In terms of the kind of qualitative responses sought here, the benefit of time for reflection with asynchronous communication, through a web-based discussion group, was considered useful in following up themes which had emerged in interviews. Denscombe (2007: 187) also notes possible benefits of this medium in reducing culture and gender effects, or personal discomfort in discussing certain topics, summarised as the "interviewer effect". Conversely, participants may prefer spoken contributions instead of committing their views to print or electronic form. The effectiveness of the online forum in this case is discussed in 4.6 and Chapter 6.

Language, and its role in conditioning research interviews and responses, is another important factor to acknowledge here. It is perhaps surprising to note that published studies in the Applied Linguistics/ELT field involving data collection through interviews often do not specifically mention the language used to conduct them. One would have thought that such a consideration might be deemed crucial, bearing in mind the nature of the topics and typical participants, often second language learners or, as here, teachers. The same may be said of, for example, questionnaire-based studies, but in particular with qualitative approaches utilising an interview-based method, the question of which language participants have access to is surely critical to the outcome. The advantages of using their first language (L1) may be seen in terms of freedom of expression and clarity, full understanding of questions and perhaps affective factors influencing responses. This presumes a researcher competent in that language, both at the point of contact in interviews, and subsequently if data are then analysed and translated for communication to a different audience, through presentation or written research report. Where, as here, the participants

have several different L1s, the researcher is unlikely to have this competence. The decision to conduct all interviews, correspondence and online forum discussion in English (my L1; their L2), convenient for the researcher, was less problematic in light of participants' high linguistic proficiency and apparent confidence (and expectation) regarding this aspect of the project. However, the potential ironies of this approach should not be lost, in a study based on investigating multiple identities of multilingual educators, and some reference to language use and the researcher/participant relationships emerged in the interviews.

The methodological implications of language use in research are discussed in, for example, Winchester (2009), where interviews were conducted in English with Japanese participants and identity questions were central to the study. From a personal perspective, the potential and actual impact of these factors is familiar from previous work (including the Critical Analytic Study pilot), and the subject of discussion with my own postgraduate students during dissertation projects. The final judgement must be made by the researcher, in evaluating any impact that may be seen as detrimental to the credibility of the work. Furthermore, as the study progressed, a sense of shared ownership of the project developed, or at least that is my perception, particularly with the two participants followed up in its final stage. This topic is returned to in the *Discussion and analysis of findings* (Chapter 5) and *Conclusions* (Chapter 6).

4.5 Ethical issues, researcher position and impact

Many of the issues regarding participant consent, roles, insider/outsider questions and their potential impact on research were discussed at some length in previous Doctoral assignments, particularly the methodological essay (Blair, 2007). General principles of good social research, including the avoidance of harm to participants and researcher, were followed in this case, and there were no significant health and safety factors to consider regarding specific physical settings for the interviews. Guidance was taken from the University of Sussex *Application Form for Projects which Require Ethical Review* (September 2010) and the evaluation criteria for 'low-risk' projects. This aims to check that

certain basic conditions are met, including: not involving vulnerable participants who are unable to give informed consent; no deception or covert observation; participation not causing stress or undue harm; no hazardous activities involved, and no financial incentives for participation. These factors have all been considered to be either complied with or not applicable in this project. Bryman (2004: 325) adds an ethical dimension to Kvale's (1996) criteria for the successful interviewer, a sensitivity that includes ensuring research participants understand the purpose and focus of the study, and that their responses will be used confidentially. Denscombe (2007) emphasises the importance of establishing trust between researcher and interview participants, allowing for freer expression of opinions, based on understandings of confidentiality and mutual respect.

Further *Ethical Review* conditions relate to data, participants and institutions remaining anonymous, and that findings will not be used for any other purpose than the stated research. There should be adequate information provided prior to recruitment of participants, allowing for proper informed consent to be granted (or refused); people involved should also be clearly told that they can withdraw at any time and data relating to them will be destroyed. In this study, initial contact was made by individual emails, outlining the subject area of the project, seeking provisional agreement to take part. An introductory letter was provided, either emailed or given in person, explaining more about the project and requesting their help (see Appendix A). This letter included a brief context for the substantive issues in the proposed study and draft research questions. It also explicitly mentioned face-to-face interviews, permission for audio recording, guarantees of anonymity and confidentiality, and potential email/online follow-up, to clarify what kind of involvement was sought. Recipients were asked to reply by email to indicate their willingness to participate under these conditions. The six teachers who eventually became the subjects of the study all responded positively, and following further email exchanges interviews were arranged. Two participants requested an interview schedule in advance of our meeting, to be able to think about the topics beforehand, while one agreed to be interviewed on condition that it was not audio-recorded; these requests were agreed to immediately.

With regard to confidentiality, in particular concerning online security, all emails relating to the project have been kept in a separate folder in a password-protected University email account. The online discussion forum was created as a closed Google group, also password-protected, restricted to the six participants plus the researcher, using that company's standard procedures for invitations to join the group, terms and conditions. No member of the group was forced or cajoled into contributing to the forum, and the approach and researcher postings were kept informal, to encourage participation. Results of this process and possible impact on data obtained through this method are discussed in more detail in the chapters that follow.

On the matter of researcher position and impact, research and identity are discussed critically in terms of the "selfish text" – the end product of the process and effort – by Dunne et al (2005). They argue for a broader conception of identity within research, and that "while the researcher as an individual is central to this, researching the social means we must consider both its nature and our own as a part of it" (2005: 147). For the practitioner-researcher, this may suggest both complexity and freedom, and as the social researcher crucially needs to engage with others, "how we construct otherness and relatedness are fundamentals of the research process" (Dunne et al, 2005: 161). In creating new knowledge, usually as insiders, we need to engage with aspects of our own and wider professional practice and our "individual reflexive project" (Drake, 2011: 2). This may be challenging and the source of tensions, but if successful can produce a "transformative effect on both the practitioner researcher and their approach to their work" (2011: 3). These are significant considerations, both for the approach taken in this study, and in reflecting on the issues of identity for professionals such as language teachers (discussed in Chapter 3). The design aims to accommodate a grounded methodology and flexibility, suggested by Drake for practitioner researchers intending to create new knowledge or understanding (2011: 5), with the caveat that we never arrive at a project completely open-minded about the outcome.

Clarke (2008: 61), promotes reflexivity in the research process, whereby a line of argument is sustained with both substance and coherence, and any claims made remain tentative, "in

light of the recognition that we cannot know everything about the complex individuals who are our research subjects". On the specifics of research interviews, Denscombe (2007: 184-6) discusses the relative merits of the researcher adopting a degree of passivity and neutrality, both towards the participants and the subject matter. This is set against the (inevitable) degree of personal involvement that much practitioner-led social research entails, which may in turn engender a better sense of engagement and dialogue, resulting in richer data. Denscombe (2007: 186) warns that this more involved approach needs to be consistent with participants' expectations of the interview, and that all concerned are comfortable with this. On reflection, and on balance, I feel the ethical and researcher impact questions have been addressed satisfactorily in the design and implementation of the study, through continued attention to their impact and ongoing overt discussion with the main participants, following Rubin and Rubin (2005) and Holliday (2010), discussed in 4.2.

4.6 Research design and rationale

Overview

In pursuing the research questions through the methodological approach described above, two distinct phases of data were originally planned. The first comprised the face-to-face interviews with teachers, using a semi-structured, responsive format (Rubin & Rubin, 2005) with the prime aim of eliciting and exploring their views in terms of their own lived experience. The second phase involved the follow-up and development of specific themes through an online discussion forum for the same group. Following initial analysis of both phases, an additional stage was added, targeting two particular teachers currently working and studying in the UK, through a joint interview.

The intention was to undertake interviews with a sample drawn from various available and appropriate SOLTE groups and individuals. These potentially included current Masters Degree students or temporary colleagues, and groups of English Language teachers attending in-service short training courses in the UK. In some cases, the possibility was

considered of extending the participation by focusing on specific participants in their home contexts, particularly those involved with teacher education and training. This proved rather too ambitious and impractical, in terms of time and availability, other than through the electronic communication by email and on the discussion forum. Stake (1995) refers to a process of "progressive illumination" achieved through what might otherwise be viewed as the opportunistic sampling of research participants. My aim was to select teachers likely to have something to say on the research themes, and this led to a blend of those relatively settled in their professional context in the UK and others here temporarily, on postgraduate or teacher training courses. Therefore, a purposeful, self-selecting group of six individuals emerged, having responded positively to the invitation, mostly unknown to one another, but with the potential to tell a relevant and 'illuminating' story.

Project timeline:

- June-July 2009: preparation of interview schedule; contact with potential participants and arranging interviews.
- August 2009-May 2010: Stage 1 – six individual teacher interviews
- January-February 2010 and May-June 2010: initial analysis of interview data.
- June-October 2010: Stage 2 - SOLTE group online discussion forum and email contact.
- July-September 2010: further analysis of data and thesis drafting.
- December 2010-January 2011: analysis of forum data and thesis drafting.
- April 2011: Stage 3 - follow-up interview with two participants.
- May-July 2011: data analysis and thesis drafting.
- September 2011-January 2012: thesis revision.

Data collection stages

Stage 1 – Interviews:

The six initial interviews were (with one exception) audio recorded and transcribed, then analysed to identify central themes in relation to not only the stated research questions, but also to any additional issues raised by participants themselves. [See Appendix B for interview schedule.] Teachers are referred to as T1, T2 etc. for reasons of confidentiality and anonymity. Previous experience in the role of interviewer, both for research and

professional purposes, was drawn on with the aim of establishing a reasonably relaxed yet productive atmosphere, where participants were able to express their views freely. The semi-structured nature of the interviews, as discussed above, allows both parties to stray from a predictable path through the subject area as appropriate, though keeping the main focus of the discussion in mind. This approach appeared to work effectively, with participants offered the chance to ask questions, add comments or refer back to earlier exchanges.

Stage 2 - Online discussion forum and follow up:

> Now it's my turn to write something about me. To be honest, I'm not really sure what to include and where to start, so I'll just type away and see what appears on the screen... (T2 forum post, July 2010)

The online discussion group was set up for a limited period, aimed at developing some of the themes that emerged from interviews. A few selected articles on 'native' and 'non-native' teachers (e.g. Moussu & Llurda, 2008) and Bernat's "impostor syndrome" paper (2008) were added to the forum site, for reference and as stimulation to discussion. This phase included some private email correspondence, when participants either wanted clarification or assistance, or occasionally because they felt unsure about the forum itself. In this regard, the online medium as a research instrument had its limitations, with perhaps a lack of shared purpose or motivation, compounded by the inevitably busy lives of those involved. This stands in contrast to my experience using discussion forums as part of a Masters programme, where students tend to engage with the approach more productively. The apparent reluctance of some teachers to post comments might be seen as a sign of a lack of self-confidence, technical expertise or familiarity with web-based discussion. This in turn raises questions regarding researcher input and role, for instance evaluating how active to be in trying to lead the discussions and encourage contributions. The decision was made over the months the forum was active to maintain a light-touch policy, with the result that contributions were patchy, though interesting, despite some evident enthusiasm for the project:

I've recently become a Director of Studies of the school, and I'm still finding my new position challenging and slightly scary. At the moment I'm not teaching as much as I would like to, but I'm hoping that will change soon and I'll be able to pursue my career as a Teacher Trainer… I'm really glad this group has been created as I'd love us to share our experiences and thoughts on what it's like to be a 'SOLTE'. I'm the only non - native speaker in my school and I find the whole experience truly fascinating. (T6 forum post, August 2010)

I have just read your message about setting up a group of discussion and I think it is a brilliant idea. I would be delighted to participate as often as I can, and, if possible, to interchange ideas or experiences with the other teachers. It is indeed a challenging project for all of us. I am looking forward to hearing from you.
(T3 email; 11 June 2010)

[See Appendix C for discussion forum introductory email.]

Stage 3 - final interview with T2 & T6:

This final stage was organised partially as a consequence of the rather limited success of the online forum, and the growing sense that two specific teachers had both the most to contribute and represented something especially resonant about the SOLTE concept. These two participants are both currently based in the UK, and have interesting backgrounds and professional experience – indeed, they are the embodiment of the ideal Multilingual English Teachers envisaged by Kirkpatrick (2007). They were contacted by email to request their further involvement in a joint face to face interview, and once arranged, a summary of the main research themes and discussion topics was sent to them in advance [See Appendix D].

The teachers

The following 'pen-portraits' of the six interview participants include some basic personal data, using interview information plus introductory comments on the online forum. Approximate ages and teaching experience are stated as at time of initial interviews.

T1: Polish; age 30; with around 8 years' experience as a teacher and more recently teacher trainer; after qualifying she taught in private language school in Poland before becoming involved in training; past 3 years in UK, teaching in both university setting and language school; plans to return to Poland at some point.

T2: German; age 31; she has lived in Spain (teaching German and Spanish), Thailand and UK (teaching English); around 8 years' experience in total; BA in ELT and MA in Media-assisted language teaching (current) both in UK; now teaching more English for Academic Purposes and study skills.

T3: Spanish; age 45; with a total of 22 years' teaching experience; in UK on short teachers' refresher course on ELT methodology; she works in a state secondary school English language teaching in a town near Madrid; generally quite low level learners; some teaching over the past 8 years with adults.

T4: Swedish; age 48; she has 12 years' teaching experience, including English language, maths and science in state schools with 12-15 age range; also speaks French; in UK for three-month refresher teacher training and methodology course, sponsored by her employer.

T5: Greek; age 23; she qualified as a teacher in Greece with Cambridge Proficiency and degree in English language and literature; 3 years' ELT experience in Greece, mostly young learners and young adults, low levels and Cambridge exam classes; speaks Arabic and French (in addition to English) as result of Lebanese father; currently in UK studying MA in TESOL, then returning to Greece.

T6: Polish; age 28; BA English Studies and MA in British Literature in Poland; she did some ELT in a small private language school in UK prior to taking Cert TESOL; around 4 years' teaching experience in total; also speaks Spanish; currently on MA ELT in UK, and now Director of Studies at the same school (and the only 'non-native' teacher); hopes to become a teacher trainer.

4.7 Approach to analysis and presentation of findings

Robson (2002) presents some basic rules for dealing with qualitative data, including the process of analysis beginning alongside collection, with themes or categories being generated throughout the project, rather than as a later, separate phase. The aim is to "take apart your data in various ways", and then put them back together again "to form some consolidated picture" (1993: 377). Stake (1995: 71) argues that for qualitative research "there is no particular moment when the data analysis begins". Rubin and Rubin (1995: 226-229) propose four iterative steps in the analytical process: code, categorise, examine, contextualise. In line with these approaches, a thematic, interpretative examination of interview texts in relation to the research questions was adopted. The methodology is also influenced to an extent by the use of life history and personal narratives in social and educational research, examples of which have recently appeared in the ELT field (e.g. Menard-Warwick, 2008), as noted above. In attempting to address the research questions posited at the centre of this thesis, four themes emerged from the data, used to present and discuss the findings in Chapter 5:

1. The 'hairdresser question'.
2. Becoming a teacher: reasons and influences.
3. Defining the subject of ELT.
4. 'Impostor syndrome': confidence, competence and identity.

These themes do not form a direct relationship with the research questions; rather they create a matrix of corresponding ideas and lines of thought, which combine to make the fuller picture, the 'story to be told'. This reflects the approach to qualitative data analysis promoted by Hayes (2008):

> A process of "meaning categorization" (Kvale, 1996) occurred as stretches of talk were attributed to thematic categories and sub-categories. The main dimensions of categories arose partly from relevant literature, partly from the interview topic areas and partly from the process of analysis itself, the latter being akin to that of induction in grounded theory… I saw my task as analyst as uncovering the meaning of the human experience contained within the narratives of the informants. (2008: 4)

Thus some thematic structure is created through an understanding of the literature and substantive issues; much is developed through the processes of the research project itself, as a clearer overall picture emerges.

Following Rubin and Rubin (2005) and Holliday (2010), the level of detail retained in direct quotations taken from interviews or online forum posts reflects the aim of presenting the teachers' voices unmediated, as clearly as possible, cognisant of the potential paradoxes and complexity behind this kind of claim. In this approach, the intention is to allow the participants to "argue for them selves" (MacLure, 1993), as a way to investigate the central factor of identity in teachers' professional and personal lives. In practice, this means extended segments of interview transcription, for example, with minimal editing to aid clarity or concision where appropriate. Paraphrases of this kind in Chapter 5 are contained within square brackets; comments or questions from the interviewer are also marked in italics. Holliday (2010) emphasises the need for engagement with the data, in terms of thematic analysis and selection, and inviting participants to comment on the discussion as it progresses. This was taken into account in integrating the means for follow-up comment via the online forum and email correspondence, as discussed in 4.6.

On the same point, Denscombe (2007: 199-200) reiterates the value of aiming to present interview extracts with a reasonable amount of context, allowing the reader to 'hear' both the points made and the participants' voices. He also acknowledges the difficulty in succeeding in this aim, and the dependence upon the judgement and selectivity of the researcher to ensure fairness, accuracy and illustrative support for arguments made. Again, the key is the eventual credibility of the data and the analytic themes that are developed. Through a process of explicit follow-up of ideas expressed by participants, during the interviews or in subsequent email/forum contact, they could be corroborated to improve the likelihood of the final picture representing a plausible account. This type of post-hoc triangulation is an iterative process, most clearly seen in this study with the use of the final interview with T2 and T6, where extracts from earlier interviews and online contributions were presented back to them for discussion. Overall, a kind of respondent validation was sought as the study progressed, with the data gathering, analysis and writing activities all

affecting each other in what was intended as a responsive and flexible manner. This essentially grounded, inductive approach to developing the study from its initial objectives enabled a degree of refocusing and a clearer direction to crystallise over the period of time involved.

In summary, the methodological stance is one of naturalistic interpretavism, and the implementation of a qualitative research approach involving the methods of semi-structured interviews and online interaction. These have combined to produce a study containing rich (and messy) data, which it is hoped present interesting and credible responses to the stated research questions. The approach has led to the creation of what are effectively six miniature case studies of SOLTEs, based on their 'small stories', as told to me and each other. Although the interpretation and analysis of these stories is, as argued above, relatively grounded, in that few preconceptions and theories influenced the initial process, it is also true to say that, as practitioner research with personal and professional resonance, it cannot claim to be entirely 'innocent' in this regard. The findings are presented in the following chapter under the four themes noted above, with discussion alongside contributions from the participants; fuller conclusions and implications are offered in Chapter 6.

