Bedrettin Yazan
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Criticality, Teacher Identity, and (In)equity in English Language Teaching

Issues and Implications

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Foreword – Conceptualizing and Approaching Identity and Inequity: An Account of a Shifting Paradigm

Today we live in a world of divisions… A world that is constantly and rigidly being divided by linguistic, social, racial, geopolitical, religious, and intellectual fault lines, contributing to fragmentation, instability, and uncertainty, perhaps to the extent that we lose the very essence of who we are as individuals and what we do as professionals. These fault lines across people, nations, and worldviews create and solidify pervasive divides such as "us" versus "them," "inside" versus "outside," and "center" versus "periphery." More and more, these divisive borders and boundaries we live by lead us to a point where the world, and its inhabitants, are defined by dichotomies, antinomies, juxtapositions, and mutually exclusive categorical systems. This discourse of division is increasingly palpable in the tension between the "modern" and "late/postmodern."

Today we live in a world of essentializations… A Naisbittian world in which we are drowning in information, generalizations, and stereotypes, but starved for knowledge, synthesis, and appreciation of individuals' negotiations of personal and professional identities. Perpetuated by the invisible hand of neoliberal capitalism, knowledge societies, technological innovations, human flows, and related modernistic practices, these artificial chasms are in conceptual and outright conflict with movement, exchange, and hybridity, and stand out as faux windmills. Therefore, we often come across people, institutions, and institutionalized policies and practices blind, insensitive, or resistant to superdiversity and individuals' contextualized accounts of being and becoming.

Today we live in a world of imagination… A world that is constantly (re-)envisioned by those who believe in the multiplicity of alternatives and strive to create a space for dialogue, conversation, negotiation, and mediation in an increasingly divided world. Ultimately, these efforts emerge as viable alternatives, problematizing and reconstructing dichotomous rhetoric, conceptualizations, and practices, in the interest of affording space for greater diversity, complexity, and hybridity occurring around the world.

In a world characterized by divisions and essentialization, it would be naïve to think that the "field" of English language teaching (ELT) would be immune to, and unaffected by, these patterns with glocal significance. More specifically, the field

has been witnessing a constant tussle between modernistic, static, essentialized, and idealized borders and late/postmodern efforts to reconstruct language ownership, learning, use, and instruction sensitive to context, border crossing, and hybridity.

For decades, the fundamental pillars constituting ELT, as an activity, profession, and bona fide area of scholarly inquiry, have been under the decisive and destructive influence of essentialization and idealization. This manifests in dichotomies of identity as "native speaker (NS)" versus "non-native speaker (NNS)" and, concomitantly, "native English (Speaker) Teacher (NEST)" and "non-native English (Speaker) Teacher (NNEST)." Such conceptualizations not only create mutually exclusive binaries of being and becoming but also purport to portray a priori expectations, lived experiences situated at the nexus of idealization and essentializations, both in the dominant (mainstream) and even in the critically oriented scholarship. Through the lens of dominant (mainstream) and critically oriented work, on one hand, NSs/NESTs are considered to be Caucasian, Western, and generally male, living in urban spaces, and endowed with the privilege of linguistic, cultural, and pedagogical authority to serve as the benchmark by which different facets of ELT enterprise (e.g., theory, research, learning, teaching, publishing, instructional materials, assessment, teacher training and hiring practices) might be measured. On the other hand, NNSs/NNESTs are referred to as individuals whose linguistic and pedagogical capabilities as language users and teachers are boxed into the prefix of "non-" and defined in relation to their NS/NEST "other" and therefore are always associated with discrimination and marginalization crushing souls, professional identities, and personas, one teacher at a time…These conceptualizations coded into the DNA of ELT in the form of institutionalized policies, structures, and practices around the world have recently caused a great discontent and resistance among ELT professionals who organized themselves around transformative ideas and ideals of the "NNEST movement." Building upon the practices of awareness, advocacy, and activism, the movement has claimed to aim a discourse of empowerment and legitimacy with a goal toward contributing to a more democratic, participatory, equitable, professional, and egalitarian future for ELT.

More recently, we have been witnessing a promising line of scholarship influenced by waves of postmodern and poststructural orientation to reconceptualize decontextualized, unidirectional, essentialized, and universal orientations to individuals' experiences, histories, and negotiation and imagination of identities as language users and teachers. What makes this body of scholarship "promising" lies with the efforts to move beyond oversimplified approaches to the discourse of "native speakerism" and the attempts to portray the complexity of identities as language users and teachers (and thereby related experiences of privilege and marginalization) in such a dynamic, glocally and fluidly constructed manner across time and space. As a result, we are moving towards to a broader and deeper understanding and appreciation of sociohistorically situated and contextualized accounts of translinguistic and transcultural identity negotiations, beyond oversimplified and essentialized categories or regimes of "truth" defining what a teacher can/should do and experience. This desire to provide space for more complexity "challenges" both dominant (mainstream) and critically oriented, dominant approaches employing

binaries. Ultimately, this necessitates localized, fine-grained, robust, and systematic descriptions and analyses of how such constructs (e.g., "identity," "marginalization," "privilege," etc.) are negotiated in the glocal enterprise of ELT and societies therein. It is exactly this point that the current volume embarks upon the task of shedding more light.

In a world dominated by divisions and essentialization, this volume co-edited by Bedrettin Yazan and Nathanael Rudolph stands out as an impressive work of imagination, and offers a fresh and compelling alternative to addressing the issues of (in)equity, marginalization, and privilege in diverse teaching contexts. These two visionary souls have gathered contributors from a wide variety of backgrounds, worldviews, and contexts to create intellectual spaces and opportunities for dialogue. They strategically situated their work at the critical nexus of "postmodern and poststructural scholarship" calling for moving beyond discourses and rhetoric of essentialization and idealization and "the NNEST movement and research" aiming to renegotiate and transform the fundamental premises of ELT.

This volume is impressive for several reasons. First and foremost, the co-editors managed to construct this project and the volume, as an intellectual space where a great diversity of contributors, contexts, conversations, realities, perspectives, and worldviews coalesce into a mosaic of meanings. The multiplicity in "meanings" is particularly important to serve as a testament to diversity and fluidity of the constructs (e.g., (in)equity, marginalization, and privilege) and sense-making processes to understand them. The individual chapters provide contextualized and fluid accounts and manifestations of privilege and marginalization in the field of ELT and thereby attempt to portray a more fine-grained spectrum of grays in a world dichotomously constructed by black and white. Furthermore, this work came at a very interesting moment in the short yet rich history of the NNEST movement and research, which is at a new crossroads of change and transformation. The concepts highlighted in the text, "diversity," "multiplicity," and "fluidity," will serve as fundamental threads running through the awareness, advocacy, and activism pillars of the movement. Therefore, this volume will be instrumental in terms of shaping the direction of criticality. For these reasons combined, this book is a fresh breath of air amidst the world of divisions and essentialization in the "field" of ELT as well as in the dominant (mainstream) and critically oriented lines of inquiry. Thus, it offers accounts of imagined and fluidly constructed alternatives transcending borders and boundaries to leave us with hope and directions for the future.