5: Discussion and analysis of findings

Global teachers, we could say we are. (T3)

5.1 Key research themes

Through the stages of initial analysis, further interpretation and reiteration with participants in stages 2 and 3 of the project, four main themes were developed in relation to the research questions:

1. The 'hairdresser question'.
2. Becoming a teacher: reasons and influences.
3. Defining the subject of ELT.
4. 'Impostor syndrome': confidence, competence and identity.

Themes 1 and 4 are strongly connected, and this reflects the overall shape of the interviews: professional self-labelling linked to issues of confidence, competence and identity, combining to form the cumulative end point of the data presented here, and the study as a whole. The process of interpreting and presenting the findings was driven by use of my own experience and understanding for a "dialogue with the data" (Holliday & Aboshiha, 2009: 677). Thus, comments made and opinions expressed by the teachers do not simply stand alone, unmediated: they are analysed within a critical framework based on naturalistic interpretavism (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and what they seem to mean to participants themselves (Mason, 2002). This process is inevitably flawed, lacking perfect insight into people's thoughts, but the iterative reassessment and engagement with the emerging data (Holliday, 2010) is sensitive to its own limitations, methodological and linguistic (Pavlenko, 2007). The end product is a credible set of "small stories" (Norton & Early, 2011) that aims to create a slightly bigger, clearer picture to help us understand the issues involved.

As a prelude to the main findings, below is a detailed discussion of a forum posting by T6, who had plenty to say on all the substantive questions, which helps frame the presentation and analysis of the data to follow. Apart from the addition of line numbers for ease of reference, the text is presented as posted; the acronyms 'NNST' and 'NST' denote 'non-native speaker teacher' and 'native speaker teacher', respectively.

SOLTE Discussion Group forum post – 12 November 2010

1. I'd like to touch on the subject of the 'impostor syndrome' and the lower self-esteem
2. of NNSTs 'in a world that still values native speakers as the norm providers and the
3. natural choice in language teacher selection'. I'm just wondering who does the word
4. 'world' actually refer to? Is it the general perception of other native speakers,
5. students, potential employers or the NNSTs themselves?

6. I've recently reached a conclusion that many employers assume, with their feeling
7. of business professionalism in mind, that advertising schools as 'native speakers
8. only' would attract more students. I don't intend to sound sarcastic or bitter, as I've
9. mostly had positive experiences with language school owners/directors, but I often
10. wonder whether their view is the true reflection of students' perception. Do students
11. actually care, as long as they receive reliable, professional teaching that meets their
12. needs?

13. Perhaps the reason why some NNSTs consider themselves 'less worthy' is the
14. result of a myth? When I started teaching in England, I was asked to spell my name
15. with a […] and try to sound as RP as possible so that students would not recognise
16. my accent. I did it, reluctantly, as I really wanted to keep the job. I felt so privileged
17. that I got to teach English in England as a NNST. After a while I started to wonder
18. whether it really mattered that much, so I kept asking my students how they felt
19. about it (I still do, as I'm really interested in their take on this), and, to my surprise,
20. the majority said that it was the style of teaching that was more important than the
21. nationality. It turns out that many of the learners I teach, often associate a NNST
22. with the 'grammar translation method', still widely used in their countries. Many
23. students assume (and I can confirm it, as a learner myself) that a NST would
24. provide more conversations, functions and vocabulary learning than a NNST, an
25. opinion formed on the basis of their own learning experience.
[…]
26. Another issue that's been bothering me is: have you ever been in a situation when
27. you feel a bit uncomfortable because your students don't realise you're not a NS?
28. Would you tell them straight away and deal with the potential consequences?
29. Would you wait till they ask and then tell the truth? Or would you wait till they ask
30. and lie?

31. I'm looking forward to your replies, have a good weekend,

[T6; Polish, teaching in the UK]

The topic, and perhaps more precisely the term, "impostor syndrome" is clearly what prompted her to contribute to the forum in this way [lines 1-5]. The article by Bernat (2008), discussed in Chapter 3, was linked to the SOLTE group web pages for them to read if they wished, and in this case obviously produced a reaction. The question she raises here about who exactly holds this belief in the inherent and unassailable authority of the 'native speaker' is pertinent: the answer is probably provided in her own response – all of the above: that is, other 'natives', most learners, employers of language teachers and 'non-native' teachers/SOLTEs themselves. As discussed in some detail in this study, it is a "general perception" [line 4] that this is the truth of the matter; the debates reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3 on the definition and relevance of the concepts pass most people by. T6 goes on [lines 6-12] to relate this thinking to her own experience as a SOLTE, in particular that part of her recent career spent in the private language sector in the UK. Questions of competence are foregrounded, with professionalism and appropriately-focused teaching suggested as a higher priority for learners than the origin or first language of the teacher.

T6 then questions the potential causes of 'non-native' teachers' low self-esteem in terms of a "myth" (echoing the arguments proposed by Davies, 2003), before recounting the significant incident, also discussed in her interview, where she was asked to Anglicise the spelling of her name and "try to sound as RP as possible" [lines 13-16]. It is striking that she describes feeling "privileged" to be teaching English in England, but also that the issue did not go away: she brought these questions into her classroom. What emerges clearly, at least in this context, is that what mattered more to learners was teaching style and method. Learners associate 'non-native' teachers with (presumably 'old-fashioned') Grammar-Translation methods from their own school education, and the (more appealing) communicative and conversational approach is linked in their minds with 'native' teachers [lines 21-25]. This matches T6's own learning experience, and reinforces some of the views expressed below by other SOLTEs: generally negative about their own early language learning, and (perhaps uncritically) favourable towards the Inner Circle communicative methods seen in contrast.

The final comments [lines 26-30], on the issue of feeling "uncomfortable" as a 'non-native' teacher if your learners perceive you as a 'native', tap into interview discussions of the 'impostor' and double-identities. The very fact that the option of "lying" to students about this is considered, or a delayed telling of "the truth", underlines the centrality of these identity and labelling issues for such teachers. The request for replies [line 31], directed at the other teachers using the forum, received no response. This may indicate a lack of interest in the topic, although the interviews would seem to contradict that view, or reflects some of the difficulties in using an online discussion forum in a study like this (referred to in 4.6, above). Overall, the forum post above indicates a strong sense of engagement with the critical questions, as clearly relevant to this teacher's career and interests. It also expresses some of the mixed feelings, identity claims and confusions behind the bigger issues, along with perceptiveness and pragmatism: perhaps these are also necessary characteristics of the modern SOLTE?

5.2 The 'hairdresser question'

After brief introductory remarks, interviews began with the 'hairdresser question': "what do you do for a living?" (explained in Chapter 1). This caused some amusement, but no confusion, as it seems we all recognise being put on the spot by someone asking us what we do. T2 (who has taught three different languages including her L1), for example, was very specific, and stated that she thought about it frequently and discussed possible responses with SOLTE colleagues. Her comments reflect the problematic nature of the issue:

> I think my first answer would be I am a teacher, and the second answer would be language teacher, [and then] English teacher - that's what I do at the moment. It depends who I speak to. If I speak to British people, I feel that, you know, sometimes they look at me and go, like but… you're not English, so how can you teach English? … Some people seem to have… like, their own ideas… [*What kind of reaction?*] Yes, well surprise, many people… lots of people, are just surprised, or some of them are maybe impressed, 'oh, really you teach English as a foreign language, and you're not English'; some people are impressed, while other people think well I shouldn't do this… (T2)

This sense of needing to justify herself in the role, in particular during 'hairdresser' conversations here in the UK, becomes stronger as she expands on the point, touching on the issues of competence discussed further in theme 4 below:

> I know some people may feel… like I shouldn't be teaching. I don't want to have to explain all the time, 'well OK I did the degree, I studied English Language Teaching, I've lived here for long enough, and you know, whoever employed me seems to think that my English is good enough to teach it…' But generally, like here, living here if I talk about my job I feel I have to justify and add that I actually did the degree… (T2)

T1 has worked as teacher and trainer in Poland (her home country), as well as a teacher in the UK. Her self-description as "an English teacher" often leads to other people becoming "unwilling to say anything in English" in front of her, being self-conscious about mistakes and pronunciation. "They think I know a lot about it", she adds; "I think my parents see me as an expert". A more detailed response to the question is provided by T3, revealing some of the complexity and nuance in what might otherwise seem to be neutral terminology:

> Well, I used to answer that question saying 'I'm a teacher of English', but then I spent a year in Liverpool, and my pupils used to say to me 'oh, you mean you're an English teacher' … and then on, I used that expression. I feel as if I was cheating someone, when saying 'I'm an English teacher', because I'm not English. So I usually say nowadays 'I teach English' or 'a teacher of English'. But I know what an English teacher would say here, it's 'I'm an English teacher.' (T3)

When asked why this felt like "cheating someone", T3 adds a more specifically linguistic dimension to the possible confusion, as well as a touch of self-deprecation:

> Because I'm not English, I'm Spanish… teaching English, but I am *not* English. So, maybe it's because in Spanish they say 'soy professora inglesa', which is the literal translation… it means that you come from Spain… but then I'm thinking… I'm putting the English words, directly into Spanish, so that's not very English, is it? [laughs] (T3)

Again, we are quickly into the territory of self-defined competence to teach, credibility and setting limits on the professional identity claims in relation to others – in this case, 'native' English speakers.

T4 uses a broader scope of role definition, teaching in a state school in Sweden, but with a different training background:

> I say I'm a teacher in compulsory school… and they are 12-15 years of age… and I mainly teach English to them. But my original degree is as a maths and science teacher, for the years 1 to 7…. So, that is my job, but what it is to *be* a teacher… is another kind of question. (T4)

This response is complicated in this case by mixed feelings on what it means to be identified as a schoolteacher in a small, local community. For example, playing in the local football team:

> … when I go there I am also a teacher, I have all of the identities – I am the private person who plays football, I am also the teacher, when I meet the people there, I have their kids as my students… and they know that I'm good at English… When I meet them I try, really try never to speak about the school when I meet the parents outside school. Then they are inhabitants of the same village as me, they are neighbours… so I try not to be a teacher, but it's hard… everybody knows me. (T4)

This double-edged sense of community and visibility seems to have become more problematic than might first be imagined, for T4 and her husband, who teaches at the same school:

> We're planning to move from the community… we feel that it has become too much. We can't live, we can't sail, we can't speak without being… er, we thought it was good at first, but now, for the last couple of years, we feel that it… our opinion of it has changed. I don't know if… the people around us, but we feel that it has eaten us up. (T4)

Hearing this account, it seems perhaps extraordinary, and rather moving, that a respected local teacher may feel driven towards leaving the social setting where she has clearly become so established. It may also reflect the experience of some other subject teachers in state schools, and not be especially unique to language specialists. This is arguably a long way removed from many ELT practitioners' experience, especially 'native' teachers, with their global mobility and often relatively shallow roots in the communities in which they teach.

T5 is younger, with around three years' experience in Greece prior to coming to England for a Masters programme. Her response is more concise, and immediately related to questions of prestige and status, both regarding the job and the language itself:

> I'm a teacher… English teacher. Other people think that it's a good job, because people need to learn English more and more… Being an English language teacher is better than simply being a teacher in Greece, it's more prestigious…Because it's English… I don't know, maybe it's something more cosmopolitan, or something more… being in touch with this language and all the potential it gives you, probably it's a good thing in Greece. (T5)

In this and later responses, T5 appeared to adopt a comparatively uncritical perspective on this kind of self-labelling and its implications, perhaps indicative of shorter or narrower professional experience. Similarly, on the 'non-native' teacher issues, she gave the impression of having contemplated the identity and competence aspects less thoroughly, but indicated some recent shift in attitudes since joining her degree programme and living in the UK.

The above description does not fit T6, who has evidently thought a great deal about the issues, as is apparent in the above forum contribution (5.1). A teacher with experience in both Poland and the UK, also engaged in postgraduate ELT study here, she seems more sensitised to the complexity and implications of the self-assigned job role:

> I'm a teacher – I'm an English teacher… They ask me 'who do you teach?' and, it happens very often here, I don't know, people think I teach children, just automatically they assume I teach children… and then, 'what do you teach?' I just say teacher, and then I say English, and I [slight laugh] *do* find it quite uncomfortable sometimes, saying 'I'm an English teacher', because I'm not English [laughs]… So, 'What, you teach English, and you're not English, and you live in England' – it was an issue before, a lot more before than now. (T6)

In summary, the awareness and degree of discomfort displayed by T6 above appears to be part of most of the teachers' responses to this initial question, which was designed to open up discussion in the interviews. Examples of hesitation, self-deprecation, slightly nervous laughter and careful attention to precise wording of the job title are all in evidence. Broader issues relating to being identified as a teacher in a specific local community, and the

potentially negative impact of that on social, 'non-teaching' life, are revealed in T4's rather alarming confession. The reaction of others is evidently important. It is clear that, at least for the more experienced teachers, this was a question they had both rehearsed and actually addressed in their daily lives, whether at the hairdresser's or elsewhere.

5.3 Becoming a teacher: reasons and influences

A logical extension of the above discussion is to ask why people become teachers, and more specifically English language teachers, in addition to exploring the initial and continuing influences on their practice. This tended to be the natural flow of the interviews, and as with other themes, ideas overlapped during the conversations.

T1 went to teacher training college, as the only place to study English. She struggled with methodology, which was "not interesting" as a student, then after graduating "still didn't want to be a teacher". In a job in a private language school, she received positive feedback on her teaching, and thought she "must be doing something right… [it] made me believe in myself." According to her, teachers are "not a well-respected profession" (in Poland), and their social status is low. However, there is a degree of self-consciousness in discussing the issue of status:

> I do like to say I went to a teacher training college not a school – somehow more *prestige* in that... I don't know how that makes me sound… (T1)

T2 explained her career choice by saying: "I don't really know why, but I've always been interested in English". Initially teaching German in Spain, without formal training or experience, she began to enjoy it, and thought "oh, what have I got myself into?", then decided to continue "in a more professional way", so studied to be a language teacher. She cited influences on her teaching as "a little bit of everything", as well as a dislike of the methods employed by her own teachers at school. This negative, "boring" experience convinced her that "learning something has to be interesting, has to be fun if possible", and

merely "doing exercises and translating stuff" in class can better be done as self-study. Similar views were expressed later on the online forum:

> My time in Spain deeply influenced me and my career as somehow, without really knowing how or what I was doing, I got into teaching German as a foreign language… Somehow my students seemed to like what I was doing (although I still had no idea and no teacher training whatsoever). Two years later I realised that I really liked teaching; I quit my job and signed up for a 3-months intensive teacher training course which I completed successfully. (T2 forum post, July 2010)

T3 discussed becoming an English teacher in terms of vocation, as a favourite school subject, and the language as "like an open window to the rest of the world" and opportunity. Other factors included the influence of popular culture, music and an image of England, all of which informed the choices involved.

> I always wanted to learn and teach English… and I think this was because English meant communication with people from abroad, travelling, getting to know new lives and cultures... I am convinced that I wanted to become an English teacher to share my enthusiasm with other people. I am aware that I haven´t reached all my students´ souls at all times, but every year there are some students who ask me at the end of June: 'Where can I improve my English? I´d like to carry on learning…
> (T3 forum post; October 2010)

The hope of "reaching students' souls" may appear idealistic, or at least remarkably ambitious, but the statement was made sincerely, and reflects a belief in the essential value of the teacher's role. T3 continued this theme on the difficulties facing the language teacher in the same posting on the forum, "confessing" that it is an "almost impossible task" and that "I usually fail", but adding "there are always three or four students every year who get my point and this is very rewarding" (T3).

T4 responded to the "why English?" question with broader, self-deprecating account of the surprising career route she has taken:

> I didn't like English very much, I'm not good at languages… [laughs], yeah, it has developed, but when I was a student myself, I didn't really get it. But it has developed with time, and realised that it's really fun… language is fun. (T4)

The insistence that language learning ought to be an enjoyable experience, unlike much of their own, is shared by several other participants, and seems to be a driving force in their formation and continuing professional development.

T5 connected school-level competence in the language with a clear motivation for becoming an English teacher, alongside employment prospects:

> It was the only thing that I was interested in… it's not because I always wanted to be an English Language teacher, but from the choices that I had it was the only thing that seemed appealing to me. I love languages and learning languages and being able to communicate in different kinds of languages. So, that was one reason, and then the other reason was that I knew it would be a good profession… and when I say that I mean… er, in terms of employability, in terms of money… (T5)

Regarding influences on teaching, T5 echoed T2 in citing a negative learning experience as a reason for wanting to be a better teacher than she felt hers had been. She also confessed (like T4) that "generally, I wasn't a very good student", then added that there were a few teachers she still remembers in a more positive light, and "of course I think they influenced my beliefs in teaching".

T6 is another who recalled her career progression as rather unplanned, stating that she had always been interested in English, "but *not* from the point of view as a teacher… I think it's actually, it's rooted in my experiences as a learner". She claimed she never really wanted to be a teacher, and "I had absolutely no idea what I wanted to do when I finished. I just thought something to do with English… but I didn't know what exactly that would be." Her story moved to the UK, where she started working as a social programme organiser in a language school:

> …and it was luck really, because two of the teachers called in sick, and the director asked me 'could you teach? – we're really desperate'… and I said 'well, I don't have any experience'; and he said 'yes, but you've got the qualifications, you know, could you just do it for a couple of days, until we find cover?' So, I did, and I really liked it. I really enjoyed it immediately… I know it sounds a bit [laughs], it sounds a bit cheesy, but it's the truth, and I thought, well maybe it could be a good idea. (T6)

She described her progression towards her current situation as "lots of happy accidents, definitely", and has now done more teaching in the UK than in Poland. With T6 we again see the influence of school language learning on her teaching outlook and approach: "I think it's my *bad* experiences as a learner, especially in terms of speaking and pronunciation, which was non-existent". Initial training in the UK confirmed her views, and she sees the need for greater interaction and communicative classroom work in her home country, where "people are *desperate* to be able to express themselves in a foreign language". On being trained as a language teacher in Poland:

> I wasn't. I didn't have any… teaching training there, it was just history, Old English, literature, translation. So there was methodology, which was one hour per week, and it was really nothing… (T6)

In summary, we can see recurring themes of rather unplanned, fortuitous routes into ELT, a fairly widespread reaction against their own formal language learning, and an inconsistent pattern of teacher education, brought into perspective through more recent experience.