Middle East Technical University   Ali Fuad Selvi
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Abbreviations

CLT	Communicative Language Teaching
EAP	English for Academic Purposes
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EIL	English as an International Language
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
ELT	English Language Teaching
ESL	English as a Second Language
ESOL	English for Speakers of Other Languages
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
LFE	Lingua Franca English
NET; NEST	Native English (Speaker) Teacher
NNET; NNEST	Non-Native English (Speaker) Teacher
NNS; NNES	Non-Native English Speaker
NS; NES	Native English Speaker
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
TOEFL	Test of English as a Foreign Language
TOEIC	Test of English for International Communication
WE	World Englishes

Introduction: Apprehending Identity, Experience, and (In)equity Through and Beyond Binaries

Bedrettin Yazan and Nathanael Rudolph

Abstract The negotiation of privilege and marginalization in the field of English language teaching (ELT), traces back to the field's sociohistorical construction in and through the British and American colonial agenda of linguistic, cultural, economic, political, religious, educational and ethnic imperialism (Pennycook A The myth of English as an international language. In: Makoni S, Pennycook A (ed) Disinventing and reconstituting languages. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, pp 90–115 (2007)). ELT was a vehicle by which to privilege British and American colonizers, and create colonial subjects modeled after their own image (Kumaravadivelu 2003; Pennycook 2010). Thus, ELT was predicated upon fluidly intertwined binaries of being, including colonizer/colonized, and Native Speaker (NS)/Non-Native Speaker (NNS). These categories were value-laden, affording linguistic, cultural and academic authority and "superiority" to individuals associated with the category of "NS," while Othering the identities of individuals grappling with the epistemic and actualized violence of colonialism (NNSs) (see Kumaravadivelu 2016). As "local" teachers began to enter the classroom, an additional binary emerged -Native English Speaker Teacher (NEST)/Non-Native English Speaker Teacher (NNEST)- privileging "NESTs" over "NNESTs," as teachers were collectively responsible for targeting an "*idealized* nativeness" conflated with the identity of an idealized colonizer. "NNESTs'" use of "local" language in the classroom to facilitate learning, was countered by the discourses of the *monolingual principle* (Howatt 1984), or notion that learning, and learning through, "English," exclusively, was ideal for maximizing student growth (Hall and Cook 2012). The worldview underpinning this principle marginalized the identities of all individuals whose negotiation of being and becoming did not correspond with that of the idealized "superior."

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The negotiation of privilege and marginalization in the field of English language teaching (ELT), traces back to the field's sociohistorical construction in and through the British and American colonial agenda of linguistic, cultural, economic, political, religious, educational and ethnic imperialism (Pennycook 2007). ELT was a vehicle by which to privilege British and American colonizers, and create colonial subjects modeled after their own image (Kumaravadivelu 2003; Pennycook 2010). Thus, ELT was predicated upon fluidly intertwined binaries of being, including colonizer/ colonized, and Native Speaker (NS)/Non-Native Speaker (NNS). These categories were value-laden, affording linguistic, cultural and academic authority and "superiority" to individuals associated with the category of "NS," while Othering the identities of individuals grappling with the epistemic and actualized violence of colonialism (NNSs) (see Kumaravadivelu 2016). As "local" teachers began to enter the classroom, an additional binary emerged -Native English Speaker Teacher (NEST)/Non-Native English Speaker Teacher (NNEST)- privileging "NESTs" over "NNESTs," as teachers were collectively responsible for targeting an "*idealized* nativeness" conflated with the identity of an idealized colonizer. "NNESTs'" use of "local" language in the classroom to facilitate learning, was countered by the discourses[1] of the *monolingual principle* (Howatt 1984), or notion that learning, and learning through, "English," exclusively, was ideal for maximizing student growth (Hall and Cook 2012). The worldview underpinning this principle marginalized the identities of all individuals whose negotiation of being and becoming did not correspond with that of the idealized "superior."

Time marched on, with colonialism morphing into, and being reified in, the post-colonial and the late-/postmodern in context-specific ways. During this transition, Noam Chomsky (1965) proposed the notion of an idealized native speaking/hearing member of a homogenous speech community, as a linguistic abstraction upon which to theorize regarding language acquisition and use. Chomsky was by no means the father of idealized nativeness, and he vehemently denies responsibility for the resulting detrimental consequences for stakeholders in ELT (see Wu 2010). Yet, scholars in ELT subsequently inscribed the Chomskyan "NS" with *essentialized*[2] "normative" linguistic and cultural knowledge, skills, thinking and behavior, and as the idealized yardstick by which the ownership of English might be ascertained, and learner, user and instructor value might be assessed. Mainstream and "critical" scholarship has generally both alluded to and explicitly apprehended this idealized "individual" as Western, Caucasian, middle to upper class, urban dwelling, usually male, and often monolingual (Amin 1997; Braine 1999, 2010; Cook 1999; Kubota

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[1] When employing the term *discourses* in this introduction, we are referring to the notion of "complex interconnected webs of modes of being, thinking, and acting. They are in constant flux and often contradictory. They are always located on temporal and spatial axes, thus they are historically and culturally specific" (Gannon and Davies 2007, p. 82).

[2] Here, we define *essentialization* as the discursive construction (and/or acceptance and promotion) of borders demarcating "Self-Other," "Us-Them" "purity-impurity", "correctness-incorrectness," and "valuable-not valuable," relating to "language," "culture," "place," and "identity" (Rudolph 2016a, b; Rutherford 1990) These borders frame, whether intentionally or unintentionally, who individuals "are," and "can" and/or "should" become (Rudolph 2016b). We explore essentialization further, in latter portions of this introduction.

1998; Motha 2006), and juxtaposed (implicitly and explicitly) against an idealized, essentialized "non-native speaker" (NNS), whose plight it was to journey towards "idealized nativeness." The discourses implicated in the construction of the "idealized NS" thus contributed to dominant, mainstream conceptualizations of, and approaches to, theory, inquiry, teacher identity and training, materials creation, instruction, assessment, and hiring practices within the "field" of ELT (Leung 2005).

1   Critical Challenges

Flows of people, ideas, goods, technology, and money (Appadurai 2000), manifesting in different degrees and combinations, both predated and marked the colonial period, and have continued to the present. This movement, at times in concert with discourses of neocolonialism and neoliberalism, has contributed to ongoing innovation, in terms of being and becoming around the globe, with the ownership, learning, use, instruction, and spread of "English" (as well as the spread of the myth of its ubiquitous utility) being no exception (Pennycook 2007). Indeed, new users, uses, functions, varieties, and contexts of "English" have emerged in the fluid, discursive interaction of "local" – "global," as seen in the appearance of postcolonial World Englishes, and in the interaction between individuals hailing from differing backgrounds via "English" as a *multilingua franca* (Jenkins 2015).

During the last few decades, critical scholarship has problematized, both piecemeal and holistically, the sociohistorical construction, perpetuation and maintenance of discourses of superiority-inferiority shaping ELT, resulting in problematization of dominant, mainstream, deficit-oriented binaries of identity (NS/NNS; NEST/NNEST). Critically-oriented scholars have concomitantly wrestled with apprehending and attending to the ever-emergent complexity of identity and interaction. The divergent worldviews underpinning such criticality[3] have resulted in very different conceptualizations of identity, experience, (in)equity, advocacy, and interaction (Yazan and Rudolph 2018). In other words, there exists diversity within "criticality," in terms of what scholars are problematizing (or not), and advocating for, conceptually, and what the resulting implications are for inquiry and practice.[4] Additionally and very importantly, this diversity shapes how scholars attend to other lenses within the "critical" landscape.

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[3] Here, we draw upon Pennycook's (2001) conceptualization of "criticality" within the field of applied linguistics, which "involves a constant skepticism, a constant questioning of the normative assumptions of applied linguistics. It demands a restive problematization of the givens of applied linguistics and presents a way of doing applied linguistics that seeks to connect it to questions of gender, class, sexuality, race, ethnicity, culture, identity, politics, ideology, and discourse. And crucially, it becomes a dynamic opening up of new questions that emerge from this conjunction" (p. 10).

[4] We must also note, here, that scholars both positioned and positioning themselves as "critically-oriented," are negotiating participation in criticality in dynamic ways. Thus during the span of their professional lives, authors' work may be situated within divergent approaches to identity and interaction, in line with their negotiation of personal-professional identity.

1.1 Juxtaposed Nativeness: Critically-Oriented, Deficit Binaries

One critical approach to addressing dominant, mainstream, deficit-oriented binaries of identity, involves the retention of idealized nativeness. Rather than rendering "non-natives" deficient as per the "idealized NS" of English, work by scholars including Medgyes (1992, 1994, 2001), juxtaposes idealized nativeness in English against the local, idealized non-nativeness of "NNESTs." This lens values "NNESTs'" lived experiences learning English, and their "own/native/first/local" language, which affords them the means to, in theory, better connect with their students, personally and professionally. In valuing the use of local language/s, and moving away from the monolingual principle, this lens also juxtaposes "non-nativeness," as "NESTs" cannot and/or should not, employ the local language/s. Thus, both "NESTs" and "NNESTs" are "superior" and "inferior," and can and/or should work together symbiotically, in order to equip English language learners to become "native like."

When addressing (in)equity, scholarship employing the lens of juxtaposed nativeness problematizes the privilege "NESTs" are afforded, and the marginalization "NNESTs" experience, due to ELT predicated exclusively on idealized nativeness in English. Therefore, this lens views identity and experience categorically, and the "NS/NEST" and "NNS/NNEST" categories are left largely undertheorized and unpacked. Studies conceived through this lens, however, appear to be referring to a "local NNEST" when discussing the "value" of juxtaposed nativeness, which results in a new binary distinction within the category of "NNEST" (see Rudolph, chapter "Essentialization, Idealization, and Apprehensions of Local Language Practice in the Classroom", this volume).

1.2 "Moving Beyond the Idealized NS of English"

A second critical approach problematizes mainstream and critically-oriented deficit models predicated upon an "idealized NS of English" (e.g., Braine 2010; Kamhi-Stein 2016; Mahboob 2010). One key (at times implied, and in others, explicitly stated) facet of this lens, is that it draws upon social constructivist, postcolonial, postmodern, and poststructural theory and inquiry, in order to:

1. account for the complex, dynamic, sociohistorical, contextualized negotiation of trans–/multi/pluri- linguistic and cultural identity and interaction around the globe (e.g., Canagarajah 2007; Cenoz and Gorter 2013; Higgins 2011; Kubota 2013; Lin 2013);
2. problematize English language education predicated upon essentialized and idealized nativeness in English (e.g., Kramsch 2014; Leung 2005);

3. reconceptualize language ownership, learning, and use, in accordance with such movement and hybridity (e.g., Canagarajah 2006, 2007; Kramsch 2008, 2012);
4. promote the cultivation of learning spaces and practice attending to learners', users', and instructors' negotiations of identity and interaction (e.g., Canagarajah 2013; Creese and Blackledge 2010; Jain 2014; May 2014; Motha et al. 2012).

While acknowledging and attending to movement, complexity, hybridity and diversity, this approach does not do away, however, with categorical apprehensions of identity, embedded within binaries (Rivers 2016; Rudolph et al. 2015). Instead, the category of "NNEST" is imagined as a one of "multilingualism, multiculturalism, and multinationalism" (Mahboob 2010, p. 15), and of marginalization, as according to Aslan and Thompson (2016), "it is NNESTs who are discriminated against in the profession" (p. 2).

Through this "NNEST Lens" (Mahboob 2010), *Native speakerism* (Holliday 2005, 2006), or the idealized "*NS construct*" as an actively perpetuated discourse, is viewed as a ubiquitous and stable truth originating in the West, and shaping the globalized field of ELT, leading to the professional privileging of NSs/NESTs whose identities correspond with the NS construct, and marginalization of the identities and abilities of NNSs/NNESTs. Through this lens, privilege is bolstered by the ever-perpetuated, universalized *NS fallacy* (Phillipson 1992), or notion that NSs whose identities corresponded with the idealized NS might, practically and/or theoretically, serve as better teachers. Thus, via the NNEST lens, privilege and marginalization are categorically experienced, in a universal and largely uniform fashion, around the globe. Though ascribing complexity, hybridity and diversity to "NNESTs," however, the category is left largely undertheorized, while that of "NESTs" remains unpacked and/or essentialized (Houghton and Rivers 2013; Llurda 2016; Rivers 2014, 2016; Rivers and Houghton 2013; Rudolph et al. 2015).

Scholars employing the NNEST lens have called for critical attention to the "NNEST experience" in the global field of TESOL, in terms of scholarship and professional activities, in the interest of the acknowledgement and challenging of NEST privilege and NNEST marginalization (e.g., Braine 2010; Brutt-Griffler and Samimy 1999; Kamhi-Stein 2016; Mahboob 2010) for a more equitable ELT profession. In concert with the work and efforts of scholars employing the lens of juxtaposed nativeness, this critical call, and the response it has cultivated, has been labeled the "NNEST Movement" (Selvi 2014, 2016). As part of the appeal for attention to (in)equity and to the complexity of identity and interaction, scholars drawing upon the NNEST lens have also envisioned practice "beyond the idealized NS of English." Scholarship has focused on how "NNESTs" might attend to and draw upon their and their students' identities in the classroom, in tailoring learning to students, affording them ownership of English, and an opportunity to instill in them a sense of pride and of value, within and beyond the classroom (Mahboob and Lin 2016). This has necessarily included reconceptualization of the nature and purpose of local language use in classroom practice. As with the lens of juxtaposed nativeness, scholarship conceived through the NNEST lens approaches "NNESTs'" use of local/native/own/first language. In doing so, this work implicitly and explicitly

distinguishes, purposefully or otherwise, between "local" and "non-local" "NNESTs" in reference to the use of local language in the classroom (e.g., Mahboob and Lin 2016 2018; Tatar and Yildiz 2010), as with scholarship conceptualized via the lens of juxtaposed nativeness.

There is, additionally, an emergent body of literature that purports to draw upon postcolonial, postmodern and poststructural theory in approaching both identity and interaction, yet retains the vestiges of binaries when theorizing (in)equity (e.g., Lowe and Kiczkowiak 2016; Swan et al. 2015). Such tension can be seen within, for example, the literature being drawn upon, which may simultaneously include references to the lens of juxtaposed nativeness, NNEST lens, and destabilization of binary approaches to identity, experience, (in)equity and interaction. Here, we situate such literature within the NNEST lens.

1.3 Problematizing Binaries

Recent scholarship, drawing upon social constructivist, postcolonial and postmodern theory, is providing a different approach by which to apprehend identity, experience and (in)equity, and to attend to moving beyond the deleterious effects of essentialization and idealization, in and beyond the classroom. One line of scholarship (e.g., Faez 2011a, b; Higgins 2003; Park 2012; Sayer 2012) apprehends identity as dynamically, contextually and discursively negotiated. Such work focuses on deconstructing the discursive local-global construction and perpetuation of categories of essentialized and idealized "nativeness" and "non-nativeness" in English, in terms of learner, user and instructor identity, and problematizing the use of categories of being, inscribed with presupposed experiences and characteristics and situated with binaries, as potentially essentializing individuals' lived experiences negotiating identity, and therefore stripping them of "voice."