5.4 Defining the subject of English Language Teaching

Chapter 1 referred to Widdowson's (2003) discussion on "defining the subject" of ELT in terms of "purpose" and "process" parameters, particularly in recognition of the roles of English as a global language. One of the aims of the present study was to discover more about how SOLTEs conceive of these questions and respond to the implications.

T1 referred to the status and popularity of English in Poland, where it "has always been number one, for 20 years anyway", and implying a corresponding status for English teachers. She also claimed that "nowadays it's not seen as a subject, like geography, but actually preparing people for life, jobs, just communicating with other people". This led to a discussion of the relative merits of successful communication versus linguistic 'correctness', and possible conflicts in terms of pedagogical goals. The resolution of these depends largely on learners' aims, and in her role as trainer, she "expects something more"

of future teachers regarding language accuracy and overall proficiency. A separate aspect of this topic was what she described as the "pressure on teaching *culture*", and in particular Anglo-American culture, meaning topics such as festivals and holidays. There is clearly an essentialist, unproblematised notion of 'target language culture', which has not as yet been influenced by, for example, the work of Dornyei and Ushioda (2009), where this construct is challenged in a globalised era, as discussed in Chapter 2. T1 stated that "target language culture is part of the job", though also acknowledged the complexity of the issue, at least in discussing it in the UK context, by adding:

> … this conversation is difficult for me, because I haven't explained this aspect of language teaching… ['target language' culture]. It is difficult to define… some things, I've simply never thought about it before… I've never been asked these questions before. (T1)

In response to the question of defining the subject and what we are trying to teach, T2 emphasised learning processes, and again the issue of cultural content:

> Facilitate learning, basically… not to *teach,* but to make it easier for the students to learn. Because I cannot just open the head and put all the vocab in, I'm just there to help them to learn the language, but they have to do the learning themselves... and there's so many things around a language. It's not just about vocabulary or reading a book or an article, or translating things, so there's more, there's also the culture, and pronunciation, and like different things you can do. (T2)

She also recognised some of the potential difficulties with this approach, but was clear that "you can't really separate them, the language from the culture". Preparing for such 'British life and culture' classes in the UK, she confessed to having to work especially hard, "because I'm not British, so I have to study a lot about Britain". Having also taught English in Thailand, she is well-placed to consider the implications of English as a Lingua Franca for the subject, but seemed to avoid the issue of relevance, taking a pragmatic line on the appropriate degree of 'cultural input'. T2 sees the role in terms of "just raising their awareness", rather than teaching culture as content, placing responsibility mainly on learners to realise the importance of intercultural aspects to their language learning and use.

T3 talked about the global influence of the language: "English is just the target language to communicate", and cited the example of online communication as a part of its relevance for her students. "I try to make them aware that English is useful… a tool", taking a distinctly practical, instrumental line, before adding "it's a bit more than that… yes, but it's the reality". On the question of more traditional interpretations of language subject content, including literature and culture as arguably rather dated elements to this approach, T3 concluded:

> You need to include everything in your lessons. We have to include many subjects, it's part of our syllabus… global teachers, we could say we are. (T3)

T3 did not expand on this interesting term "global teachers", nor on the performance of whatever roles are implied, despite some prompting in the interview. The practical constraints and realities (in T3's case) of state school teaching perhaps preclude the luxury of extended reflection.

T4 highlighted the value of English as a vehicle for teaching other subjects across the curriculum in schools in Sweden: "I can use it for football, I can use it for… games, computer games, I can use it for just about anything". This developed into a more specific focus on the power of English as a means of international contact, and her aspirations for her learners:

> I want my students to be *users* of the English language. I want them to feel secure with switching, you know… so that they are not afraid of speaking and asking for some things… I had students who when they leave [the school] are almost as skilled in English as I am, they are really good. (T4)

This amounts to the multicompetence of L2 users described by Cook (1992) as the true goal of ELT, and language learning more generally. On the geo-political impact of global English, and possible resistance to its influence, T4 claimed this is not a significant factor in Sweden, and not related to perceptions of the USA, for example. Students who show such resistance towards learning the language "are not comfortable in school at all", adding "not many are resisting English because it's the global language; I think many of them find

it very useful". English as a compulsory subject in Sweden "is as natural as Swedish or geography... it's just English". Most of her students are motivated by the realisation that "this actually works; I can really communicate with someone else in another language". T4 sees no particular linguistic or ideological problem with people "using English all over the world", and while understanding why some take an "anti-English language" view, and not wanting to see her own language disappear, adopts a pragmatic perspective stressing the utility of an international language for communication, echoing Crystal's (2003) "ideal world".

T5 focused on the quality of teacher education in Greece, where she argued there is not much coverage of pedagogy ("that's the problem"), and the approach is "very theoretical and abstract". She added that her development as a teacher, on a Masters programme in the UK, had made her more aware of international and Lingua Franca perspectives, in addition to the definitional problems with 'native' competence, models and standards. This, combined with an appreciation of the diversity of the language across the UK (let alone around the world), has led to a reassessment of teaching and learning goals:

> You feel that there are so many varieties, and they're quite different from each other, so the language English doesn't sound the same all the time, even from native speakers, so how would we expect non-native learners to have only one variety? (T5)

Teaching materials based on a "BBC English" model are "not realistic", according to T5. This argument is developed into a stronger case for a classroom focus that is both realistic and empowering for learners:

> I think that first of all we have to make the learners feel comfortable and confident with their own variety, and being aware of that [ELF, local varieties etc.], and try more to show them the intelligibility of the language, and not the variety and the accent, that kind of thing... (T5)

T5 responded to the question of how this can be achieved in practice, in a context where language testing and examinations are still 'native speaker' model-dominated, by countering that the reality for Greek users of English is a range of 'non-native' interactions

or Lingua Franca exchanges. Therefore, the issue arises: "Why should my examiner in speaking be a British examiner? Why not a Turkish, or a Greek one? Why not?" Regarding pronunciation, she recognised that "the most important thing is intelligibility", but when pressed, she claimed that in Greece "we think that the ideal is to sound like a native". She acknowledged that she had shared these views prior to coming to the UK, even though she "knew it's not that possible… and it's not what I really need, but yes of course I wanted to sound native". A further paradox emerged on this theme, in T5's opinion, in that although possession of a 'native-like' (preferably English Received Pronunciation) accent is seen as desirable by some social groups, including teachers, it is also the object of some ridicule. Affluent families employ British nannies for their children, or send their children to British schools, taught only by British teachers:

> … and that will happen only for the accent, no other reason. But then on the other hand, if you pronounce things as a native, if you talk as a native, people will make fun out of you, they will mock you. (T5)

Some of the contradictions and revision of previously-held positions on T5's part may be part of her current transformational experience; other variations on this theme recur throughout the data.

From a different career stage and perspective, T6 found it difficult, and perhaps not particularly helpful, to attempt to 'define the subject of ELT'. She preferred to think in terms of helping individual students with their specific language needs, recognising the problematic nature of this endeavour. Her current teaching role is with adult learners in multilingual groups, and the comments probably reflect that reality, in contrast to some of the others (e.g. T3 and T4 in mainstream state school ELT settings). On the specific issues arising from the various conceptions of global English, she claimed "the teachers realise it a lot more than the students":

> I can see it with my students, and definitely, definitely in Poland. Something like English as an International Language doesn't really exist, it's either British English or American English, and anything around it is… worse [slight laugh]. But if it's British English, it's obviously RP [sic], and it can't be anything else. So, I think that's the stereotype that the teachers have to break, and I would be *very* keen on

doing so... I'd love to implement a lot more accents and I just don't know how to do it, and there are so few resources out there. (T6)

These comments bear interesting comparison with T6's own views (discussed below) regarding her own RP-influenced accent, and recognition of its value in her teaching career, particularly in the British private language school sector. Here again we see tensions which arguably help define these SOLTEs: between their expertise, their (largely) self-imposed standards and goals, and therefore their status as exceptions, rather than the norm within the profession.

5.5 'Impostor syndrome': confidence, competence and identity

On analysing the interview data in relation to the identity literature discussed in Chapter 3 (particularly Llurda, 2005 and Bernat, 2008), this theme emerged as the most significant. The discussions on this area comprised the longest sections of the interviews, and accordingly require the most extensive presentation and analysis here.

T1 right at the start of the interview expressed concerns about her own "performance", and her English pronunciation, despite this being 'near-native' in style and proficiency – the irony and relevance of this point not lost on either of us. In particular, this apparent anxiety was exacerbated by my ('native speaker') presence as interviewer. As T1 put it: "I have trained to be a teacher, so I suppose teachers should be *perfect*", and though recognising that she makes mistakes in her native Polish, she is "not that forgiving in English, of myself". Indeed, the analogy used was that of a doctor, ideally making no mistakes in her professional role, as both language teacher and teacher trainer. When questioned on whether this perfectionism is transferred to her own trainees, T1 responded:

> I expect them to be as close as possible to a perfect teacher. Their failure might be my failure… I think I do feel secure as a trainer… (T1)

In terms of defining the knowledge and expertise required in the language teacher's role, T1 addressed the issues of competence and confidence directly, with regard to both her trainees and her own self-perceptions:

> I want to make them aware they're not really encyclopaedias… you don't have to know everything – but I know the feeling, how horrible it is when someone asks you something and you don't know the answer. If you've been trained to do something you're supposed to do it well… If I don't know how to do it, then why am I doing it? (T1)

More pertinent to the conception of individual identity, a school director in the UK had told T1 "not to say I'm Polish". This caused concern, and led her (and other SOLTEs in similar circumstances) to avoid the issue in class wherever possible. But "I don't want to lie to them", so she reported that generally she does not discuss her background, worried about students' views of 'non-native' teachers (echoing the question raised by T6 in her forum posting, discussed in 5.1). However, she is "not worried about my *skills* as a teacher", yet still tends to view the 'native speaker' as "expert teacher", in terms of knowledge of the language, and this seems to be another paradox she is well aware of. In relation to the preference in many contexts for 'native' teachers being preferred for jobs, "it makes me angry… [like] a second class teacher… person?" Regarding the specific question on 'impostor syndrome', T1 responded:

> Not in the sense… when you consider the knowledge of how to teach, and the knowledge of the [language] system….No, I don't feel an impostor. I don't walk into class feeling they [learners] might discover… but the strange feeling I get when there's a vocabulary question, and I don't know the answer. (T1)

The repetition of the anxiety caused by "not knowing the answer" is revealing here. This sense of a knowledge gap relates more specifically to sociocultural reference and informal language use, which is a perennial cause of teacher self-doubt - not only among SOLTEs, but arguably older 'native' teachers, belonging to different generations or social groups from their students, as discussed in Chapter 3. The thought that both groups of teachers might share these same potential deficiencies, at least in the eyes of learners, does not seem

to mitigate the threat to competence perceived by some of the participants in this study, however.

T2 is a good example of a multilingual and culturally-aware language teacher, having lived in Germany, Spain, the UK and Thailand. When asked if in some ways this made her the ideal language teacher (compared to, for example, a monolingual 'native speaker' teacher), she commented:

> … maybe not a better teacher, but you can understand your students better. If you only speak one language, you teach your own language, it's more difficult to know what your students are going through. (T2)

Now studying and teaching in the UK, T2 seems to feel reasonably comfortable in the role of SOLTE: "I don't feel I need to justify anything", yet with her learners, avoidance strategies seem to apply:

> I am surprised none of them has really picked up on my accent yet. [*Your name?*] Yes, well my name, some of them say well that's very English, or I think it's more American… I try to avoid that topic. And I know most students assume that I'm British, and I just don't say… I mean I don't lie, if they ask me, I'll tell them, I try to get around it, and I don't say *we* do, or *we* say; I always say, well British people say this, or in Britain people say this or… I never say *we*. (T2)

When pressed on how to present her own identity and origins with students, T2 said she would feel "uncomfortable, if they knew", and would worry that some might complain (in a private language school), if paying for classes, expecting 'native' teachers and staying here for a short period of time. This view seems somewhat at odds with her apparent confidence when discussing these issues more generally: once the focus switches to her own classroom, the perceived threat becomes more personal. Again, this dilemma may be indicative of the more generalised gap between SOLTEs intellectual beliefs and professional experience.

As a way of reacting to this, T2 suggested maybe she "works even harder than a native speaker", in terms of class preparation, making sure she is on top of the relevant language

points, vocabulary, pronunciation and materials. She spends "a lot of time" on this aspect of the role, more than when teaching her own L1, German; "I'm a bit of a perfectionist as well". Overall, she feels "more professional now", with a degree in ELT, and having lived here for longer. She laughs when saying she thinks her English has improved, and summarises: "I feel more confident, more comfortable, now I've got more experience. I taught in Thailand, I taught in Spain, I'm teaching at a university, which always sounds nice [laughs]". On the impostor question, T2 took a stronger line than most, perhaps as a result of being quite well-informed on this topic, through her studies and experience:

> No… well, actually I think just the opposite… because I've reached the level that my students are aiming for, I think I'm actually a better role model. Because I know how it feels to learn a foreign language, I had to learn all the vocabulary, the grammar bits, the speaking, the listening and I know they're struggling, you know so I think I might be quite a good role model for speaking different languages, and that's what the students want, that's why they're here… (T2)

In making these claims, T2 is surely representing (consciously or not) the ideal, multicompetent L2 user as teacher, envisaged by Cook (1992, 2002) and others. This role model claim as a SOLTE is connected by T2 to the Lingua Franca perspective:

> Well that would be one of my arguments if somebody said I shouldn't be teaching English because I'm not English, or British, that would be one of my arguments… that there are more non-native speakers who speak English as a foreign language for communicative reasons… (T2)

Expanding the discussion during the interview to cover the theme of multilingual and multicultural identity, as distinct from a monolingual German speaker, T2 gave a quite detailed, lengthy and more personal account:

> I'm a special case maybe, I'm not sure. Because I was born in East Germany, so I kind of half grew up in East Germany, I was eleven when the wall came down, then there was a different Germany, everything changed, and I lived like in a united Germany for another ten years… Yeah, then I moved to Spain, lived there for five years, and then moved to Britain, three and a half years; one year in Thailand, now back in Britain… So, the longest, the first eleven years of my life lived in East Germany, but that wasn't long enough to develop my own identity, or not, you know, to that point… Yeah, my family is German, my nationality is German, but

> because of the two halves and two different cultures, there was a big difference, from East to West Germany, or East to West Berlin. And then I was 21 when I moved abroad, and you know, I took on a little bit of the Spanish culture, a bit of the British culture when I moved here, and everything changed when I moved to Thailand, a different continent… I always say I'm German. Yeah, I mean that's my nationality, that's who I am… well, I don't feel just German, more like a multiculture person, because you change and, I see the difference... (T2)

The detailed narrative offered here is interesting in terms of Riley's idea that our identity is made of "the stories we tell ourselves" (2007: 244). Some may regard the term "multiculture person" as ungrammatical (or perhaps creative coining), but it seems an apt label for the ideal 21st century ELT practitioner, the Multilingual English Teacher envisaged by Kirkpatrick (2007), Cook (2008), Braine (2010) and others.

T2 outlined plans for her own professional development, including completing a Masters degree in media-assisted language teaching, getting more experience and "maybe becoming a teacher trainer one day". When asked where this might happen, given the choices available to her, she responded: "I don't know… well, the world is so big [laughs]". Just in the closing moments of our discussion, she added: "I hope I didn't make too many mistakes. Sometimes I'm a bit unsure about my English, especially if I'm being recorded". This again appears slightly out of tune with her earlier statements on developing greater self-confidence and competence, but may have related more specifically to the interview context and researcher impact. T2's final remark, though (after recording had stopped), returned to the above question of identity and nationality: "I'm not British and I'm not pretending that I am."

T3 took a pragmatic line on professional competence for SOLTEs, noting that trained teachers like her have studied the language and pedagogy as a subject. This means "you're not a master, in that subject, probably, but you know enough to teach your students, probably". (Note the hedging adverbs.) In relation to the 'nativeness' issue in the significant private language school sector in Spain, T3 echoed the views of other participants in seeing some of the attitudes held by students (and more pertinently, parents or employers) as unfair and perhaps irrational:

> I think it's like if you are a mathematician, and you have studied mathematics at university, you want to give private classes, and people say to you: 'no, we don't want a mathematician to teach mathematics, we prefer an engineer'… and you say: 'well, I am the mathematics teacher, why do you prefer an engineer?' 'Well, because he knows about many other things, so he is a better mathematician than you are.' So, people sometimes choose without really knowing what they want for their children. (T3)

An interesting analogy is presented here, though possibly one not designed for extension: language teachers as 'pure' mathematicians, or 'applied' engineers?