1.4 Problematizing Essentialization and Idealization

Further scholarship, drawing upon postmodern and poststructural theory[5] to reconceptualize identity, experience and interaction, is seeking to problematize the contextualized construction and perpetuation of essentialization and idealization, in terms of identity and interaction, both within ELT and the settings in which it is located (Rudolph 2016a, 2018a). Scholarship in this vein, asserts that apprehending

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[5] Ontological and epistemological diversity can be found within "poststructural" scholarship. Some scholars contend for the complete deconstruction of "self" (Procter 2004). We, the Editors, draw on poststructural theory that apprehends "self" as discursively negotiated, and subjectivity and positionality as apprehensible and worthwhile pursuits. Additionally, as noted by Agger (1991) there is conceptual overlap between postmodern and poststructural theory.

and addressing identity and corresponding experience, involves contextualized attention to individuals' ongoing negotiation of discursive positioning and being positioned (Davies and Harré 1990; Davies 1991) in the intersectionality of fluid, local-global linguistic, cultural, ethnic, socioeconomic, religious, political, educational, geographical, professional, and gender-related discourses (e.g., Aneja 2016a, b; Higgins 2011; Houghton and Rivers 2013; Kubota 2011, 2013; Menard-Warwick 2008; Motha 2014; Motha et al. 2012; Park 2015, 2017; Pennycook 2007; Rivers 2014, 2016; Rivers and Houghton 2013; Rivers and Zotzmann 2016; Rudolph 2016a, b). These discourses, dominant and critical, construct essentializing discursive "borders" of who individuals "are," and "can" and/or "should" be or become, both in terms of the ownership, learning, use and instruction of English in ELT, and of community membership in the context in which the ELT is constructed and located (Houghton and Rivers 2013; Rudolph et al. 2015). Such borders assign, afford, limit, and eliminate space for identity. When apprehending, affirming, problematizing, challenging, reifying and crossing such borders, individuals negotiate *subjectivity* (Weedon 1997), or "self," in motion (Davies et al. 2004), in ways that may "appear," and be, contradictory. Though "self" is discursively constituted in interaction with others (Anderson 2009; Davies and Petersen 2005; Yazan 2017), individuals may nevertheless *trouble* discourses (Vaughan 2004), not do so, or do the opposite, in varying degrees and combinations. This is the assertion of agency (Davies 1991, p. 51).

In line with postmodern and poststructural commitments, the idealized "NS construct" may be apprehended as contextually constructed at the interstices of local-global discourses of identity (Yazan 2018). "Native speakerism," through such a lens, is the contextualized local-global discursive creation, limitation, and/or elimination of space for individuals' negotiations of being and becoming, both within a given "context" and ELT therein (e.g., Rivers 2014), which may result in diverse manifestations of fluid privilege-marginalization within and across "categories" of being, in and beyond the classroom (Rudolph 2016b). Likewise, the "native speaker fallacy" is also a product of local-global discourses, and may manifest (or not) in diverse ways both within and across "contexts" (Rudolph et al. 2015; Rudolph 2018b). In conceptualizing "the NS construct," "native speakerism" and "the NS fallacy" in such a way, such postmodern and poststructural work is advocating for the notion that, "apprehending and addressing constructions of 'nativeness' in 'English,' and manifestations of privilege-marginalization, requires broadening the conceptual scope of criticality beyond 'moving beyond the idealized NS of English'" (Rudolph 2018b). Very recent scholarship is therefore challenging criticality that problematizes binaries, to seek apprehend and describe "identity," "experience," "(in)equity and "interaction" in manners that are conceptually consistent with their underpinning ontological and epistemological commitments, which may indeed include a move away from terms with conceptual baggage from other lenses, such as "native speaker" *construct; −ism; fallacy* (see Rivers 2016; Rudolph 2016b, 2018b). Regardless of the continued or discontinued use of such terms, postmodern and poststructural scholarship seeking to "problematize essentialization and idealization" is united in contending the following: *all* learners, users, and teachers may

potentially experience degrees of fluid privilege-marginalization relating to their identities, talents, training and experiences, as per essentialized binaries of Self-Other within a given setting, and Self-Other in terms of a given context and the "world beyond."

There is an important caveat that must be noted at this juncture. While some scholars have chosen to contextually apprehend, problematize, and deconstruct binaries within and beyond ELT in their entirety (e.g., Kubota 2011, 2013; Rivers 2014, 2016; Rudolph 2016a), others have focused on deconstruction of locally-globally constructed binaries of identity through the lived experiences of a specific "group" of individuals (e.g., Park 2015, 2017; Rivers and Ross 2013). Collectively, such inquiry, however, lends to the destabilization of binary approaches to identity, experience, (in)equity and interaction.

Destabilizing Critically-Oriented Binaries Problematizing essentialization and idealization involves destabilization of binary approaches to criticality, for a number of reasons. First, such work contends that the use of static binaries does not and cannot afford discursive space for individuals' accounts of negotiating identity within and across borders of being and doing (Houghton and Rivers 2013; Rivers and Houghton 2013; Rivers 2014, 2016; Rudolph 2016a, b; Rudolph et al. 2015). The essentialization of identity and experience may lead to a failure to capture the fluidity of lived privilege-marginalization, and therefore, to the outright devaluation, ignoring, invalidation, or even suppression of dissenting voices (Park 2017; Rivers 2014, 2016; Rudolph 2012; Rudolph et al. 2015). Second, treating the "NNEST experience" as shared and largely uniform, has essentialized the complexity of contextualized, local-global negotiations of privilege-marginalization, and the diverse educational settings and institutions therein. This has been exacerbated, we contend, by the fact that scholarship through the NNEST lens and critically-oriented deficit lens, has tended to draw upon the same select body of literature when constructing the contention that "NNESTs" are "universally marginalized," which has produced an essentialized framework that lumps teaching locales and experiences at all levels, within and across contexts, together (see Moussu and Llurda 2008; Rivers 2016; Rudolph et al. 2015).

Scholarly work that is rooted in categorical conceptualizations of identity, and privilege and marginalization, and yet draws upon sociocultural, postcolonial, postmodern and poststructural theory in approaching inquiry and practice, has both indirectly and directly responded to the concept of fluidity between privilege-marginalization. An article by Lowe and Kiczkowiak (2016), for instance, asserts that, though "NESTs" and "NNESTs" may experience a certain fluidity of privilege-marginalization, there exist degrees of what might be considered "real," "authentic" or "noteworthy" experiences in terms of the marginalization "NESTs" may face in ELT and the society in which it resides. In an article conceived through a "poststructural" lens, examining the lived experiences of "Caucasian, western males" in ELT in Japan, Appleby (2016) notes wrestling, ethically, with sharing these individuals' accounts of negotiating fluid privilege-marginalization, as their

privilege may potentially outweigh or override their incidental experiences with "marginalization," when positioned as "Other" within Japanese society.

We assert, however, that, through a postmodern and poststructural lens, all accounts of fluid privilege-marginalization contribute to apprehension of contextualized, local-global constructions of Othering, within communities and societies, and ELT therein, as through such a lens, there is no separation between local-global, the classroom-beyond, nor the personal-professional (Rudolph 2016b). In the university context in Japan to which Appleby refers, for example, scholars have contended that professional space has been created for "NESTs" whose identities correspond with that of the idealized NS, and, in a majority portion, for "NNESTs/Native speakers of Japanese (NJSs)", while other "NESTs" and "non-Japanese NNESTs" find space severely limited or eliminated (Houghton and Rivers 2013; Rivers 2014, 2016; Rivers and Ross 2013; Rivers and Zotzmann 2016; Rudolph 2012, 2016a, b, 2018b; Toh 2014, 2015a, b, 2016). The categorically juxtaposed and essentialized nativeness "privileging" "NESTs" and "NJSs," may, at the same time, "marginalize" their "non-nativeness," thus leading to such teachers experiencing fluid privilege-marginalization (Rivers 2014, 2016; Rudolph 2018a, b, chapter "Essentialization, Idealization, and Apprehensions of Local Language Practice in the Classroom"). Thus, teachers' personal and professional negotiations of translinguistic and transcultural identity and community membership, may be devalued, ignored, or actively Othered (Rivers 2014, 2016; Rudolph 2012, 2018b; Simon-Maeda 2011). Additionally, teachers may find themselves required to draw upon their translinguistic and transcultural identity in the workplace, yet discouraged or even prompted to do so in the classroom, in line with contextualized, essentialized constructions of the bounds of identity and interaction (Rivers 2016; Rudolph 2012, chapter "Essentialization, Idealization, and Apprehensions of Local Language Practice in the Classroom", this volume).

Scholarship seeking to problematize essentialization and idealization, further destabilizes the critical binary-oriented move to assign the use of "local language/s" to the "NNEST" category. Within relation to the binary of critically juxtaposed nativeness, the issue is with the use of local language/s being assigned to one category of teacher (NNEST) and, in fact, to "local" teachers therein, while assigning ownership of English to those individuals whose identities correspond with the "idealized NS construct." The NNEST lens, meanwhile, draws upon social constructivist, postcolonial, postmodern and poststructural theory challenging essentialized and idealized constructions of language ownership, learning, use and instruction, and yet essentializes lived experience, training, knowledge, skills, and identity, while affording the border crossing complexity of identity and interaction to "NNESTs," categorically. This also includes assignment of the ownership of "local language/s" to "NNESTs," though, as mentioned above, the literature distinguishes implicitly and explicitly between "local" and "non-local" "NNESTs," creating a binary within the category. Thus, the NNEST lens may potentially reify the categorical division and assignment of idealized nativeness, and in the process, limit and/or eliminate personal-professional space for all teachers to attend to the

complexity of identity and interaction both within and beyond the classroom. For scholars including Yoo (2014), this has led to the proposed replacement of one form of idealization (the "idealized NS") with another, with an "idealized NNEST" (an unpacked theoretical abstraction) as the "ideal" teacher.

Through a postmodern and poststructural lens, apprehending the negotiation of identity -of positioning and being positioned- involves attending to individuals' contextualized, local-global, negotiations of linguistic, cultural, ethnic, socioeconomic, religious, political, educational, geographical, professional, and gender-related discourses, and of fluid privilege-marginalization. Critical, binary-oriented approaches to identity have both afforded and prompted little to no space, or need, for learners, users, and instructors to attend to their own positionality. Positionality is both a deeply personal and political issue that, while extremely sensitive, we regard as a necessary topic to be addressed in and beyond the field of ELT.

Finally, as noted by Rivers (2016) and Rudolph (2016a), critically-oriented binaries can be co-opted by localized discourses of essentialization and idealization. This may result in criticality being discursively commandeered to reinforce constructions of, and agendas for, binaries of Self-Other that serve to privilege and marginalize, in theory and in practice. Thus, critical discourse intended to "empower," may become a discursive vehicle to Other. "Criticality," through the lens of juxtaposed nativeness and the NNEST lens, we contend, is hampered by conceptual contradictions, with real-world consequences for attending to (in)equity in and beyond the classroom, and approaching practice.

2   Prompting "Criticality"...

Conceptually, critical scholars, regardless of lens, all express the desire to apprehend, problematize and address inequity. Yet, approaches to addressing "inequity" are far from shared. Scholarship, underpinned by postmodern and poststructural theory, is calling for critical scholars, regardless of lens, to clearly outline how they conceptualize, attend to, and seek to move beyond, inequity. This, we assert, is a necessary first step toward apprehending tensions and commonalities in criticality, as well as discursive points of departure. Postmodern and poststructural theory is also prompting the field of ELT to view the necessity of apprehending how privilege and marginalization are fluidly, contextually, and sociohistorically negotiated, in order to reconcile criticality with theory, inquiry and practice exploring the complexity of identity and interaction. This includes critical scholars' attention to their own positionality. Finally, the lens of problematizing essentialization and idealization affords discursive space for all individuals' personal-professional accounts of negotiating identity, which we contend has been alternately devalued, overlooked, downplayed, ignored, and actively marginalized, both by mainstream and critically-oriented binaries.

3   This Volume

The following edited volume is *chronotopic* (Blommaert 2015) in that it is a non-linear, intertextual (Allen 2011) and sociohistorically-situated construction of time-space, and underpinned by postmodern and poststructural commitments. It originally represented an effort to: (1) provide discursive space for apprehending identity, experience, (in)equity and interaction beyond binaries of identity, whether dominant and mainstream or dominant and critically-oriented, (2) contribute toward laying the conceptual and empirical foundation for scholarship seeking to problematize essentialization and idealization in the field of ELT, (3) afford researchers and researcher-practitioners whose voices may be overlooked, denigrated or silenced, discursive space to negotiate participation in criticality, and (4) begin to explore the implications problematizing essentialization and idealization, through a postmodern and poststructural lens, might hold for attending to the complexity of identity and interaction in and beyond the classroom, in terms of practice.

In conceptualizing and approaching the volume, we the Editors asked potential authors to problematize essentialization and idealization, and explore the fluidity of privilege-marginalization, in the field of ELT. We noted that the book would be framed by postmodern and poststructural theory. In receiving dozens of abstracts, invited and otherwise, we quickly realized that the majority of possible contributors were drawing upon the above-mentioned binary-oriented lens of "juxtaposed nativeness" and the "NNEST lens," when conceptualizing and approaching "essentialization and idealization." The abstracts we chose to move forward with in constructing the volume, provided by a diverse group of authors, were those that collectively demonstrated the potential for destabilizing binary-oriented approaches to identity and interaction.

During the manuscript submission and editing process, we prompted authors to reflect upon the postmodern and poststructural commitments underpinning the volume. At times, this involved prompting authors to reflexively attend to how the ontological and epistemological commitments underpinning their work aligned with their conceptual frameworks for and approaches to identity and interaction. Additionally, we found ourselves charged with revisiting our own conceptualization of the nature and purpose of the volume. This can be seen, in particular, in the fact that we have retained chapters whose contents may at times, implicitly or explicitly, militate against aspects of the original framework for, and goals of, the book, and even challenge the manner in which the contents of the above introduction are constructed. As a result, a *fifth* purpose for the volume emerged, which, in fact, gave shape to the content of the introduction above: to prompt critical scholars within and beyond the edited volume, towards reflexivity, conceptual clarity and congruence, and dialogue.

In approaching the volume and interacting with authors, we learned that critical-ity seeking to problematize binary approaches to conceptualizing and attending to identity, experience and (in)equity (whether mainstream and native speaker-centric, or critically-oriented), must necessarily attend their sociohistorical and ongoing

construction in the contextualized and chronotopic negotiation of pre-colonial, colonial, postcolonial, neocolonial, neoliberal, late modern and postmodern discourses of identity, in ELT and the contexts in which it is located. Failing to attend to the ongoing discursive construction, perpetuation and maintenance of categorical apprehensions of identity, may result in glossing over the contextualized complexity of ongoing, negotiated tensions between modern, late-modern and postmodern discourses of identity and interaction within and beyond the field of ELT (see Canagarajah 2016; Kramsch 2014; Kubota 2014; Selvi and Rudolph 2018; Shin and Kubota 2008). Scholars seeking to challenge binary-oriented lenses, may be pointing stakeholders in ELT toward a paradigm shift they may find uncomfortable or threatening. This may be linked to the ways individuals position themselves and others, and are positioned, within and beyond ELT. This may be due to the nature and source of critical voice (e.g., researchers and researcher-practitioners positioned as "privileged" by binary-oriented discourses), which may prompt individuals to believe criticality is being co-opted and is therefore under threat. Additionally, interrogating binaries within criticality may threaten the linguistic, cultural, academic and professional authority of individuals within ELT and the context in which it is situated, who derive authority from categorical juxtapositions of identity. In any case, understanding and problematizing binaries is a political affair inscribed with tensions fluidly intertwined with negotiations of positionality "beyond" ELT.