T3 agreed with the view of SOLTEs as role models for their learners, with the ability to explain linguistic problems from experience: "you can transmit that to your students". On the point raised by T2 above, on keeping sociolinguistic competence updated, she acknowledged this as a potential difficulty, and something that short visits and courses in the UK were aimed at addressing. This is related to the impostor question, and to T3's earlier mention of "cheating" if using the job title 'English teacher':

> That's what I meant when I talked about cheating… that's the feeling I've got sometimes. Some of my students have been in a bilingual school, or his father or mother is American or British… so, I feel they know more than myself… and I feel like an impostor. [laughs]… I do… They're very respectful with me, but I know… and since I know, I have this feeling of cheating. (T3)

Overall, she indicated that she felt mixed responses to this issue, returning to the theme of 'nativeness', competence and training:

> What I feel is I would like to have the… or to be a native-like teacher, in the way you are British, and that is why we are… trying doing courses, to do our best, to improve, because I mean I'm very happy with what I've studied, but what I don't have, because I'm not native, I would like to.. I don't know, to at least approach it… to get more native-like. (T3)

Again we see apparent tensions and arguably unreasonable, self-imposed goals being presented: recognition of not being 'native' in the language taught in the professional role, yet aspiration towards that very same target. The responses become more anecdotal, the narrative more personal:

> Well, I felt like an impostor the other day… [completing a form] asked 'how many years have you been studying English?'... and I had to write 37, because I started learning English very young [laughs]… and I felt ashamed really. [*Why?*] Because I think my level of English, my… I should master the language, in a better way, I think. I feel I'm not good enough at it. And many times I like… stammering, I feel very insecure. It makes me feel very bad, because I'm supposed to be an English teacher… (T3)

Seeing themselves as continual learners appears to be important - though problematic - to T3 and others, including taking courses to keep up to date. However, the issue of heightened competence (in fact mastery or perfection) did feature, echoing the thoughts of T1, previously noted:

> We all must be perfectionists in a way, in the sense that we are *here*, we are on our holidays, and that's because we want to get this native-like knowledge. Because otherwise we would be satisfied saying, 'OK my English is OK, and I don't need to improve'… we need to get this native-like knowledge. [*'Native-like' is the goal? What is that?*] The part which I don't have is what I want to get… and this is what I don't have, yeah. (T3)

This final comment encapsulates the dilemma succinctly: I want the thing I do not/cannot have. It is also interesting to note here that in-service training or conferences in the home country do not seem to be regarded as particularly beneficial or relevant, in terms of professional development. This echoes Braine's (2010) discussion of the limited engagement he perceives that many 'non-native' teachers have with professional organisations, locally or internationally.

Teachers clearly had various reasons for their variable levels of participation in the online discussion forum, noted in 4.6, including busy working and family lives, and perhaps a touch of sensitivity or reluctance in some cases. T3 responded by private email after a gap in communication following the initial interview, apologising for her absence, which was due largely to extreme work pressures and resulting stress:

> Working in a secondary school in Madrid is getting tougher every year, so we teachers have got more students per group and more groups. The good news is that we have an assistant teacher from London this year and pupils can check their English with a native speaker (so can I!). (T3 email, October 2010)

In addition to the perception expressed here of an increasingly challenging, perhaps unsatisfactory, professional setting, T3 has highlighted the issue of the arrival of a 'native speaker' teaching assistant in her school. Once again, through an apparently casual comment, questions of linguistic competence and sources of expertise are raised, albeit with a disarmingly frank and humorous touch ("so can I!").

T4 followed initial comments about the definition of her professional position as a teacher/English teacher by stressing the multiplicity of roles in her life, but particularly that of engaged learner, on a wide range of subjects. In answer to a question about competence in English, she stated: "I think that I trust more my own feelings, this feels right, because I'm not good at grammar myself". This bears interesting comparison with the 'intuition' often associated with 'native speakers', with its implied advantage as an informant and therefore arguably as a pedagogical model (e.g. Davies, 2003). T4 sees distinct advantages for local SOLTEs over 'natives', as she can use comparative analysis between the languages in class, giving the example of word order differences between Swedish and English. Yet, again there is an element of self-deprecation or self-doubt that creeps in:

> Of course, it would be much better if I was native, because… they would feel me as being a little bit… um, exotic [laughs]… where I come from, where I teach, it is still very rare to have a native speaker or *meet* someone that is only speaking English. I have students who have never been further away than… 130km, they have never been to McDonald's, right… so they don't have that connection with… internationally, some of them. [*You represent that, speaking another language?*] Yes, yes [*Exotic?*] – yeah [laughs], sometimes. I don't think it has to do with my English knowledge. I think that is has to do with my… how should I put this… I am exotic in a way that I represent something that is different… they trust me. (T4)

This is interesting in itself, and it then leads to a discussion of the 'impostor' question. When asked if she ever got the feeling of being an 'impostor', T4 replied at length, with frankness and clear signs of empathy with her learners:

> Yes, all the time… No, I don't worry about it, er I worry that I will teach them the wrong thing, but I don't worry about me doing wrong personally… My students, they often catch me, by writing, by spelling wrong… So, they don't see me as perfect… they see me as someone who is better at it than they are, but I'm not perfect. [*A role model?*] Er, I think it's a strength, for me in the position where I am

> now, with the students that I have now, and the attitude that they have towards me... As you say, I have gone through the same thing; I have had the same problems that they have. I was not good at English… [*Do you say that?*] Yes, I tell them, yeah… I think it makes them feel that I really do understand their problem… (T4)

So here we see both ambivalence and acceptance: a realisation that the role is complex, and her competence is defined and to an extent constrained; but also a clear recognition of personal and professional strengths, both confidence and competence on display in this particular 'impostor'. Overall, both T3 and T4 represent a somewhat different perspective on this theme from the other SOLTEs studied. Maybe their state school, mainstream education experience leaves them feeling more exposed, more anxious about their competence, which may seem slightly paradoxical. In addition, their relative maturity may contribute to a sense of professional realism in these matters. This contrasts perhaps surprisingly with T2 and T6, whose experience includes significant UK-based teaching, having 'crossed the border', in more senses than one.

T5, as noted above, though younger and less experienced than the other SOLTEs, has an interesting family and linguistic background: from Greece, she also speaks Arabic and French, as her father is from Lebanon. There was some informal discussion of language, identity and dialects in the first part of the interview. Her views on the label 'non-native teacher' of English and its implications reveal a degree of readjustment in her thinking since arriving in the UK:

> Yes, I had no idea about it… Since I came here, and I had to face that, because I've never considered that before, so… of course I don't like it, and it's very hostile [slight laugh] expression to me… 'Non-native', yes… because it's something as we're lacking something, it's um… I think it's a bit unfair, because, um… if you see it from an in-depth angle, we're not lacking. On the other hand, we have more… skills as language teachers, because we have done that, we have learned a foreign language. And we are now able to, to show the learners how to achieve what we have achieved before. (T5)

These comments echo some of those above, and suggest a sense of pride and self-justification, where competence to teach has been achieved in large part through success in learning. T5 feels that the ideal language teacher is not a question of 'nativeness', but rather

a bilingual who can consider learner difficulties and understand the learning process (i.e. Kirkpatrick's Multilingual English Teacher, 2007). On the key issue of individual identity, T5 responded to the question "so who are you?" with a laugh, and some reflection on the different dimensions relevant to her at this stage in her life and career. The multiple, fluid identities discussed in the literature are in evidence here:

> I'm me… I'm not Greek, I'm not Lebanese, I'm both, and er… I can feel like being at home when I'm here [in the UK], and I think the reason is the language. [*Being an EL teacher is part of this?*] Not really… Yes, sorry, it's a part of my identity but it's not the most, it's not the biggest part of my identity. I think all my… I mean is it for everyone, all your life, your experiences, and all the things that you like and you're interested in, are part of your identity. I don't think it's just being a teacher… I think the ability to communicate with the language is most important… for me, as being a teacher, and that is what I consider more important for my learners. (T5)

T5 strives to keep up to date with the language and teaching methodology, but claimed this is not an easy task in her home country. She also stressed the need for proper teaching qualifications and training, which is not always the case in Greece, she added, with regard to both 'native' and local teachers. This, slightly surprisingly given their different levels of experience, reflects the views of T3 and T4 on the need to travel to the UK to develop professionally. It also reinforces some of the negativity expressed by Braine (2010; discussed in Chapter 3) on the topic of 'non-native' teacher development. Viewing language as a social practice, rather than an abstract body of knowledge to be learnt, may cast a different light on the prime focus of language teacher education, a point returned to in Chapter 6.

T6 probably had the most to say on the subject of identity, professional competence and the 'impostor'-related issues. On being a SOLTE, working in the UK, and how to play her linguistic identity in her professional role:

> I don't lie, but I don't say – I don't say 'my name is [X] and I'm Polish, and I'm going to teach you something' [laughs]. [*Why not?*] Because if you were English you wouldn't say that either – I don't think I have to prove anything to anybody. I don't think I've got to justify it, you know. I just would like my students to judge me by the way I teach, I interact with them, and I think this is what matters… So far, I haven't had this issue. [*Views have changed?*] I feel a lot more confident now,

yes… I think it's the experience, and now I'm trying to think I will be applying for British citizenship, so I would like to have dual, if possible… and I will be married to an English person, so… does that mean that I become a 'native speaker' of English? [slight laugh] So it's all so very subjective. So yeah, if my surname doesn't sound too Polish anymore, so does that make me a native speaker? (T6)

The 'what's in a name?' remarks here, though made partly in jest, seem to contain an element of plaintive sincerity, as noted in the forum post discussed in 5.1. How we sound and how we look as teachers are significant factors; part of our identities and the image presented to our learners. Appearance and race have not been covered here in any depth, but are also pertinent, and sensitive topics (see e.g. Holliday & Aboshiha, 2009). Similarly, the naming and titling of ourselves in our professional roles carry some weight. Furthermore, the notion that you can 'marry in' to 'nativeness' is an interesting one (returned to in Chapter 6): dual citizenship equated with dual identity, and perhaps access to the inner sanctum of the 'native speakers' of English?

In response to the question of her acquired 'Britishness' and identity, T6 still feels Polish, though "quite Anglicised to an extent". This line of thinking becomes more specific, with regard to legal status, in addition to a less tangible sense of belonging:

I feel partly British, and I… really do. I know it sounds a bit strange, but… that's why I think it will be important for me to have a dual citizenship, and then in the future, for my child to have a dual citizenship as well, I think that's very important. (T6)

When asked if dual citizenship somehow means more to her in terms of identity and credibility as an English language teacher, T6 thinks not: "I would want it as much if I was doing something else". On the question of the 'nativeness' issue perhaps becoming less important over time, she stated: "It is very much still there', and in the future, in a different role or context, it 'might become an issue, I'm not sure". This point gets expanded when T6 is asked if the same strength of feeling applies to her experience of her Master's programme:

That's just what I wanted to say… [*Out of comfort zone?*] Yes, it is. And I've got this feeling that because I'm not a native speaker, I've got to prove more… not to

> myself I think, more, and if I achieve it, I'll be very, very pleased. It's very important for me… I think it's a huge personal thing, even more than the money or the career, and this is what I've wanted to do for the last four years, so… it's really like a dream come true, that I can actually be here and study, it's a huge thing for me. (T6)

With regard to SOLTE competence, and the pedagogical advantage of the teacher having been a learner, T6 agreed, even though it "might sound a bit cheeky" to say so. She certainly feels, despite any lingering sense of insecurity and 'non-nativeness', that she can utilise her expertise as an L2 user to good effect with her students, particularly those from similar linguistic backgrounds. She also mentioned areas of uncertainty in her teaching, citing idiomatic expressions and phrasal verbs as examples where the SOLTE may have to work harder, but sees this as something of benefit to herself as well as students. Specifically on the 'impostor syndrome', T6 responds quite forcefully:

> No, no… I think it's a very strong word. I think it's a matter of my own competence, and that would be the only thing that would hold me back… (T6)

So, competence is seen as the overriding factor, and T6 claims that she might find teaching learners of high levels of proficiency more problematic, as she has not regularly done this to date. T6 is aware of the complexity (discussed in Chapter 3) of one aspect of competence: that of pronunciation, and her own near-Received Pronunciation (RP) accent, acquired "because I like it [laughs], because I like the sound of it":

> It's a huge advantage: 'Oh, you speak RP, or you try to speak RP, and this is our target…' So, this is something definitely in Poland, this is something to aspire to, which is not necessarily the best thing, because it hasn't got so much practical use if 3% of people speak it… (T6)

Here we have an awareness of the professional, and perhaps social, advantage conferred by using the language in its high-status spoken form (RP), countered by an appreciation of the sociolinguistic reality, emphasised in the ELF debates, of the actual limitations of this model. The theme is developed towards one of identification as a SOLTE making her way professionally in the "ancestral home" of the language (Achebe, 1975). T6 is adamant that this competence, and the perception of its value, has assisted her in getting teaching jobs:

Absolutely... but I realise that, and I've been told by the director of the school, in Poland, who is English, and my boss here, also English, that, yes, I wouldn't have got the job, if I'd had a different [accent], and there were lots of other applicants over the summer, from Czech Republic and Spain, and one from Poland, and as far as I'm concerned very, very competent, well-qualified and experienced people, and they didn't get the job, and I feel… I feel very uneasy about it. Because I'm… I'm with them, I'm one of them, really, but I'm the one who gets the job, so… They've got more experience than me, and they, very often better qualified than me, and they still don't get the job. (T6)

This is a clear statement of both identification with SOLTEs as a group within the profession, and the inherent confusion that the reality of a competitive jobs market seems to bring. Yet the acquisition of a marked RP accent is seen as a desirable, perhaps necessary, professional and personal goal, a condition of acceptance. A more direct question on the importance of identity as part of the teaching role elicited a reflective and rather defiant response, covering both her background and current social situation:

[It's] incredibly important; I can't really see myself doing anything else but teaching, I really love it, and I want to do it. But that definitely forms me in some way... But there's another thing that makes me very… uneasy and, I've had quite a few arguments with people, mostly in pubs, complaining how East Europeans take away our jobs, and that was a big issue, and still a very sensitive area for me. I get very upset when I hear things like that, because it hurts me personally. [*You feel more Polish?*] I do, I do. [laughs]… I don't want to argue, and people say 'Yes, but I don't mean you!' [slight laugh] And I say 'well, you do mean me, because I'm one of them, so…' (T6)

These last remarks demonstrate the sense of conflict expressed by T6, as played out through her professional identity and social relationships. In the final part of the interview, T6 was offered the chance to add anything or ask a question. She chatted about the research project itself, the relevance of its themes to her own areas of postgraduate study, and the metaphor of herself with two passports as the imagined, ideal English Language teacher. As a final comment, added just after the recording had stopped, she told the story of how she was 'asked' to Anglicise her name by an employer, returned to in the later forum post analysed in 5.1, above. She was "very hesitant to do it… I didn't like it, but did it", and at the time wondered why. During the interview, she appeared to have a clear understanding of why she had been put in this uncomfortable position, and one she would now respond to

differently. This heightened sense of awareness and its effects on her current and future professional roles seem to encapsulate several of the main issues and implications of the whole study.

5.6 Final interview

As noted in 4.6 on research design, the decision was taken to follow up two particular teachers (T2 and T6), who seemed to represent distinct perspectives on the key issues. They both have substantial and varied ELT experience, importantly including working in the UK, where the 'impostor' question arguably has more resonance. A further joint interview was arranged, where some of the draft findings of the study could be presented, extended and clarified with their collaboration. A summary of ideas and possible discussion questions was sent in advance (see Appendix D) to allow them to prepare and reflect before our meeting. This interview took place approximately 18 months after the first one with T2, and 11 months after that with T6. The intention was to focus on themes 3 and 4 above ('Defining the subject' and 'impostor syndrome'), as these had provoked the most revealing data in relation to the research questions, but also to allow for the participants to revise or update their views on any of the issues covered, and ask questions about the project overall (following Rubin & Rubin, 2005; Holliday, 2010). A selection of the ideas discussed is presented here, separately from the earlier data, to illustrate how the passage of time and continued reflection may have influenced the way these SOLTEs negotiate and signal their identities.

On the revisited 'hairdresser question', T2 still indicated that job titles hold significance in how we present our professional selves to the world. A change in teaching focus towards English for Academic Purposes (EAP) has led to the use of 'Study Skills Tutor' (rather than 'English Teacher'), a situation she feels quite comfortable with: "it does sound better, yeah", she added, with a slight laugh. T2 also stressed the differences between being a teacher in the UK and in her home country (Germany), where her identity and competence

to teach would be clearer-cut and less subject to debate. Perception of her current role is linked to the 'impostor' question, when asked if her views had changed:

> Well for me it has made a difference that I'm not just teaching General English anymore. English for Academic Purposes and Study Skills is different because it's... now I feel I can be more of a role model, because I teach international students who want to do their degree, and I know how it feels to study in a foreign country. [...] So it's kind of a different perspective, for me personally. (T2)

T6 took a more strident line in emphasising her professional credentials, stating that her views have, if anything, become stronger on the 'impostor' challenge. After initially Anglicising her name, as highlighted above, and feeling "so privileged" to teach as a SOLTE in the UK, she has changed her thinking over the past five years or so: "I don't feel privileged anymore, I feel that I've got exactly the same rights" (again with a slight laugh as she pressed this point). T2 concurred that with the passing of time, and greater experience, she is less "in competition" with 'native' teachers, "feeling a bit more confident" after teaching different types of language courses. She pointed out, as she does to students where necessary, her credentials in terms of speaking different languages and several years spent studying and teaching in the UK.

T6 raised the issue of "paranoia" of SOLTEs (her word to address the 'impostor' question), speculating that this may have been something of her own creation, at least initially, compounded by her professional environment. Both teachers returned to the theme of 'belonging', in the sense of how they present their nationality and origins to learners. T2 reiterated her stance that she is "not pretending to be British" even if students presume she is, and how "I still kind of separate myself" by not saying "we" in this regard. T6 articulated this struggle to retain her individuality, although the personal pronouns are revealing:

> I don't want to stress or to emphasise the fact that I'm not one of you, and I don't want to point out the fact that I *am* one of you, so I'm just maybe trying to be myself [laughs], and try to feel as comfortable as I can, within my profession and within my working environment. And I don't think I particularly have to belong to a native speaker or non-native speaker group. (T6)

This last comment surely makes a claim to 'post-native' identity, or 'beyond native' competence, and is a crucial part of the picture, expanded upon in Chapter 6.

In the ensuing discussion of how we are defined by others, T2 added that she would rather students confronted her directly by asking her nationality, instead of talking about this behind her back. However, she repeated the positive role model advantage she possesses (over 'native' teachers) in teaching EAP and Study Skills, where "there is a better bond" with the students "because they know that I really know how they feel". Pursuing this line in the interview, Kirkpatrick's (2007) notion of the 'ideal' Multilingual English Teacher was discussed, and T2 maintained that SOLTEs can understand learners better than monolingual 'natives'. This includes judicious use of translation and an appreciation of "different concepts and culture", but is still formulated with reference to the traditional 'native' competence, so much debated throughout this study:

> ... but the native speaker who obviously knows the language perfectly, all the culture and maybe has better pronunciation, but maybe they cannot grasp the idea of different concepts and transferring certain things, and not other things, you know what I mean? (T2)

Here, despite all the training, postgraduate study in the UK, and fairly extensive ELT experience in different contexts, the presumed superiority of the 'native speaker' in terms of linguistic knowledge, culture and accent is markedly evident, albeit set against other advantages perceived for 'non-native' teachers. This seems to encapsulate the complexity and contradictions within the SOLTE position, as expressed by these participants.