3.1   Content and Organization of the Volume

The chapters in this volume represent contextualized, sociohistorical accounts of researchers, researcher-practitioners, teacher educators, and students apprehending and attending to positionality, and essentialization and idealization in the field of ELT, and, in varying degrees, to privilege-marginalization and its fluidity. Readers will soon note that there exist conceptual tensions within and across chapters, as well as within the foreword to this volume. At times, this tension arises from manifestations of conceptual incongruity between ontological and epistemological commitments, conceptual frameworks (including theoretical approaches and literature reviews), and approaches to inquiry and practice. This may relate to an author's use of postcolonial, postmodern and poststructural theory to apprehend interaction, while drawing upon binary-oriented scholarship to conceptualize learner, user and instructor identity. This may also result in very different meaning poured into the notion of problematizing essentialization and idealization, in inquiry and practice. Additionally, the diverse array of authors herein, have negotiated identity and participation in criticality in unique, contextualized ways, and represent a divergence of training, knowledge, experience and status.

We the Editors have chosen to organize the volume into two parts: (I) Problematizing and Reifying Binaries: Conceptual Transitions, and (II) Towards Destabilizing Binaries: Problematizing Essentialization and Idealization. Part I of

the volume is inscribed with conceptual tension, as authors wrestle with apprehending, problematizing, utilizing and reifying binaries of identity, in light of postcolonial, postmodern and poststructural theory. Part II of the volume, though no less inscribed with tension, explores apprehending identity, experience, (in)equity and interaction beyond categories embedded within binaries. As scholars framing the volume through the lens of postmodern and poststructural theory, we note that approaching the content of chapters in the volume in sections, may essentialize their complexity. In line with how the above introduction is written, however, this approach to organization provides the reader with a framework for interacting with the texts.

Part I: Problematizing and Reifying Binaries: Conceptual Transitions In the first portion of the volume authors wrestle with apprehending, problematizing, utilizing and reifying binaries of identity, in light of postcolonial, postmodern and poststructural theory. In chapter "Glocalization, English as a Lingua Franca, and ELT: Reconceptualizing Identity and Models for ELT in China", Fan (Gabriel) Fang uses autoethnography and narrative inquiry to weave his own account of identity negotiation with the accounts of four Chinese EFL teachers who have had education outside China, and explores Chinese EFL teachers' positioning through encounters of privilege and marginalization. In chapter "Power and Ownership Within the NS/NNS Dichotomy", I-Chen Huang reports on a study that juxtaposes her own narrative as a language user in relation to the "idealized NS," with interview-based accounts of 27 college students in Taiwan. Huang discusses the role of power and ownership inscribed with the dichotomous categories of NS/NNS in the dynamic, ever-evolving construction of identities as legitimate English language users. In chapter "Teachers' Identities as 'Non-native' Speakers: Do They Matter in *English as a Lingua Franca* Interactions?", Yumi Matsumoto examines multilingual interactions in a writing classroom at a US university to explore the impact of a teacher's assumed identity of NNESTs on English as a lingua franca (ELF) communication. Her findings highlight the performative nature of identity negotiation and challenge the presupposed and essentialized characteristics of a teacher that come with the label of 'NNEST.' In chapter "The (Re)Construction of Self Through Student-Teachers' Storied Agency in ELT: Between Marginalization and Idealization", Alvaro Hernán Quintero and Carmen Helena Guerrero present a narrative inquiry that explores pre-service teachers' experiences of identity development in an English Language Teacher Education Program in Colombia. The authors discuss how pre-service teachers negotiate multiple ways of being and reconstruct their identities as they navigate the marginalizing conditions in their contexts. In chapter "English, Identity and the Privileging and Marginalizing of Transculturality", Tamara Chung Constant and Haiying Cao present an autoethnographic account of their individual negotiations of privilege and marginalization through postcolonial feminist lenses. Chung Constant deconstructs the essentialization of categories of identity, while Cao wrestles fluidly with a desire to problematize essentialization and yet retains such a lens to apprehend her lived experiences positioning herself and being positioned.

Part II: Towards Destabilizing Binaries: Problematizing Essentialization and Idealization The second portion of this volume represents a move towards apprehending identity, experience, (in)equity and interaction beyond categories embedded within binaries. As with the first portion of the book, these chapters may appear contradictory at times, and inscribed with conceptual tension. Yet they represent a step towards problematizing essentialization and idealization. In chapter ""What Should I Call Myself? Does It Matter?" Questioning the "Labeling" Practice in ELT Profession", Christine Manara challenges "labeling games" in the ELT profession and industry, with an autoethnographic account of the phases of her identity (re)construction in different contexts while interacting with and responding to the labels embedded in the discourses of ELT. Chapters "Accepting and Circumventing Native Speaker Essentialism" and "'I Speak How I Speak:' A Discussion of Accent and Identity within Teachers of ELT" present studies by Robert Weekly and Alex Baratta, whose work destabilizes categorical apprehensions of identity, experience and (in)equity. In chapter "Accepting and Circumventing Native Speaker Essentialism", Robert Weekly presents his findings of a qualitative study on the ways in which eleven multilingual South-Asian English language teachers negotiate their encounters of prejudice (positioned as "inauthentic" native speakers of English) when living in Leicester, England and working in an ESOL program. Chapter 'I Speak How I Speak:' A Discussion of Accent and Identity within Teachers of ELT" includes Alex Baratta's discussion of ESL teachers' identity negotiation and positioning with regards to their accent as English users. He interrogates the deleterious impacts of accentism or privileging and marginalization of certain accents upon ESL teachers' identities and the efforts of inclusivity in the field of ELT.

Chapters "Speakerhood as Segregation: The Construction and Consequence of Divisive Discourse in TESOL", ""Legitimate" Concerns: A Duoethnography of Becoming ELT Professionals", "Significant Encounters and Consequential Eventualities: A Joint Narrative of Collegiality Marked by Struggles Against Reductionism, Essentialism and Exclusion in ELT" and "Exploring Privilege and Marginalization in ELT: A Trioethnography of Three Diverse Educators" explore researcher-practitioner accounts of problematizing and moving beyond binary-oriented essentialization and idealization in the field of ELT. In chapter "Speakerhood as Segregation: The Construction and Consequence of Divisive Discourse in TESOL", Damian Rivers questions the ways in which divisive discourses are constructed and maintained in the field of ELT through binary categories, discusses the fluidity of status privilege and status marginalization, and prompts criticality towards reflexivity and transformation. In chapter ""Legitimate" Concerns: A Duoethnography of Becoming ELT Professionals", Amber Warren and Jaehan Park present the findings of their duoethnography that juxtaposes and explores each author's accounts of marginality and acceptance they faced integral to the contours of their identity development as ELT professionals. Chapter "Significant Encounters and Consequential Eventualities: A Joint Narrative of Collegiality Marked by Struggles against Reductionism, Essentialism and Exclusion in ELT" presents Masaki Oda's and Glenn Toh's combined critical historical narrative as colleagues at the Tamagawa University Center for English as a Lingua Franca. Drawing from

vignettes including their significant work-related encounters, Oda and Toh demonstrate the impact of cultural-political discourses of ELT upon "ongoing contestations, contradictions, inconsistencies and disjunctions" teachers confront when seeking to humanize and transform their discursive and practical spaces. In chapter "Exploring Privilege and Marginalization in ELT: A Trioethnography of Three Diverse Educators", Antoinette Gagné, Sreemali Herath, and Marlon Valencia present a trioethnographic inquiry in which they challenge and deconstruct the ELT ideologies in different glocal contexts that maintain binary identity categories and essentialize the experiences of privilege and marginalization.