T6's forum posting, examined in 5.1, relating to the significance of teaching style and methods in conditioning learners' reactions towards the teacher (as opposed to 'nativeness'), was picked up as another interview topic. T2 felt less convinced by this argument, stating that location and the era in which teachers were trained are perhaps stronger factors. T6 added that typical class size differences between the state education sector (where local SOLTEs are the norm) and the private language school sector (where 'native' teachers dominate) are crucial in determining teaching styles. Following on from this, and again specifically related to the 'impostor' question, was a belated response to

T6's forum question concerning "telling the truth" to students about not being 'native'. T2 insisted:

> I'm not an impostor. I think that there's a difference between, you know, going into the classroom saying 'I'm your English teacher but I'm not English'... I wouldn't do that, I'm not *hiding* that I'm German but I'm also not really telling it in an obvious way. But I don't think that makes me an impostor, by not telling them directly. (T2)

T6 developed this theme by returning to the competence issue, and the relative merits of 'native' and 'non-native' teachers. Arguing that "it could work both ways", in that both sets of teachers may have "certain gaps", although learners may respond to these differently:

> I think they [students] would be more forgiving [with a 'native speaker' teacher], and I think this is to do with... *proving* that we can do it. I think you [a 'native'] would be able to be more forgiving, of yourself, whereas I would be more demanding of myself... I *should* know this, I teach English here and should definitely know this. (T6)

T2 supported this view, suggesting that if a student asked a question and a 'native' teacher did not know the answer, they might feel "that's not an important thing for us to know", yet with a 'non-native' like her they "may doubt my competence". A no-win situation for SOLTEs, if this is the case. Pressed on this point, T2 modified her stance by adding: "maybe it's just something that *I* think the students would think" (at which point both teachers laughed), and that "it might be interesting to ask students if they *do* think that". The crucial claim remains, however, that a 'native' teacher can say "I don't know" in class "without feeling guilty", as T6 put it; that may be arguable, but it is what she believes, which is what counts.

A brief recap of the identity and citizenship issues raised in the original interview by T6 followed, encompassing bilingual children and the notion of the multicultural language teacher ("I like this idea a lot", T6 added). T2 stressed the value of including an element of foreign language learning in teacher training programmes aimed at 'natives', so that they "know how it feels". This specific point is in fact something I have been considering for the ELT degree I direct, a view which has been strengthened by conducting this study

(discussed further in Chapter 6). As T2 expressed it very succinctly and aptly, teacher trainees in the UK do teaching practice, but they "don't do *learning* practice".

Both participants reflected on their potential future roles as teacher trainers, commenting that they needed a few more years' experience first, and that "the whole 'non-native' speaker issue might come up again", especially if trainees were 'natives' (T2). T6 recounted a story from her own training, mentioned in the first interview, about her Serbian ELT trainer reporting that she felt "more confident" in this role than she had as a language teacher. T2 suggested that this may have been because "she's not teaching the language, she's teaching the skills", or "teaching how to teach", as T6 elaborated, which led to a greater sense of self-belief in her own expertise.

In closing the interview, the two teachers were asked if they wished to add further comments or ask questions about the study. T6 related it to her own Masters dissertation subject area, and her professional position, where she claims awareness of the English as a Lingua Franca debates and the connected 'nativeness' issues is limited:

> None of my work colleagues see this as an issue to talk about. I don't think they're familiar with what's around, and I probably wouldn't be if I wasn't studying [the MA]. But I think that the sort of division between how people act and how they behave and what's started appearing in the books, I think that's quite a big difference here... (T6)

This seems to imply a time lag in the impact of academic and research work (on ELF for example) and its relevance for ELT as a profession, in particular its practical effect on teachers and their attitudes. But it also implies a belief that change is, however slowly, on its way, and that this will be positive. Finally, on a lighter note, the participants were asked if they would like to choose a pseudonym, rather than be known as 'T2' and 'T6' in this paper. Neither had a strong view on this, but T6 (the one previously asked to Anglicise her name) did add, rather ironically, that "I don't particularly like my own name... but no." With an 'English' surname through recent marriage, and a second (British) passport, as discussed above, perhaps no further nominal identity is necessary.

The following chapter attempts to summarise the findings presented above and draw some conclusions in relation to the research questions. In doing this, we can consider some of the implications for the profession and for SOLTEs, the future 'ideal' practitioners in the field, and for the development of such teachers, including on postgraduate programmes such as the MA I direct. In answering the question "Who do they think they are?" we might also reflect on who they would like to be (their future or ideal selves; Ushioda & Dornyei, 2009) and how they aim to become those people. Furthermore, I need to consider my own position in trying to retell their tale in both their and my own words; this is an aspect of the study covered in the *Postscript* (6.6).

6: Conclusions: Multiple identities for a multicompetent future?

If a teacher can (1) personally experience the diversity of English language usage, (2) reflect critically on language learning and teaching and (3) perceive the current turn in society towards multilingualism and the international acceptance of English as a language for international communication, rather than as a culturally loaded national language, they will successfully overcome the paradox of being denied the right to own the language and still love it. They will become rightful and powerful free users and teachers of English as an International Language.
(Llurda, 2009: 131)

6.1 Who do SOLTEs think they are?

This concluding chapter brings together the main themes of the thesis: conceptions of language and language change; the globalisation of English and its Lingua Franca roles; the 'native'/'non-native' speaker distinction and implications for language teachers. Furthermore, it addresses identity, confidence and competence issues for Speakers of Other Languages Teaching English (SOLTEs), and future directions for English Language Teaching and teacher education, building on the key ideas, claims and questions discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, above. Revisiting the research questions, we can make tentative claims about who these people think they are, and how their multiple identities might be part of an emerging paradigm for 21st century ELT.

1. *What does it mean for Speakers of Other Languages Teaching English (SOLTEs) to say: 'I am an English teacher'?*

The answer to this umbrella question appears to be 'a great deal'. T6 expressed forcefully how for her it is "a huge thing", studying and teaching in the UK, how it was "a dream come true", which gives some indication of the depth of feeling, and what might be at stake. These people have clearly invested heavily, using Norton's (2000) term, in both the language and their professional development, and see the teacher role as symbolic and central to their identities. It is linked strongly to notions of confidence and competence, and

the need to justify their position as teachers of a language in which they do not claim 'ownership' or 'native' proficiency. The 'hairdresser question' elicited a range of interesting responses, but common to all seemed to be a mixture of pride and uncertainty, developed in subsequent discussion of the 'impostor' issue. The ambiguity of the adjective 'English', when preceding the title 'teacher' was a feature of the interview discussions, and immediately got to the crux of the matter: we are teaching a language that we do not claim to be ours through nationality or inheritance. T3 referred to worrying about "cheating", but as T2 reminded us, "I'm not British and I'm not pretending that I am." All participants seemed prepared to defend their position and right to teach the language, despite potential or perceived criticism, and this perhaps made them more determined to succeed. In summary, they do not feel like 'impostors', but they understand the label and its implications.

Training, qualifications and experience were all foregrounded by participants, even if these were seen as partially flawed or limited. The complex realities of 'being a teacher' in a local community were also discussed (e.g. by T4 in Sweden) and the general stress associated with the job, probably across the curriculum in state schools (e.g. T3 in Spain). Most cited their own rather negative language learning experiences as a motivation for becoming teachers, and as a continuing influence on their practice. They clearly and repeatedly identified with their students, and language learners more generally, and this emerges as a source of strength in their own self-evaluation, particularly in comparison with 'native speaker' teachers. They empathise with their learners, and want them to be able to use the language, rather than simply pass examinations. In this, they are successful multicompetent L2 users, role models attempting to pass on their own knowledge, skills and experience to others, in the hope of creating more of the same.

On defining the subject of ELT, some teachers noted that English is seen by students not so much as a subject but a life skill, with further implications for their role and purpose. Teaching language as (intercultural) skill rather than a body of knowledge, stressing communicative more than linguistic competence, could also be important for teachers' professional identities. However, this may be at odds with SOLTEs own learning

experience or beliefs: the 'moving target' of any living language, especially globalised/localised English, as an emergent social phenomenon, may not feel comfortable compared with the old certainties of grammar, vocabulary and textbook. This potential paradox is returned to below, in 6.5.

2. *How do these multilingual, multicultural teachers develop their identities and what influences their professional practice and beliefs?*

As noted in Chapter 3, Giddens (2002) argues that contemporary self-identity is a constant and active process of recreation in a globalised world. The question here centres on how SOLTEs (re)create their current professional identities, as presented to me as researcher, and how these interact with other aspects of identity, relating to language, nationality, age, gender, social background etc. A useful definition of identity is in Norton (2000; discussed in Chapter 3):

> How a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future. (2000: 5)

Norton also argues that "identity constructs and is constructed by language" (1997: 419). It is the relationship between these participants and language, in particular English, alongside at least one other in their lives, which frames this thesis. They make a living teaching a language they themselves learnt at school and beyond, and this situates them, in various senses, in comparison with and contrast to people defined as 'native speakers'. Their "possibilities for the future" are linked both to the language and their competence to teach it, in a globalising sociocultural context, but localised professional settings.

Language identity can be understood as the relationship between our sense of self and a means of communication (Block, 2006), and this consists of language expertise, affiliation and inheritance (Leung et al, 1997), as noted in Chapter 3. These SOLTEs have no inherited relationship with English, but can claim strong affiliation and a high level of expertise. In this, they may not be typical of such teachers around the world, in particular

regarding expertise (as argued by Braine, 2010), but their status as role models for language learners, and for contemporary ELT professionals, is unarguable. Indeed, the nature of their expertise – their multicompetence and intercultural awareness – may qualify them as 'ideal' 21st century language teachers. T2's self-description as a "multiculture" person may indeed be apt.

The lack of inheritance, however, does not make them 'impostors', despite the traces of self-doubt apparent in some comments presented in this study. The "impostor syndrome" article (Bernat, 2008: 6), used to prompt some of the discussion, aimed to address "negative perceptions and feelings of inadequacy" among 'non-native' teachers, as their self-awareness and perceptions are "central to their growth as professionals". In the present investigation, there is a strong sense emerging that many of these SOLTEs have, perhaps after periods of struggle, negotiated themselves into a relatively positive, assured position as ELT professionals. Bernat (2008: 6) also notes that participation in her study in itself may have some impact on the teachers' self-perception and sense of status, as their careers develop. With the continued growth of Lingua Franca English use "already the waters of English native-speaker norms are becoming muddied", thus preparing the ground for a greater influence within the profession from 'non-native' teachers; this process is also "transforming and reshuffling notions of currently perceived native and non-native identities" (Bernat, 2008: 7). There was some evidence of similar consolidation of attitudes here, demonstrated by comments from T2 and T6 in the final interview. For instance, T6 attempting to articulate the need to "be herself", as opposed to "one of you" (meaning 'natives'), stressing "I don't think I particularly have to belong to a 'native speaker' or 'non-native speaker' group". This perhaps embodies some of the 'crossing borders' complexity noted in Chapter 1, and the ambitions for the profession to move beyond the 'nativeness' dichotomy (e.g. Rajagopalan, 2005; Braine, 2010).

It is important to retain a notion of SOLTEs as individuals with personal life narratives, for whom such acts of boundary crossing in their professional lives (e.g. learner – teacher) and socially (e.g. dual citizenship) are abstractions of their realities. The SOLTE concept can be seen as an attempt to blur the 'nativeness' distinction, as claimed by T6 above. Differences

between participants on key issues emerge: the two state school teachers working in their home countries (T3 and T4) appeared to identify more strongly with the 'impostor' idea, displaying the most obvious signs of related insecurity. T2 and T6, however, having taught in the UK and elsewhere, were the most assertive in their rejection of the label, whilst acknowledging its relevance and the occasional need for self-justification. There were variable degrees of emotion attached to, for example, 'native' teachers being preferred for jobs; T1 feeling "angry" and like "a second class teacher... person?" The degrees of tension and conflict played out through their professional identities, at least as apparent in this investigation, were similarly uneven, albeit rooted in the same set of concerns.

However, for these SOLTEs, the influence of the 'native speaker' retains its power, T6 even going so far as to speculate, light-heartedly but perceptively, that she might be 'marrying in' to nativeness; dual citizenship leading to dual identity, and another deliberate blurring of the boundaries. Braine (2010: 19) discusses the perception by learners (and others) of English 'nativeness' as denoting white Caucasian appearance (see also Holliday, 2010; Pennycook, 1994 on race and ideology in ELT). The teachers in this study are European, white, female, high-proficiency users of the language, who set themselves extremely high standards (linguistically and professionally), based largely on the 'native' models and standards inculcated through the extensive processes of their own language learning and subsequent teacher education. They are unequivocally the "expert users" envisaged by Rampton (1990), having achieved something that could be referred to as 'near-native competence', however it is measured or regarded. Perhaps a better description, in the light of the themes discussed in this study, would be 'post-native' or 'beyond-native' competence, reflecting the complex set of skills and knowledge that these individuals bring to their professional practice.

It is competence that emerges as a central construct, as discussed in Chapter 5. Positivity towards the language (affiliation), being good at the job of learning and teaching (expertise) and believing that to be the case (confidence) perhaps trump nativeness (inheritance), adapting the terms suggested by Leung et al (1997). It is the teachers' conception of competence that most powerfully influences their practice and beliefs. Richards (2011; also

noted in Chapter 3) examines teacher competence in terms of language proficiency, content knowledge, teaching skills, contextual knowledge, identity, and professionalism. Kirkpatrick (2007; 2010) argues for the necessary competence for 'ideal' language teachers to include multilingualism and an understanding of language variation, learning context and local needs. These reconceptualisations for pedagogy surely point towards SOLTEs with sufficient training and confidence to be at the forefront of the profession, not lagging behind the allegedly superior 'native' teachers. Consequently, for some of these practitioners, potential roles as teacher educators may empower them as a seed bed for future change in ELT practice.

From the evidence of this small-scale investigation, SOLTEs work hard to maintain and improve their connection with the "actual" language (Widdowson, 2003) through their attempts at continuous in-service training, where available, trips or holidays to English-speaking countries, and UK/US-based teacher training programmes. Such regular updating of knowledge (linguistic and pedagogical) raises another question in relation to, for example, 'native' teachers who do not keep up with contemporary usage (e.g. colloquialisms and language change): are those teachers appropriate for their often younger learners, despite their 'native' knowledge and proficiency? The SOLTEs studied here seemed to play down their potential advantage in this respect, or perceive it as secondary to their areas of self-confessed concern, such as pronunciation or the colloquial usage mentioned above.

Another point of interest is the limited attention paid to professional organisations, particularly the international bodies representing language teachers (such as IATEFL). Apart from passing comments on local teacher development sessions, often run in conjunction with publishers, the SOLTEs here did not convey any real sense of belonging to a community of practice. The "legitimate peripheral participation" leading to "full participation" defined by Lave and Wenger (1991) did not feature in their characterisations of their own professional contexts, suggesting that they do not see themselves as part of such a community, or do not think about their role and identities this way. The question then becomes "which community?" as the transnational, "imagined community" (Pavlenko,

2003) of multilingual practitioners is a construct, an ideal, not a meeting place. These teachers are not online virtual club members either, it seems, and especially in the case of those working in the UK, are arguably performing more as individual agents, outside conventional, structured professional groupings. However, with T2 and T6, there is a sense of an ongoing struggle for recognition by the community called 'native speaker teachers'. In terms of their present and ideal or future L2 selves (Ushioda, 2009), T6 in particular represents a strongly-motivated desire to acculturate and 'go native', through professional development and marriage, as discussed above. This presents another paradox in relation to the 'ideal' contemporary English language teacher, returned to in 6.5.

3. ***What are the implications of the globalisation of English for the field of English Language Teaching, and the impact on the position of SOLTEs?***

This thesis makes an explicit connection between the redefinition of English, as a language of both global and local communication, and the need to reconceptualise pedagogy to respond to the new sociolinguistic and demographic realities. It follows that an investigation of the multiple identities of SOLTEs must also take account of these realities and their impact on such people. As noted above, there is perhaps a paradox in the 'ideal' practitioners for 21st century ELT feeling ambivalent towards some of the key constructs associated with this reconceptualisation of both the language and its pedagogy.

Some of the participants (especially T2, T3 and T6) appear well aware of English as a Lingua Franca issues, for instance regarding interactions and intelligibility, and broadly subscribe to a more globalised, pluricentric view of English(es) and the practical implications for pedagogy. But they also display a tendency towards maintaining a strong connection with 'native speaker' norms and models, largely as a result of their own language learning success and subsequent teacher education, in addition to the perceived demands of their learners and employers. Therefore, we see contradictions and ambiguities in SOLTEs' perspectives on, for example, 'native' norms for pronunciation (especially their own), set against their appreciation of 'ELF-aware teaching'. Arguably this is a necessary stage, both for them and the profession, in an evolutionary process, shifting from

being in thrall to the authority of 'nativeness' towards recognising and responding to a multilingual, pragmatic environment for language learning and use: a 'post-native era'.

The enduring attraction of standardised 'native' pedagogical models can be seen partially as a reflection of the idealised conception of language as "a unified and bounded phenomenon" (Leung, 2005: 139). This notion is rejected from a sociocultural perspective as a "fallacy" (Dewey, 2007: 349), and its effects include the setting of learning goals which are "unrealistic and unnecessary" (Leung, 2005: 139), or an "impossible target" (Cook, 2002: 331). The persistent view of language as an abstract system, or body of ('native') knowledge to be conveyed, conflicts with that of language as a social practice – a messier, perhaps less convenient construct for learners and teachers. The issue at stake here is to what extent SOLTEs are best-placed to understand and implement forms of teaching that genuinely address learners local/global needs in English, taking account of this ever-moving target and the identity investment involved for all concerned. If teachers are preparing their learners to be Lingua Franca users in a range of contexts and with variable purposes, the rules of the pedagogical game must be different from one where the sole aim is to transmit linguistic knowledge, to be formally examined, out of context and devoid of sociocultural purpose.