Chapters "Doing and Undoing (Non)nativeness: Glocal Perspectives from a Graduate Classroom" and "Essentialization, Idealization, and Apprehensions of Local Language Practice in the Classroom" attend to the destabilization of dominant and critically-oriented binaries in (and beyond) the classroom, in the interest of problematizing essentialization and idealization. In chapter "Doing and Undoing (Non)nativeness: Glocal Perspectives from a Graduate Classroom", Geeta Aneja develops (non)native speakering as a poststructural concept to understand teachers' (non)native speakered subjectivities and negotiation and reification of their identities through daily interactions. Drawing from qualitative data, Aneja discusses possibilities to resist and dis-invent binary approaches to teacher identity through teacher education classroom practices. Finally, in chapter "Essentialization, Idealization, and Apprehensions of Local Language Practice in the Classroom", Nathanael Rudolph provides a poststructural ethnographic account of 16 Japanese university students and their teacher (himself), apprehending and deconstructing the bounds of local language (Japanese) practice in one department of English, as intertwined with binary-oriented discourses of "idealized Japaneseness-Otherness" and "idealized native English speakerness-Otherness." Rudolph contends that the study challenges scholars participating in criticality, to reflect upon how critical approaches to identity and interaction may create, limit and/or eliminate learner, user and instructor space for being and becoming, and potentially bolster and/or reify discourses of idealized nativeness and community membership, contextually.

In closing, we would like to note that, in addition to the wide array of professionals and conceptual frameworks within the volume, there is also diversity in terms of the scholarly use of English. We ground this purposeful decision to avoid the "homogenization" of language within the chapters, in the ontological and epistemological commitments underpinning the volume, which problematize language practice (Pennycook 2010) predicated upon essentialized and idealized nativeness.

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Part I
Problematizing and Reifying Binaries: Conceptual Transitions

Glocalization, English as a Lingua Franca and ELT: Reconceptualizing Identity and Models for ELT in China

Fan (Gabriel) Fang

Abstract The English language functions as a lingua franca (ELF), facilitating intercultural communication among those who speak different first languages. With the development and research of World Englishes and ELF, the concept of an idealized native speaker has been challenged through various discourses and classroom practices. Using China as the main context, this chapter introduces issues related to the notions of native and non-native speakers of English and to the standard language ideology of English language teaching (ELT). Narrative inquiry is employed to explore how Chinese ELT professionals, including the author himself, who have education experience abroad, negotiate their professional identities. This chapter concludes by stressing the importance of moving beyond the idealized native speaker model to glocalized ELT practices. That however, requires local ELT practitioners to reconsider the goals and model of ELT, possibly by recognizing the significance of local Englishes and integrating them into the language curriculum, and by applying critical pedagogy to actual practice.

1 Introduction

The global spread of English has generated various concerns and debates among scholars and people involved in this international language. It has been argued that English as a global language means that no single group, linguistically, culturally, nationally, ethnically, or geographically speaking, can have custody of the language, and it should belong to the speakers who use the language (Graddol 2006; Widdowson 1994). The global ownership of English and the relationship between native and non-native English teachers have already generated further debate, which is one of the foci of this chapter. In today's globalized world, English is indeed used more often among speakers who do not share a first language, and among those who

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have adapted the language to suit various communication situations. English is a lingua franca for international and intercultural communication as it is used "among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option" (Seidlhofer 2011, p. 7). From this perspective, it appears that English has been introduced to facilitate many people's local lives. Crystal (2008) has estimated that there are around two billion people that speak and use English as a second language or lingua franca worldwide.

As a university teacher and researcher of the English language, I am not an exception and benefit from my knowledge of English in my academic life. When I sit in my office reading academic papers and researching, I realize the power of English as it seems that the majority of scholarly articles and books are published in English. Each time I attend an international conference, I present my paper in English, socialize in English, and communicate in English with conference participants from other parts of the world, as it appears that English is the de facto lingua franca today. Crystal mentions that English has been used in diverse types of publications, as "about 80 per cent of the world's electronically stored information is currently in English" (Crystal 2003, p. 115).

However, the dominance of English creates certain concerns, such as linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992, 2009), and identity crisis, as people worry that local languages, cultures and identities will be destroyed by the blind worship of English (Guo and Beckett 2007; Niu and Wolff 2003, 2007). For me, as a student of the English language and now an English teacher working at a Chinese university, even though I obtained my master's degree and doctorate in the UK, I always need to reposition myself and negotiate my own identity in my professional life. In my career, I am aware that the concept of identity is complex, contradictory and multifaceted (Norton 1997), while "identity construction must be understood with respect to larger social processes, marked by relations of power that can be either coercive or collaborative" (Norton 1997, p. 419).

As a self-identified "non-native" English speaker, I adopted an auto-ethnographical perspective in this chapter to investigate the concept of professional identity. I do so simply because I have worked as an English teacher for several years in China and the UK and understand the situation of a non-native English teacher and the need to negotiate one's identity. In this study, the concept of *self* includes my own self-observations and self-reflections during the process of collecting data and writing this chapter. I adopted the definition that *auto-ethnography* is "a form or method of research that involves self-observation and reflexive investigation in the context of ethnographic field work and writing" (Maréchal 2010, p. 43). I fully understood that my role entailed simultaneously engaging in *subjectivity* and *reflexivity* during the data collection process. Therefore, I attempted to stay fully aware of the part I played in the study, and I reflected on my dual role as a researcher and a colleague of the study participants (see the *Methodology* section).

I am employed at a university department where the ratio of Chinese teachers to international teachers is approximately 1:1.[1] The international teachers include "native" English teachers from the UK, the US, and Australia and "non-native" English teachers from Asia, Europe, and Latin America. Although we work together and teach the same courses, we have different working requirements and pay scales. This may be the key reason for some personal experiences and critical incidents of *privilege* and *marginalization*. There exists a concern that "non-native" teachers (in this study, mostly Chinese teachers of English) are marginalized, especially in regard to pay and working and living conditions, and it seems to be an a-priori assumption that non-native English teachers (NNETs) are treated less favorably than native English teachers (NETs).[2] The definitions of and distinctions between these two terms are notoriously vague and blurred because of the spread of English globally as a lingua franca (Graddol 2006; Seidlhofer 2011). However, entrenched social inequalities and ideologies persist in the field of ELT, especially in traditional expanding contexts.[3] Against the background of globalization, this chapter focuses on the issue of teacher identity and discusses how Chinese NNETs at a Chinese university position and negotiate their identities when working with NETs. Applying the critical approaches of ELT (Braine 2010; Llurda 2005; Mahboob 2010), I also argue based on the personal narrative inquiries of Chinese teachers of English that an imbalanced relationship exists between NETs and NNETs, although I understand that both privilege and marginalization are fluid and should be viewed from both linguistic and socio-cultural perspectives of different local contexts. With the development of English as a lingua franca (ELF), ELT is undergoing an era of transition, reshaping its standards and learning goals. The next section addresses the linguistic and cultural background of ELF.

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[1] This ratio is unusual in a language department in China. Even within English departments at Chinese universities, the majority of teachers usually are from China. The department in which I conducted my research recruited many international teachers because the university is promoting internationalization. Maintaining and reinforcing *Chineseness* at this university is a main reason why Chinese teachers work in the department. Recently, the department recruited more Chinese teachers who had studied abroad.

[2] I fully realize that previous research has challenged the concept of an idealized native speaker and the binary of native English speakers and non-native English speakers. These terms are used as a starting point in this chapter because these concepts are still widely familiar. The terms are also used to challenge the unequal power relationships in language usage and the fixed perspective to reconceptualize these terms from a postmodern, post-structuralist perspective.

[3] Kachru (1992) used three concentric circles to categorize English-speaking countries. People use English as their native language in the inner circle, as the second language in the outer circle (e.g., India, Singapore, and Nigeria), as a foreign language in the expanding circle (e.g., China, Japan, and Russia). However, this model has been criticized for creating a hierarchy that favors the center and lacks a descriptive space for movement, exchange, and hybridity within and across the circles. This chapter uses this model simply because it permits categorizing English-speaking contexts.