Prodromou (2008: 246) argues that English as a Lingua Franca, as with all language use, is concerned with users "constructing and co-constructing multiple identities in the modern world". This means a greater focus on process than product, and involves a central role for accommodation strategies, intercultural and pragmatic competence, flexibility and tolerance of variation – all of which need to be reflected in pedagogical practice, and therefore embedded within ELT teacher education programmes. The learning goal becomes the development of multilingual identities involving uses of English (Cook, 2002, 2008), through which L2 users can appropriate the language, alongside other languages, to express these identities. In this redefined paradigm for language pedagogy, successful communication itself needs re-evaluating, embracing these notions (see Kramsch, 2010) and the "meta-cultural competence" suggested by Sharifian (2009). Coverage of these

aspects in language teacher education and training programmes is probably inadequate, or non-existent, according to the views of these SOLTEs, and in my own experience.

We may have a problem defining the subject, defining language itself, and certainly defining what English now is in the 21st century, but what is clear is that previously-held notions of linguistic competence and pedagogical models are insufficient in most contexts. The contention in this thesis is that well-trained, confident and interculturally competent SOLTEs are in the strongest position to deliver this new form of language teaching. As Saraceni (2010: 92) noted, we need to shift away from the "what" (language description) to the "how" and "why" (communicative processes), in particular with English. The SOLTEs presented in this study may still display a strong attachment to the "what", resulting from their training and own learning journeys, and thus arguably also to the abstract system conception of language. However, they may additionally be seen, and crucially see themselves, as especially aware of the "how" and "why", again down to their own understanding of communicative processes in actual situations. The evidence of this study is that they may be either ambivalent towards, or unaware of, their potential strengths as the ideal teachers of English for its globalised purposes.

6.2 The 'multilingual principle'

> Wer fremde Sprachen nicht kennt, weiss nichts von seiner eigenen.
> (He who is not acquainted with foreign languages knows nothing of his own.)
> (Goethe, *Maximen und Reflexionen*; cited in Ostler, 2010)

In his memoirs, the multilingual Edward Said described his sense of being "out of place" as a consequence of an "unsettled sense of many identities" (1999: 5). In both his hybrid name (English/Arabic) and his early bilingual upbringing, two of these identities are manifestly connected to language. Kramsch (2009) discusses "the multilingual subject", both in the sense of a subject of study (e.g. a language) and the individual using languages. She stresses the importance of the subjective experiences in the lives of multilingual language users, such as Said's, along with the "symbolic competence" people exploit, through

language, to mediate such experiences as part of social identity, and as key to intercultural competence (Kramsch, 2010). Graddol (2006) argues that we are now at a stage of "linguistic postmodernity", in which, amongst other things, multilingualism in Europe "represents the unravelling of a key component of modern identity" (2006: 19). Schneider (2011: 23) claims that, with "glocalisation", societies should promote multilingualism and mutual respect between ethnolinguistic groups; this includes accepting multiple, localised forms of English, above and beyond the codified standard of the traditional classroom.

The "monolingual principle" in language pedagogy (discussed in Chapter 3), dating back at least to the Direct Method of a century ago (Howatt, 2004), advocates instructional use of the target language and excluding the learners' first, to reduce interference and encourage acquisition (Cummins, 2009). Several more recent and influential teaching approaches have been based on the same beliefs, such as communicative and task-based language teaching, which have had significant impact on ELT teacher training programmes over the past thirty years, particularly in Inner Circle countries. Cook (2001) argues that these approaches ignore the learners' L1, and by implication this must limit the effectiveness of local, bilingual teachers. The 'multilingual principle' proposed here not only refocuses the pedagogical aspect to this argument, but also incorporates a recognition of real-world language use and the goal of multicompetence for learners (Cook, 1992, 2002). The effectiveness of bilingual classroom strategies (or "translanguaging"; Garcia, 2008) is supported by empirical research cited in Cummins (2009), also noted in Chapter 3, based on cognitive theories of acquisition and identity affirmation among learners, enhancing a sense of legitimisation of the L1, described by Manyak (2004) and Cummins (2009) as *identities of competence*. This last term perhaps provides an apt point of reference for our SOLTEs, as it seems these are the characteristics of professional and social identity that mean most to them.

Kirkpatrick (2010: 221) credibly argues for a multilingual model for ELT, with the teacher as the pedagogical target, the aim of which is the use of English in multilingual settings. Accordingly, successful multilingual users of English are logical linguistic and role models for their students. There is a compelling case for both the L2 user as the aim of second

language learning, and for SOLTEs as appropriate and authoritative teachers to enable that process. In a similar vein, Alptekin (2010) offers a revision of multicompetence, incorporating an ELF perspective. Users of Lingua Franca English (and presumably other languages) display a multicultural identity, developed through their varied interactions and contexts, each influenced by the different communication patterns involved (Alptekin, 2010: 102). He claims that ELF studies have contributed to this debate, which reconfigures language and use as social practice:

> With the reconceptualization of the holistic view of multicompetence as a usage-based construct, it is likely that ELF will be recognized for its contribution to bilingualism and multiculturalism in its own right. The rapid spread and globalization of English imposes on ESL/EFL users the need to interact in English in fluid communicative contexts. (2010: 104)

Graddol (2006) claims that the "death of the monolingual native-speaker" of English is both a likely and desirable outcome of the past few decades of demographic and educational change. Goethe, (cited in Ostler, 2010; above) reminds us of the value of multilingualism, and the corresponding ignorance caused by its opposite. Crystal (2003: xiii), quoted at the beginning of Chapter 1, made a plea for multilingualism and a global language, both as "an amazing world resource". So, the 'ideal' communicators are interculturally aware, skilled, pragmatically competent, and sociolinguistically context-sensitive, good at accommodation, good at listening, and probably effective code-switchers/shifters in response to interactional demands. In the case of English, this means ELF-aware, multilingual, multicompetent language users, with the "functional nativeness" of a new Inner Circle (Kachru, 2004). Therefore, the 'ideal' teachers, whose job it is to prepare such learners and users, are SOLTEs, *regardless of their first language*, in possession of most of the above qualities, plus the confidence and pedagogical competence to use them in their teaching, exploiting their multiple identities. Furthermore, under this paradigm for ELT, the 'native'/'non-native' boundary is essentially irrelevant, as argued by some of the research participants in this study: 'beyond-native' is the (ever moving) target.

The traditional 'native speaker' models for language pedagogy, whilst still appropriate for some, may become a sideshow, overtaken by demographic and sociolinguistic events.

These models and norms have usually been based on the 'ideal/ised', educated 'native', with 'perfect' (monolingual) linguistic knowledge, augmented by a sociolinguistic or cultural competence appropriate to a particular group of speakers. The fact that this type of knowledge is itself limited by experience and exposure to alternatives has been largely ignored. The new definition of 'educated' speaker will embrace the more dynamic and complex set of competences above, and involve a revised definition of the 'good' communicator, the 'good' language learner, and thus the 'best' teacher. Canagarajah (2006b: 233) referred to the requirement for "multidialectical competence" as part of successful communication in the contemporary world. Under this paradigm, intelligibility cannot be simply defined by what monolingual 'native speakers' of a language find convenient or easier to understand: if English is to continue to be used around the world in Lingua Franca contexts, intelligibility needs to be in the eye (or ear) of the beholder, a two-way street. As McKay (2009: 229) reminds us, one of the central principles of pragmatics in language use is that social norms are open to negotiation. English as a global language serves its speakers as a means of negotiating their multiple identities, whether or not they regard themselves as inside or outside some notional (or national) speech community. There are huge implications with this kind of reconceptualisation of the field, both for pedagogy and language teacher education. Perhaps the self-doubt and uncertainty on display in the SOLTEs presented here can be a source of strength, paradoxically, and a motivating force towards constant personal and professional improvement, as opposed to the (over) self-confidence of those whose presumed superiority is based on a native birthright.

6.3 Methodological conclusions

The study was largely based on "the art of hearing data" (Rubin & Rubin, 2005), through semi-structured interviews and using "purposive sampling" (Bryman, 2004) to select appropriate participants. It is hoped that the implementation of the approach did result in "responsive interviewing" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and that the instrument produced credible and interesting data, relevant to the research questions. The format and style of the

interviews appeared to encourage proper engagement with the issues, freedom to digress, disagree and develop emerging views, with the aim of establishing what was actually important to participants, rather than just to the researcher. The "small stories" (Norton & Early, 2011; Vasquez, 2011) that grew from these encounters, and subsequent online contributions, have something to say about who these teachers think they are, who they would like to be, and how they manage the difference in their professional lives.

The use of the online discussion forum was discussed in both Chapters 4 and 5 above, with regard to its rather limited success, eliciting mixed responses and levels of participation. It might have been more effective to either integrate this forum more explicitly into the research process, perhaps in advance of the initial interviews, or to have encouraged further email exchanges with the teachers instead. Some useful data emerged through both channels, but it seemed clear that some were unfamiliar with online discussion, or were simply too busy to engage with it regularly. As noted in Chapter 4, I decided to maintain a light touch in terms of monitoring and prompting participants to contribute, as that seemed the appropriate way to conduct this element of the project. With a diverse and geographically separated group of teachers, the initial (perhaps rather vague) notion of creating a sense of mini-community among SOLTEs, where interesting and challenging ideas could be shared, was unrealistic and probably in itself reveals something of value: there is no clearly-defined community of practice for these practitioners. This is surely a point worth noting and remembering, as teachers are inevitably individuals with their own lives and priorities. Participation in this research study was unlikely to figure prominently in their scheme of things, regardless of their interest in the subject.

In terms of researcher position and impact, it is always difficult to assess the degree to which my presence, and participants' interpretation of it, affected the responses they made. It certainly appeared that in each of the interviews, and some of the online contributions, they were speaking or writing with freedom and purpose, in a sincere attempt to express their views. The interviews especially were intended as conversations, an informed and mutually inclusive dialogue to fit Kvale's (1996) description of "inter views". Nevertheless (and logically), my own stance on the substantive questions discussed cannot have been

invisible, but the aim was to use this mutual exchange of perspectives and experience to produce "thoroughly tested knowledge" (Kvale, 1996: 6). The qualitative data obtained this way are rich and messy, as is to be expected if we really have selected the right people to talk about issues that matter to them.

There is also the effect of the research process on both participants and researcher to be considered. Canagarajah (1996: 324) refers to the mutual impact of such studies, and also notes how the absence of researcher voice hides the way subjectivities can shape the findings. This theme is returned to in *Reflections as a researching practitioner* below (6.6). The end product of the research may indeed be a "selfish text" (Dunne et al, 2005), but my own part in this specific social context has also been recognised. Regarding impact on the participants, it seemed clear that all the teachers felt that discussing the topics in the study made them think more thoroughly and perhaps differently about their principles and practice. In particular, with T2 and T6, who became more involved in the project for a longer period of time, they both stated that their participation had in some ways influenced their current thinking about their teaching and postgraduate ELT studies, for example in choices of dissertation subject and informal discussions with work colleagues. In both these cases, the next career step may involve a teacher education role, where their SOLTE status, pedagogical beliefs and experience will combine to help form other language teachers in the near future.

Regarding the interpretative approach to data analysis, this very much followed the suggestions from Rubin and Rubin (2005), Stake (1995) and Holliday (2010) on allowing the findings to emerge throughout the project. The "progressive illumination" (Stake, 1995) was achieved through a process of selecting research participants, obtaining data through interaction with them, and ongoing analysis of findings within the framework of both the original aims and emerging themes. At times this was a somewhat uncomfortable process, in that the nature of this study (and probably many Professional Doctorates) involved prolonged periods where other commitments took over, and the overall focus appeared difficult to maintain. That said, the decision to return to the key themes from the first two stages of the data, by conducting the final interview with T2 and T6, had the added benefit

of offering the opportunity to reappraise the issues and the shape of the argument. In terms of presentation of the findings, the use of extended quotations from the interviews and online comments, following Holliday (2010), Denscombe (2007) and others, deliberately aimed to present a clear and consolidated account where the participants' voices can still be heard. There are limitations to what can be achieved in this regard, as noted in Chapter 4, but generally my perception is that what emerges is a credible picture of the teachers' views, within a framework of the literature, theoretical positions and research themes discussed. T2 and T6 were presented with parts of the data at the final interview, for corroboration and expansion as appropriate, and this has resulted overall in a more complete 'story to be told'.

Any small-scale study of this kind has its limitations: the hope with such 'small stories' is that a depth of understanding of the issues can be achieved, as opposed to the breadth of larger samples. The intention, as discussed in Chapter 4, is that readers with an interest in the subject can bring their own experience to bear in transferring elements of the findings and argument to other contexts, rather than claiming generalisabilty in the conventional sense, associated with other forms of research. This is a consequence of a partially grounded, interpretative approach, where multiple voices, including that of the researcher, should be audible, but also need to be orchestrated in some way to produce a reasonably coherent piece. As noted in Chapter 4, the practitioner researcher will inevitably bring some baggage, both methodologically and on substantive questions. The effect of this research process has been a shifting of some of those attitudes and perspective, I believe on both my part and that of the participants. Next time would always be different, and a similar study would need to consider the use of the online forum, the timing and spacing of interviews, the possibility of a focus group, classroom observation and other means of getting a fuller picture of the teachers and their positions in relation to the research questions. On balance, and in retrospect, what has been obtained is of value to me as a researching practitioner with a stake in the issues, and this thesis is an attempt to communicate that value to others.

6.4 Potential follow-up and further research

If SOLTEs are in some senses the way forward for English Language Teaching, what are the implications for the field, and specifically for aspects of teacher education: are 'beyond-native' (and 'post-method') teachers the answer, at least in some contexts? Are these people the ideal teacher educators for the next generation of globally-aware, locally-sensitive language teachers? On a related point, should all 'native speaker' teachers have some kind of language qualification, in addition to teacher training and their 'birthright' of nativeness, to ensure competence and understanding of the multiple roles and identities necessary for 21st century ELT? This echoes the arguments put forward by Ellis (2006) for language teachers' knowledge to include L2 learning and use, and by Llurda (2009: 130) for training, especially when aimed at 'native speaker' teachers, to incorporate modules for this purpose.

This extends to postgraduate programmes, especially located in the Inner Circle of the UK, USA etc., such as the Masters in ELT that I direct. Students have been encouraged to take an additional language course, particularly at beginner level and in a distinctly different language from their first, as another perspective on the processes of learning. One implication of the study is for me to consider whether this element should be incorporated and assessed more formally within the programme (and this is proposed for 2012). As T2 expressed it, remarked upon in Chapter 5, trainees in the UK do teaching practice, but they "don't do *learning* practice". On global English, Sharifian (2009: 12) argues for teacher education to prepare practitioners to teach people to communicate successfully with a wide range of speakers, regardless of the variety or dialect they use. This facet of ELT, and the implications of English as a Lingua Franca more generally, have also been gaining prominence in the MA courses I teach on over the past few years. Thus there are specific and practical ramifications for my own practice, some of which are already being addressed, at least initially. Others require further reflection, but it is true to say that the study, the engagement with the literature and issues, and significantly the responses of the teachers, have all changed what I do, and how I approach my own teaching.

Just as any small-scale study could have been conducted differently, it could also have been extended to include related questions and further aspects of the subject. In addition to investigating teacher education issues for SOLTEs and similar groups, there are questions to address on local teacher training (both initial and in-service), methods, materials, syllabus, testing – all the usual dimensions to educational practice. What do SOLTEs actually do in the classroom? How do they enact their identities and perform their professional roles, and how might an appropriate community of practice be developed? The original intention with this project was to try to study SOLTEs in their home countries, their local professional contexts: is this still worth looking at?

To what extent is language proficiency, both self-defined and as measured by standard tests, key to SOLTE identity and ability to perform the roles of 'ideal' 21st century teachers? Braine (2010) lamented the generally inadequate linguistic skills of many 'non-native' teachers in Asia, and the lack of proper training and development opportunities. The participants in this study were purposefully selected with high levels of proficiency and, in most cases, fairly extensive teaching experience. How different would the findings be with a less experienced and less able group? On the Lingua Franca aspects: to what extent is an awareness of the globalisation of English, and the many and varied perspectives on its spread and use, actually a feature of many SOLTEs' professional experience? In particular for those teaching within the mainstream educational settings in their local context, with constraints of policy, syllabus, testing and expectation (probably relating to conventional, 'native' norms in language learning), what is the best way forward for both teacher education programmes and ELT curriculum planning? Teacher education and pedagogy are key themes at the forthcoming Fifth International Conference of English as a Lingua Franca (Istanbul, May 2012), where I will be presenting and co-hosting a special symposium focused on some of the issues raised in this thesis.

6.5 Contribution of thesis to the field

> No longer are static views of language as system and language learning as internalization of that system seen as adequate in a world in which boundary-crossing, multilingualism, and human agency are recognized.
> (Norton & Toohey, 2011: 436)

Menard-Warwick (2011: 565), discussing how we evaluate our own research, cites Labov (1972) on the need to answer the implicit "so what?" question in the minds of the audience or reader. This is a common enough experience for teachers, and the question may not always be so implicit. In addition to making claims to knowledge and understanding, through a methodology, a review of literature and the presentation of findings as an argument that seeks to address specific questions, we need to make the case for relevance. This thesis has attempted to bring together some very big issues within a relatively small research focus. It has aimed to collate issues of language, 'nativeness' and identity along with professional competence and the global/local contexts of contemporary English use and pedagogy.

The study has sought to make a contribution towards locating ELT more firmly within the fields of education and languages – rather than in its own separate world, still connected (in some eyes) to tourism, backpacking and cultural imperialism from a bygone, modernist age, where 'experts' could be defined outside the normal disciplinary range of realities. A world where 'native speakers' could occupy the status of role models and standard-bearers, despite their frequent inability to acquire or use additional languages themselves. However, *I would like to redefine 'SOLTEs' to include myself.* As a rusty intermediate level occasional user of Spanish and French (one learnt informally, the other in a dull classroom), does that make me a Speaker of Other Languages Teaching English, or a Multilingual English Teacher, despite my lack of 'proficiency' in the traditional sense? Yes, it should, and perhaps this also indicates a useful future direction for the tired debates on 'native' and 'non-native' teachers, models and standards: a 'post-native' era, where 'beyond-native' competence counts.

> In the EFL context many expatriate language teachers often do not speak the first language of the students, so the L2 is unavoidable. But this is more an argument about the desirable qualities for teachers than about the type of teaching students should receive; an L2 teacher who cannot use a second language may not be the best role model for the students. (Cook, 2008: 181)

On this key question of language teachers as models for their learners, the following extract comes from the entry requirements (2011) for the Trinity College London Cert. TESOL, a popular British-based initial ELT qualification:

> Competence in written and spoken English appropriate to a teacher of English, whether English is applicants' first, second or foreign language: the varieties of written and spoken English deemed appropriate for a teacher of English include regional and world varieties as well as British Standard English, but successful applicants' levels of competence in English must be of a standard sufficient to enable them to perform the function of role models as language teachers. (Trinity College London website)

It is interesting to note the relatively recent addition to the criteria relating to "regional and world varieties" of English; perhaps further evidence of change within ELT institutions. However, there is no explicit mention of competence as a language learner (though it is implied, for 'non-native' speakers – a term avoided here), or other aspects of personality or professional skill that might comprise "role model" status. There is no reference either to anything resembling intercultural or pragmatic competence. These omissions cannot sensibly continue too much further into the era of English as a global language, used in contact with thousands of others, mutually changing each other and their speakers, the tool of tools for the world. After all, language is a process, not a "frozen monolith" (Saraceni, 2010: 97); this is the "21st century flux" (Sawday, 2010).

In answer to the question "Who do you think you are?" the participants in this study claim both competence and confidence as English language teachers, yet also express self-doubt and reservations towards a 'native' model that they themselves increasingly question. The set of paradoxes raised by this kind of position seems to be part of these practitioners' self-perception, and is reflected in the quotation from Llurda (2009: 131) at the beginning of this chapter: there are obstacles on the way to becoming "rightful and powerful free users

and teachers" of English. For example, regarding "tolerance of variation" in English as a Lingua Franca (Kirkpatrick, 2007), and more generally with language production, SOLTEs may not always exhibit this themselves, yet they also represent the L2 user target and model proposed as 'ideal'.

Teachers, including these, have multiple identities, as we would expect, and perform them as part of their professional roles as appropriately as they can. They send mixed messages, however. At times, the participants identify strongly and overtly with their students, as 'non-native speaker' comrades for whom they are the ideal multicompetent role model. At other times, the shadow of the idealised 'native speaker' still looms, with 'perfect' knowledge of the target language, a fully paid-up member of a 'target culture' community, however dated and mythical these constructs are now seen to be. Changes in attitudes and beliefs about language take time, a process of evolution rather than revolution, much as other significant social changes (for example concerning race, gender, or social class) have done over recent history. Speakers of Other Languages Teaching English, a small group of whom are represented in this study, are already symbols and agents of change, and part of an accelerating process.

T3 claimed "Global teachers, we could say we are", and this aspiration may be seen as equally applicable to those whose English language identity stems from expertise, affiliation or inheritance (Leung et al, 1997), regardless of the label attached to them. What makes language teachers effective, and perhaps inspirational, is more a question of confidence and competence, an appreciation of local linguistic and educational contexts, and of global reconceptualisations of language use that determine who teachers think they are and who they can become. Pedagogical targets for all living languages change continuously, as do the languages themselves, in response to people's local communicative needs and identity claims, in a globalised world where multicompetent teachers can act as role models for their learners. If these new realities are recognised, a pedagogy for 21st century ELT can evolve which embraces teachers' and learners' multiple identities, as part of Crystal's (2003) ideal world of mutual understanding, where English in its infinite varieties and idiolects can sit alongside all other languages.

6.6 Postscript: Reflections as a researching practitioner – Who do I think I am?

> In grappling with inherent challenges of research methodology arising out of overt personal involvement, the study also becomes a project in representation, in authenticity, in authorial and researcher voice. Acknowledging this dimension requires the author of the thesis to think carefully about the genre of their writing, of the extent to which they place themselves in the text and their authorial responsibilities as storyteller of other informants. (Drake, 2011: 6)

There is a danger in reflexivity. If all research must answer the implicit 'so what?' question, then surely researcher introspection must do the same; the 'hairdresser question' applies here, too. There is also, however, a need towards the end of the thesis process to stop and think about its impact, personally and professionally. If the SOLTEs in this study can be seen as 'crossing borders', the same can be said for practitioner researchers, constantly unsure of their position, still trying to find "a place to stand" (Dunne et al, 2005: 11). The aim in this study has been to present the voices of participants fairly and credibly as they speak about the substantive issues, and to an extent to find my own. A parallel between these issues and the thesis writing is one of shifting and uncertain identities: do the multiple identities of SOLTEs in the title have their equivalent in my own completion of the Doctorate? Never mind "Who do you think you are?" - Who do I think I am?

The "small stories" (e.g. Norton & Early, 2011) used to enhance the study, and the way they have been presented, have allowed the impact of participants' and my own identities on the research to be more visible, and vice versa. There were signs during the project that the investigation was having an effect on some of the teachers' views, as emerged particularly in the final interview. There has been a corresponding influence on my practice, in terms of current and planned teaching, conference talks and potential areas of further research and writing. Perceptions of my professional role and the contemporary issues for the field have shifted. There are central aspects of ELT and teacher education, concerned with language change, multilingualism, globalised Lingua Franca English use, and teacher competence, where my awareness and direction have been clarified by this process. I feel my thinking and teaching are the better for investigating and writing about these questions. Block (2007), writing about the structure and agency tensions (e.g.

Giddens, 1984) in the context of identity in Second Language Acquisition research, makes a point of relevance to both me, as the researcher, and the SOLTE participants, as the researched:

> Individuals do not carve out an identity from the inside out or from the outside in, as it were; rather, their environments impose constraints whilst they act on those environments, continuously altering and recreating them. (2007: 866)

The social and professional environments for language teachers and their educators must necessarily work as simultaneous forces of inertia and change, and be continuously changed by those actors, in much the same way as languages are changed by their users, whoever they think they are. Lastly, I want to be thought of as a SOLTE, too. I must go back to my Spanish and French, perhaps try Arabic or Mandarin Chinese, as I recommend to my student-teachers. Become a language learner again to help rethink my professional roles. In my own search for identity, I would like to be a multicompetent, multilingual language teacher, teacher educator, researcher, and interculturally-aware communicator, if that is not too much to ask.

The relation between thought and word is a living process; thought is born through words. A word devoid of thought is a dead thing, and a thought unembodied in words remains a shadow.

(Vygotsky, 1934/1962: 153)

****

APPENDIX A

Introductory letter to participants

Dear teacher,

I am seeking your help as part of my doctoral research project, which is focused on issues of language teacher identity. Specifically, I am interested in interviewing teachers to gain a detailed understanding of their perceptions and attitudes towards a number of questions.

The field of study is English Language Teaching, and in particular the evolving roles and identities of teachers whose first language is not English. This takes place against a contemporary backdrop of global forces, sociocultural and pedagogical change, which influence the complex subject area of teaching and learning the language. At the most general level, English as a global language has a growing majority of its speakers/users as non-natives. There is a similar pattern in the proportions of teachers, as the majority (perhaps 80%) are local to their educational context, share the first language of the learners, and work in mainstream state-funded school systems. This is in sharp contrast to the bulk of the academic research in the field and the ELT practitioners in the 'Inner Circle' countries, such as the UK and USA.

Proposed initial research questions:

- What are the main personal and professional influences on Speakers of Other Languages Teaching English, in their initial training, development and teaching values?
- How significant is the complexity of defining the subject of English Language Teaching in teachers' construction of their identities?
- What are these teachers' perspectives on the Global English debates and discourse, where do these views come from, and how do they affect their practice?
- How do these multilingual, multicultural teachers develop and manage their identities as learners, speakers and teachers of English?

Interviews would be informal, last for around 30-40 minutes, preferably be audio recorded with your permission, and of course all participants will remain anonymous in the final research paper. The possibility of follow-up contact (e.g. by email) would also be useful.

If you think you may be able to help, I would be very grateful if you could get in touch with me by email on: a.m.blair@sussex.ac.uk

Please also contact me if you have any questions about the project. Your help would be greatly appreciated.

Thanks,

Andrew Blair
Convenor, MA in English Language Teaching
Professional Doctorate in Education programme

APPENDIX B

Interview Schedule

Name: **Date:**

1. Introduction and thanks – overview of study and research questions.

2. Reasons for becoming an EL teacher? ("I am an English teacher.")

3. Influences on teaching (& training)?

4. Views on role(s) of EL teachers, changes over time?

5. Views on the subject of ELT – how defined, learners, purpose, contexts etc?

6. Global English issues – ELF/ 'target culture', globalisation etc – impact on teaching, training etc?

7. NNS/SOLTE issues – 'impostor syndrome'? attitudes, feelings, perceptions, experience?

8. Identity – as person, teacher, learner etc – link to NS/NNS qs?

9. Multilingual/multicultural aspects – how developed and managed?

10. Any questions/other areas to discuss?

11. Thanks and follow up.

APPENDIX C

Online discussion forum email

Fri 11/06/2010 12:30

Dear teachers

I hope you are all well and looking forward to a good summer. Thanks to all of you for the help you have provided me over the past year or so with my ongoing (meaning stop-start) research, and for the recent contact by email. I hope you don't mind me emailing you as a group like this, but I would really like to follow up some of the issues we discussed in those interviews, some of which were quite a time ago now.

To do this, I am in the process of setting up a discussion group on Google groups, which I hope will work for this purpose. I also want this to be relatively easy to manage, and of course not take up too much of your time (or mine). My aim is to create a closed (password-protected) online space where I can post a few thoughts and topics, and hope that some or all of you might be able to respond, in your own time and in your own way.

I realise that we are all busy people, and the world cup is now upon us, too. If you feel you can continue to join in with this short project, I would be extremely grateful. It would involve registering with Google groups by setting up an account, if you don't already have one of these, when you receive an 'invitation' to do so. This process is easy and only takes a few minutes, which is one reason why I chose this approach.

The group name is SOLTE - speakers of other languages teaching English, which reflects the central theme of my research topic. My plan is to add a few articles and short texts to the group site, and use the discussion forum to collect some more ideas on the issues we have previously discussed. It will also be possible for you as group members to upload files and of course start discussion topics, if you would like to do that.
I intend to try to keep the group going on an informal basis (i.e. there is no obligation to participate or add a comment to every topic) over the next few months, depending on how it goes. This is a new approach for me as well, so something of an experiment, but I hope useful and interesting for all of us.

Please let me know if this seems OK to you, before I trigger the Google groups invitation. Any amount of participation from each of you, however limited or occasional, will be of real help to me.

Thanks,

Andrew

APPENDIX D

Summary for final interview participants

<u>Initial research questions</u>

- What does it mean to Speakers of Other Languages Teaching English (SOLTEs) to say: 'I am an English teacher'?
- In what ways do these individuals construct, develop and manage their identities as learners, users and teachers of English?
- What are the main personal and professional influences on these multilingual, multicultural teachers, in terms of initial training, development and beliefs about English language teaching and learning?

<u>Key themes from interviews</u>

1. The 'hairdresser question'.
2. Becoming a teacher: reasons and influences.
3. Defining the subject of ELT.
4. 'Impostor syndrome': confidence, competence and identity.

<u>Follow-up interview</u>

Focus on themes 3 & 4, plus questions and reflections from teachers.
Discussion of selected quotes from literature and interviews.
Ethical issues: informed consent; use of data in thesis and talks?
Use of pseudonyms?

<u>Notes and discussion questions</u>

ELT:
What is the job of ELT? How is English a special case among languages? How important is the impact of globalisation, EIL/ELF etc? Learners: goals and needs, local contexts (e.g. re pronunciation, intelligibility, examinations)? What are the roles of the 'native speaker' and 'culture' in language teaching, and how are these defined? How should 21st century EL teachers be trained?

'Impostor syndrome' etc:
How have feelings changed on this question? Which community of teachers do you belong to? How is your competence to teach defined? What affects confidence? How does teaching English influence identity (and vice versa)? How are you different from native speakers? How has your UK experience affected your perspectives on these questions? What are your personal goals and ambitions for the future?

Any other questions or comments?

Bibliography

Achebe, C. (1965) English and the African Writer. *Transition* 18; 27-30.

Achebe, C. (1975) *Morning Yet on Creation Day.* London: Heinemann.

Aitchison, J. (2001) *Language Change: Progress or Decay?* (3rd edition) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Akbari, R. (2008) Postmethod Discourse and Practice. *TESOL Quarterly* 42/4; 641-652.

Alptekin, C. (2010) Redefining multicompetence for bilingualism and ELF. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 20/1; 95-110.

Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined communities. Reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism.* (Revised edition) London: Verso.

Bell, D. (2007) Do teachers think that methods are dead? *ELT* Journal 61/2; 135-143.

Bernat, E. (2008) Towards a pedagogy of empowerment: The case of 'impostor syndrome' among pre-service non-native speaker teachers of English. *English Language Teacher Education and Development* Vol. 11; Winter 2008; 1-8.

Berns, M. (2009) English as Lingua Franca and English in Europe. *World Englishes* 28/2; 192-199.

Blair, A. (2007) Methodological essay: pilot evaluation study of ELT teacher education programme. Unpublished assignment submitted in response to requirements for the Doctor of Education, University of Sussex.

Blair, A. (2008) Global English as a double-edged sword? Unpublished Critical Analytic Study submitted in response to requirements of the Doctor of Education, University of Sussex.

Block, D. (2006) *Multilingual Identities in a global city: London stories*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Block, D. (2007) The Rise of Identity in SLA Research, Post Firth and Wagner (1997). *The Modern Language Journal* 91; 863-876.

Block, D. (2009) *Second Language Identities*. London: Continuum.

Borg, S. (2009) English Language Teachers' Conceptions of Research. *Applied Linguistics* 30/3; 358-388.

Bourdieu, P. (1991) *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Braine, G. (2010) *Nonnative Speaker English Teachers: Research, Pedagogy, and Professional Growth*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Brown, H. (2002) English language teaching in the post-method era: towards better diagnosis, treatment and assessment. In Richards, J. & Renandya, W. (eds.) *Methodology in Language Teaching: An Anthology of Current Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp 9-18.

Brown, J.D. & Rodgers, T. (2002) *Doing Second Language Research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brown, K. (2001) World Englishes in TESOL Programs: An infusion model of curricular innovation. In Hall, D. & Hewings, A. (eds.) (2001) *Innovation in English Language Teaching*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp 108-117.

Bruthiaux, P. (2010) World Englishes and the classroom: An EFL perspective. *TESOL Quarterly* 44/2; 365-369.

Brutt-Griffler, J. & Samimy, K. (1999) Revisiting the colonial in the postcolonial: Critical praxis for nonnative-English-speaking teachers in a TESOL program. *TESOL Quarterly* 33/3; 413-431.

Bryman, A. (2004) *Social Research Methods.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Byram, M. (2000) Assessing Intercultural Competence in Language Teaching. *Sprogforum* 18/6; 8-13. http://inet.dpb.dpu.dk/infodok/sprogforum/Espr18/byram.html

Canagarajah, S. (1996) From critical research practice to critical research reporting. *TESOL Quarterly* 30/2; 321-331.

Canagarajah, S. (1999) *Resisting Linguistic Imperialism in English Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Canagarajah, S. (2005) *Reclaiming the Local in Language Policy and Practice.* Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Canagarajah, S. (2006a) TESOL at Forty: What are the issues? *TESOL Quarterly* 40/1; 9-34.

Canagarajah, S. (2006b) Changing communicative needs, revised assessment objectives: Testing English as an International Language. *Language Assessment Quarterly* 3/3; 229-242.

Chomsky, N. (1957) *Syntactic Structures*. The Hague: Mouton.

Clarke, M. (2008) *Language Teacher Identities – Co-constructing Discourse and Community.* Clevedeon: Multilingual Matters.

Cook, V. (1992) Evidence for multi-competence. *Language Learning* 42/4; 557-591.

Cook, V. (1999) Going beyond the native speaker in language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly* 33/2; 185-210.

Cook, V. (2001) Using the first language in the classroom. *Canadian Modern Language Review* 57; 402-423.

Cook, V. (ed.) (2002) *Portraits of the L2 user*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Cook, V. (ed.) (2003) *Effects of the second language on the first*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Cook, V. (2008) *Second Language Learning and Language Teaching*. (4th edition) London: Hodder Education.

Corder, S. P. (1967) The significance of learners' errors. *International Review of Applied Linguistics* 5/4; 161-70.

Crystal, D. (1997/2003) *English as a Global Language.* (1st/2nd editions) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cummins, J. (2009) Multilingualism in the English language Classroom: Pedagogical Considerations. *TESOL Quarterly* 43/2; 317-321.

Davies, A. (1991) *The Native Speaker in Applied Linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Davies, A. (2003) *The native speaker: Myth and reality.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Denscombe, M. (2007) *The Good Research Guide for small-scale social research projects.* (3rd edition) Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Dewey, M. (2007) English as a Lingua Franca and globalization: an interconnected perspective. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 17/3; 332-354.

Dornyei, Z. (2005) *The Psychology of the Language Learner: Individual Differences in Second Language Acquisition.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Dornyei, Z. (2007) *Research Methods in Applied Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dornyei, Z. & Csizer, K. (2002) Some dynamics of language attitudes and motivation: results of a longitudinal nationwide survey. *Applied Linguistics* 23; 421-462.

Dornyei, Z. & Ushioda, E. (eds.) (2009) *Motivation, Language Identity and the L2 Self.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Drake, P. with Heath, L. (2011) *Practitioner Research at Doctoral Level*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Dunne, M., Prior, J. & Yates, P. (2005) *Becoming a Researcher: A Companion to the Research Process.* Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Ellis, E. (2006) Language learning experience as a contributor to ESOL teacher cognition. *TESL-EJ* 10/1; A-3.

Firth, A. & Wagner, J. (1997) On Discourse, Communication, and (Some) Fundamental Concepts in SLA Research. *The Modern Language Journal* 81; 285-300.

Freire, P. (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Herder.

Garcia, O. (2008) *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective*. Boston: Blackwell.

Gardner, R. (2001) Integrative motivation in second language acquisition. In Dornyei, Z. & Schmidt, R. (eds.) *Motivation and Second Language Acquisition*. University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, pp 1-20.

Geertz, C. (2001) *Available light: anthropological reflections on philosophical topics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Giddens, A. (2002) *Runaway World: How Globalization is Reshaping our Lives.* (2nd edition) London: Profile Books.

Golombek, P. & Jordan, S. (2005) Becoming "Black Lambs" Not "Parrots": A Poststructuralist Orientation to Intelligibility and Identity. *TESOL Quarterly* 39/3; 513-533.

Graddol, D. (2006) *English Next - Why Global English may mean the end of English as a Foreign Language.* London: British Council.

Hall, G. (2009) The global dilemmas of ELT: a critical perspective. *IATEFL Teacher Development Special Interest Group Newsletter*, Issue 60.

Hall, G. (2011) *Exploring English Language Teaching: Language in action*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Halliday, M., McIntosh, A. & Strevens, P. (1964) *The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching*. London: Longman.

Harmer, J. (2007) *The Practice of English Language Teaching.* (4th edition) Harlow: Longman.

Hayes, D. (2008) Non-native English-speaking teachers, context and English language teaching. System 37; 1-11.

Hirano, E. (2009) Learning difficulty and learner identity: a symbiotic relationship. *ELT Journal* 63/1; 33-41.

Holliday, A. (2005) *The Struggle to Teach English as an International Language.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Holliday, A. (2010) Complexity in cultural identity. *Language and International Communication* 10/2; 165-177.

Holliday, A. & Aboshiha, P. (2009) The Denial of Ideology in Perceptions of 'Nonnative Speaker' Teachers. *TESOL Quarterly* 43/4; 669-689.

House, J. (2009) Introduction: The pragmatics of English as a Lingua Franca. *Intercultural Pragmatics* 6/2; 141-145.

House, J. (2010) A case for Globish. *The Linguist* 49/6; 16-17.

Howatt, A. with Widdowson, H. (2004) *A History of English Language Teaching.* (2nd edition) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jenkins, J. (2000) *The Phonology of English as an International Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jenkins, J. (2006) Current perspectives on teaching World Englishes and English as a Lingua Franca. *TESOL Quarterly* 40/1; 157-181.

Jenkins, J. (2007) *English as a Lingua Franca: Attitude and Identity.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jenkins, J., Cogo, A. & Dewey, M. (2011) Review of developments in research into English as a Lingua Franca. *Language Teaching* 44/3; 281-315.

Johnson, K. (2006) The Sociocultural Turn and Its Challenges for Second Language Teacher Education. *TESOL Quarterly* 40/1; 235-257.

Johnson, K. & Golombek, P. (2011) The Transformative Power of Narrative in Second Language Teacher Education. *TESOL Quarterly* 45/3; 486-509.

Johnson, S. (1755) *A Dictionary of the English Language*. Available at: http://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com/?page_id=8 (accessed 3rd November 2011)

Johnson, S. (1779) *The Lives of the English Poets – Volume 1.* 1826 edition available at: http://www.archive.org/stream/livesofenglishpo01john#page/n9/mode/2up (accessed 21st January 2012)

Kachru, B. (1985) Standard, Codification and Sociolinguistic Realism: The English Language in the Outer Circle. In Quirk, R. & Widdowson, H. (eds.) *English in the World: Teaching and Learning the Language and Literatures.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (pp 11-30)

Kachru, B. (1992) *The Other Tongue.* (2nd edition) Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Kachru, B. (2004) *Asian Englishes; Beyond the Canon*. Hong Kong University Press.

Kamhi-Stein, L. (2000) Adapting U.S.-based TESOL teacher education to meet the needs of nonnative English speakers. *TESOL Journal* 9/3; 10-14.

Kang, S. (2008) Non-natives can become English teachers. *The Korea Times.* Available at: http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2008/12/117_36881.html (accessed 17 May 2011)

Kiernan, P. (2010) *Narrative Identity in English Language Teaching: Exploring Teacher Interviews in Japanese and English*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kirkpatrick, A. (2007) *World Englishes – Implications for international communication and English language teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kirkpatrick, A. (2010) English as an Asian Lingua Franca and the multilingual model of ELT. *Language Teaching* 44/2; 212-224.

Kramsch, C. (1993) *Context and culture in language teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kramsch, C. (2009) *The Multilingual Subject*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kramsch, C. (2010) The symbolic dimensions of the intercultural. *Language Teaching* 44/3; 354-367.

Kubota, M. (2006) Comments on Jennifer Jenkins's "Implementing an International Approach to English Pronunciation: The Role of Teacher Attitudes and Identity". *TESOL Quarterly* 40/3; 604-608.

Kumaravadivelu, B. (1994) The postmethod condition: (e)merging strategies for second/foreign language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly* 28/1; 27-47.

Kumaravadivelu, B. (2001) Toward a postmethod pedagogy. *TESOL Quarterly* 35; 537-560.

Kumaravadivelu, B. (2006a) Dangerous Liaison: Globalization, Empire and TESOL. In Edge, J. (2006) *(Re-) Locating TESOL in an Age of Empire*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp 1-26.

Kumaravadivelu, B. (2006b) TESOL Methods: Changing Tracks, Challenging Trends. *TESOL Quarterly* 40/1; 59-81.

Kvale, S. (1996) *InterViews - An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. London: Sage.

Labov, W. (1972) *Language in the inner city: Studies in the black vernacular*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Lamb, M. (2004) Integrative motivation in a globalizing world. *System* 32; 3-19.

Lave, J. & Wenger, E. (1991) *Situated learning: legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Leaper, D. (2010) Role of Korean teachers of English. *The Korea Times*. Available at: http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/opinon/2011/03/162_77743.html (accessed 17 May 2011)

Leung, C., Harris, R. & Rampton, B. (1997) The Idealised Native Speaker, Reified Ethnicities, and Classroom Realities. *TESOL Quarterly* 31/3; 543-560.

Leung, C. (2005) Convivial communication: recontextualising communicative competence. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 15; 119-144.

Li Wei (ed.) (2011) *The Routledge Applied Linguistics Reader*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Lincoln, Y. & Guba, E. (1985) *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Llurda, E. (ed.) (2005) *Non-native language teachers: Perceptions, challenges, and contributions to the profession.* New York: Springer.

Llurda, E. (2009) Attitudes towards English as an International Language: The pervasiveness of native models among L2 users and teachers. In Sharifian, F. (ed.) (2009) *English as an International Language: Perspectives and Pedagogical Issues*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, pp 119-134.

MacLure, M. (1993) Arguing for your self: identity as an organising principle in teachers' jobs and lives. *British Educational Research Journal* 19/4; 311-322.

Mahboob. A. (ed.) (2010) *The NNEST Lens: Nonnative English Speakers in TESOL*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press.

Manyak, P. (2004) "What did she say?": Translation in a primary grade English immersion class. *Multicultural Perspectives* 6/1; 12-18.

Marco, P. De (2010) English teachers reflect on changing role. *The Korea Times*. Available at: http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/special/2010/11/175_76923.html (accessed 17 May 2011)

Mason, J. (2002) *Qualitative Researching*. (2nd edition) London: Sage.

Maurer, P. (2008) English teachers should learn Korean. *The Korea Times.* Available at: http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/opinon/2011/02/162_32665.html (accessed 17 May 2011)

McCarthy, M. (2001) *Issues in Applied Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McCrum, R. (2010) *Globish – How English became the world's language*. London: Viking.

McKay, S. (2002) *Teaching English as an International Language: Rethinking Goals and Perspectives.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McKay, S. (2006) *Researching Second Language Classrooms*. Abingdon: Routledge.

McKay, S. (2009) Pragmatics and EIL Pedagogy. In Sharifian, F. (ed.) (2009) *English as an International Language: Perspectives and Pedagogical Issues*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, pp 227-241.

Meddings, L. & Thornbury, S. (2009) *Teaching Unplugged – Dogme in English Language Teaching*. Peaslake: Delta.

Medgyes, P. (1994) *The non-native teacher*. London: Macmillan.

Menard-Warwick, J. (2008) The cultural and intercultural identities of transnational English teachers: Two case studies from the Americas. *TESOL Quarterly* 42/4; 617-640.

Menard-Warwick, J. (2011) A Methodological Reflection on the Process of Narrative Analysis: Alienation and Identity in the Life Histories of English Language Teachers. *TESOL Quarterly* 45/3; 564-574.

Mitchell, R. & Myles, F. (2004) *Second Language Learning Theories.* (2nd edition) London: Arnold.

Moussu, L. & Llurda, E. (2008) Non-native English-speaking English language teachers: History and research. *Language Teaching* 41/3; 315-348.

Nelson, M. (1993) Teachers' Stories: An Analysis of the Themes. In Day, C., Calderhead, J. & Denicolo, P. (eds.) *Research on Teacher Thinking.* London: Falmer Press, pp 151-166.

Nerrière, J-P, (2004) *Don't speak English, parlez Globish*, Paris: Editions d'Organisation.

Norton, B. (1997) Language, identity, and the ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly* 31/3; 409-429.

Norton, B. (2000*) Identity and Language Learning: Gender, Ethnicity and Educational Change*. Harlow: Pearson Education.

Norton, B. (2006) Identity and second language learning. In Brown, K. (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. (2nd edition) Oxford: Elsevier, pp 502-507.

Norton, B. & Early, M. (2011) Researcher Identity, Narrative Inquiry, and Language Teaching Research. *TESOL Quarterly* 45/3; 415-439.

Norton, B. & Toohey, K. (eds.) (2004) *Critical pedagogies and language learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Norton, B. & Toohey, K. (2011) Identity, language learning, and social change. *Language Teaching* 44/4; 412-446.

Norton Pierce, B. (1995) Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly* 29/1; 9-31.

Nunan, D. (1992) *Research Methods in Language Learning.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ortega, L. (2009) *Understanding Second Language Acquisition*. London: Hodder Education.

Ostler, N. (2010) *The Last Lingua Franca – English until the return of Babel.* London: Allen Lane.

Paikeday, T. (1985) *The native speaker is dead!* Toronto: Paikeday Publishing.

Pajares, M. (1992) Teachers' beliefs and educational research: Cleaning up a messy construct. *Review of Educational Research* 62/3; 307-332.

Pavlenko, A. (2003) "I never knew I was a bilingual": Reimagining teacher identities in TESOL. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education* 2/4; 251-168.

Pavlenko, A. (2007) Autobiographic narratives as data in Applied Linguistics. *Applied Linguistics* 28/2; 163-188.

Pavlenko, A. & Blackledge, A. (eds.) (2004) *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Pavlenko, A. & Lantolf, J. (2000) Second language learning as participation and the (re)construction of selves. In Lantolf, J. *Sociocultural Theory and Second Language Learning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp 155-178.

Pennycook, A. (1994) *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language.* London: Longman.

Pennycook, A. (1998) *English and the Discourses of Colonialism*. London: Routledge.

Pennycook, A. (2008) English as a language always in translation. *European Journal of English Studies* 12/1; 33-47.

Pennycook, A. (2010) *Language as a Local Practice.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Phillips, L. & Jorgensen, M. (2002) *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Phillipson, R. (1992) *Linguistic Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Prabhu, N. (1990) There is no best method – why? *TESOL Quarterly* 24/2; 161-176.

Prodromou, L. (2007) ELF models and "linguistic capital". *IATEFL Voices*, 199; 9-10.

Prodromou, L. (2008) *English as a Lingua Franca: A corpus-based analysis*. London: Continuum.

Quirk, R. & Widdowson, H. (eds.) (1985) *English in the World: Teaching and Learning the Language and Literatures.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rajagopalan, K. (2004) The concept of 'World English' and its implications for ELT. *ELT Journal* 58/2; 111-117.

Rajagopalan, K. (2005) Non-native speakers of English and their anxieties: Ingredients for an experiment in action research. In E. Llurda (ed.) *Non-native language teachers: Perceptions, challenges, and contributions to the profession.* New York: Springer, pp 283-303.

Rampton, M. (1990) Displacing the native speaker: Expertise, affiliation and inheritance. *ELT Journal* 44/2; 93-101.

Ricento, T. (2005) Considerations of Identity in L2 Learning. In Hinkel, E. (ed.) (2005) *Handbook of Research in Second Language Teaching and Learning.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, pp 895-910.

Richards, J. (1990) (ed.) *The Language Teaching Matrix*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Richards, J. (1998) *Beyond training: perspectives on language teacher education.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Richards, J. (2011) Exploring teacher competence in language teaching. *The Language Teacher* 35/4; 3-7.

Richards, K. (2003) *Qualitative Inquiry in TESOL*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Riley, P. (2007) *Language, Culture and Identity*. London: Continuum.

Robson, C. (2002) *Real World Research.* (2nd edition) Oxford: Blackwell.

Rubin, H. & Rubin, I. (2005) *Qualitative Interviewing: The art of hearing data.* (2nd edition) Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Rushdie, S. (1991) *Imaginary homelands: essays and criticism 1981-1991*. London: Viking.

Said. E. (1978) *Orientalism.* New York: Vintage.

Said, E. (1999) *Out of Place: A Memoir*. New York: Knopf.

Saraceni, M. (2010) *The relocation of English: shifting paradigms in a global era.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Saussure, F. De (1916/1966) *Cours de Linguistique generale/Course in General Linguistics*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Sawday, R. aka Dizraeli (2010) *The 21st Century Flux.* Macmillan Dictionary e-lessons: http://www.macmillandictionary.com/from-the-blog/21st-century-flux.html (accessed 19 July 2011)

Schneider, E. (2011) *English Around the World – An introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Seargeant, P. (2008) Language, ideology and "English within a globalized context". *World Englishes* 27/2; 97-113.

Seargeant, P. (2009) *The idea of English in Japan: Ideology and the Evolution of a Global Language*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Seidlhofer, B. (2001) Closing a conceptual gap: The case for a description of English as a Lingua Franca. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 11/2; 133-157.

Seidlhofer, B. (2009) Common ground and different realities: World Englishes and English as a Lingua Franca. *World Englishes* 28/2; 236-245.

Selvi, (2011) Key Concepts in ELT: The non-native speaker teacher. *ELT Journal* 65/2; 187-189.

Sharifian, F. (ed.) (2009) *English as an International Language: Perspectives and Pedagogical Issues*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Silverman, D. (2001) *Interpreting Qualitative Data: methods for analysing talk, text and interaction*. London: SAGE Publications.

Smith, L. (1976) English as an international auxiliary language. *RELC Journal* 7/2; 38-42.

Stake, R. (1995) *The art of case study research*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Svartik, J. & Leech, G. (2006) *English – One Tongue, Many Voices*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Strevens, P. (1980) *Teaching English as an International Language.* Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Tajfel, H. (1981) *Human Groups and Social Categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, L. (2006) The changing landscape of English: implications for language assessment. *ELT Journal* 60/1; 51-60.

Thornbury, S. (2009a) Methods, post-method, and métodos. Available at: http://www.teachingenglish.org.uk/think/articles/methods-post-method-m%C3%A9todos (accessed 17 March 2011)

Thornbury, S. (2009b) Dogme: nothing if not critical. Available at: http://www.teachingenglish.org.uk/think/articles/dogme-nothing-if-not-critical (accessed 17 March 2011)

Trask, R. L. (2010) *Why Do Languages Change?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Trudgill, P. (2002) *Sociolinguistic Variation and Change*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

University of Sussex *Application form for Projects which Require Ethical Review*. (September 2010) Available at: http://www.sussex.ac.uk/res/1-6-12-5.html (accessed 12 December 2011)

Ushioda, E. (2009) A person-in-context relational view of emergent motivation, self and identity. In Dornyei, Z. & Ushioda, E. (eds.) (2009) *Motivation, Language Identity and the L2 Self.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters, pp 215-228.

Ushioda, E. & Dornyei, Z. (2009) Motivation, Language Identities and the L2 Self: A Theoretical Overview. In Dornyei, Z. & Ushioda, E. (eds.) (2009) *Motivation, Language Identity and the L2 Self.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters, pp 1-8.

Vasquez, C. (2011) TESOL, Teacher Identity, and the need for "Small Story" Research. *TESOL Quarterly* 45/3; 535-545.

Vygotsky, L. (1934/1962) *Thought and Language*. New York: John Wiley & Sons/M.I.T. Press.

Walker, R. (2010) *Teaching the Pronunciation of English as a Lingua Franca*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Waters, A. (2007) ELT and "the spirit of the times". *ELT Journal* 61/4; 353-359.

Wenger, E. (1998) *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Widdowson, H. (1998) EIL: Squaring the circles. A reply. *World Englishes* 17/3; 397-401.

Widdowson, H. (2003) *Defining Issues in English Language Teaching.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Winchester, J. (2009) The Self Concept and Cultural Identity: An Examination of the Verbal Expression of the Self Concept in an Intercultural Context. *The Linguistics Journal*, September 2009; 63-81.

Websites

The Association for the Promotion of Quality in TESOL Education (QuiTE) Annual
  Seminar 2010: http://www.quality-tesol-ed.org.uk/seminars/2010/2010_seminar.html
  (accessed 5 January 2012)
The Fifth International Conference of English as a Lingua Franca:
  http://www.elf5.org/index.php (accessed 30 January 2012)
The Global Language Monitor: http://www.languagemonitor.com/
  (accessed 11 July 2011)
Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation:
  http://www.hsbc.co.uk/1/2/about-
  us/history?HBEU_dyn_lnk=AboutUs_OurHistory_Link
  (accessed 18 January 2012)
The International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL):
  http://www.iatefl.org/ (accessed 26 January 2012)
The Korea Times: http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/index.asp
  (accessed 5 January 2012)
Trinity College London (Cert. TESOL): http://www.trinitycollege.co.uk/site/?id=201
  (accessed 5 January 2012)