2   English as a Lingua Franca

The concept of English functioning as a world language has generated further debate about language ideologies, the dichotomy of native English speaker (NES) and non-native English speaker (NNES), and English teaching methodology. For example, an early debate that appeared in *English Today* between Kachru and Quirk (Kachru 1991; Quirk 1990) has generated further discussions and negotiations about the standard of English. Since the 1980s, the development of World Englishes (WE) has emancipated English used in post-colonial contexts (Kachru 1992), while local varieties of English are still being codified, such as Singapore English and Nigerian English. This leads to the elusive situation of standard English as "no individual can reasonably be expected to be completely knowledgeable about what is and what is not considered best practice" (Gupta 2001, p. 367). Therefore, along with the spread of English across the world, a single fixed and monochrome standard of English no longer exists. The traditional concept that the standard should be dictated by the regime of NESs has also been challenged (Brutt-Griffler 2002; Graddol 2006; Piller 2002; Widdowson 1994). For instance, Piller (2002) argues that "we cannot turn to native competence and performance as a measure of L2 proficiency because the expert L2 user is a multilingual while the typical native speaker is conceptualised as a monolingual" (p. 80).

The current heyday of English as a global language is quite salient. When we entered the second decade of the new millennium, and as we move into the third, the number of English speakers around the world may continue reaching a record high. English is no longer used within certain communities as a nation-bounded variety, but rather it is used transnationally for international communication to facilitate intercultural communication among people who do not share the same first language (Baker 2015; Seidlhofer 2011). It is noted that a majority of English users are now not confined to inner or outer circle contexts, while English is one of speakers' linguistic repertoires and language options within the situation of multilingualism. Therefore, the current linguistic landscape also reflects English as a *multilingua franca* (EMF) (Jenkins 2015).

The ELF paradigm challenges the entrenched language ideology that NESs are the best arbiters of this international language. In respect to ELF, linguistic norms are no longer dependent on NESs; ELF researchers are increasingly adopting a post-structuralist perspective and perceive communication as fluid, hybrid, and dynamic (Baird et al. 2014; Baker 2015; Seidlhofer 2011). From this perspective, NNESs are regarded as legitimate speakers of English, and language contact among them of interest. Their use of English is no longer *norm-dependent,* but demands that those communicating be able to use various communication strategies to successfully convey their meanings (Cogo 2009; Jenkins 2000). Consequently, the concept of an idealized native speaker (Chomsky 1965) has also been challenged through various forms of discourse and classroom practice. In the ELF paradigm, elements of language ideology such as the power of the standard English ideology, have been readdressed. Therefore, in the framework where no native speaker exists,

NESs are no longer viewed as prestigious. It is far more essential for mutual nego-tiation and accommodation during the process of communication, as Baker (2015) argues that native speakers of a particular language "need to be just as aware of linguistic issues in intercultural communication" (p. 35). In this sense, ELF requires people to be aware of their linguistic repertoire as a resource to *perform* and *do* language in various communities of practice (Wenger 1998), and to constantly negotiate their own identities during the process of communication. ELF research-ers are particularly interested in communication among NNESs. This does not mean that NESs are excluded from ELF communication, but that they are a minority and are not the sole and unchallenged authority. In the next section, I turn the focus to my research context and discuss the linguistic and ELT situation in China.

3   ELT in China

As a country belonging to the expanding circle, China has the largest population of English learners and users within the ELF framework. Wei and Su (2012), based on statistics of a national survey indicated that the number of English learners in China has reached approximately 400 million. This number is more than the total com-bined populations of the UK and the US. As Graddol (2006) believes, the statistics of English learners and users in China will become even more significant in the era of globalization, because English has been introduced into many people's lives for various purposes such as job promotion and economic affluence (Adamson 2004; Bolton and Graddol 2012; Jiang 2003). Although people have concerns whether the spread of English will facilitate international communication and be a blessing (Crystal 2003), or if the power of English will undermine local languages and iden-tities (Bolton and Kuteeva 2012; Kumaravadivelu 2012; Niu and Wolff 2003, 2007; Phillipson 1992), it seems that no one can stop this trend toward the future spread of English.

   Several language ideologies have been applied in the English linguistic land-scape of China. For instance, against the backdrop of globalization, English in China is positioned into the WE paradigm where some researchers regard China English (CE) as a variety of English that should stand alongside British, American, and the other varieties of English (He and Li 2009; Hu 2004; Xu 2010). Other schol-ars argue that CE is a deterrent to language acquisition for the majority of English learners in China, and disagree with approaching CE as a variety of English (Yang and Zhang 2015). Still other scholars, including Wang (2013), contend that English in China should be viewed through an ELF perspective. Fang (2017) also comments on this issue from both the WE and the ELF perspectives and argues that a lengthy process is needed for CE to develop into a variety of English because a deep-rooted native ideology in China regards English as a learned language. In this sense, ELT in China remains generally norm-dependent and favors NETs. However, in another sense, the localization of English has challenged the ownership of English, and the cultural identity of English has become more fluid and dynamic in the ELF paradigm

where "[i]ndividuals both dynamically position themselves and are positioned, discursively, through written and spoken interaction, purposefully and unintentionally" (Rudolph 2016, p. 2). In this context, this chapter explores how local Chinese teachers of English, as a group of NNETs, position their professional identity when working with international teachers. Based on the ELT situation in China, I further challenge the current ELT model and evaluate ELT from a critical perspective.

4 Methodology

This research investigates a university in southeast China. Therein, a teaching unit offers English language courses to the university's entire student body, which consists of more than 7000 undergraduate and postgraduate students. This teaching unit employs both Chinese and international instructors, which I believe can be regarded as an emergent ELF setting. In this chapter, *Chinese teachers* simply refers to those working in this specific university. More specifically, some Chinese teachers have been offered tenured positions, while others recently recruited are contract-based. A recent recruitment trend is preferment of Chinese graduates who earned postgraduate certificates abroad. This mixture of language teachers from various linguistic and cultural backgrounds, to a large extent, enables the use of various critical perspectives in the study.

As I have been working as an NNET for more than 9 years at the university level, both in China and the UK, I first employ an auto-ethnographical perspective and use myself as a reflection to illustrate the subtle relationship between NETs and NNETs. As this chapter also focuses on local Chinese teachers' perceptions of their own professional identities, I further adopt a narrative inquiry for Chinese university teachers of English to express their points of view.

To describe the participant recruitment process, I first sent a group email to contact potential participants, explaining the research purpose and inviting them to participate in the study. After receiving several responses, I approached individual teachers to confirm if they were willing to participate. I recruited four teachers with various learning and work experiences as the study participants. The participants all had experience abroad as students and had returned to work at this Chinese university after obtaining master's degrees. Three participants obtained master's degrees in both inner- and outer-circle contexts, and one earned a doctorate in a western English-speaking country.[4] All of them had worked at the university level for more than 3 years, the most for 9 years. Their diverse experiences enabled them to elaborate in detail on how they construct and negotiate their professional identities as NNETs.

Narrative inquiry, as Cohen et al. (2011) argue, can "give the added dimension of realism, authenticity, humanity, personality, emotions, views and values in a situation" (p. 553). All the participants were first asked to complete a questionnaire with

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[4] For ethical reasons, I do not name the countries where the study participants were educated.

open-ended questions on their motivations and experiences for studying abroad and then being an English teacher, their perceptions of NETs and NNETs, and their understanding of what qualifies English teachers and makes successful English learners. To elicit the topic of identity, the participants were asked to share their perceptions of their current working status and relationships with their foreign colleagues. The participants were also asked whether, as English teachers, they had experienced any privilege and marginalization relative to their colleagues. All the teachers had majored in applied linguistics and/or education while studying abroad, so these questions were intended to determine how they viewed the relationship of NETs and NNETs in different contexts and to further understand how they perceived their own professional identities. After completing the questionnaire with open-ended questions, all the teachers were interviewed about their learning and teaching experiences. Adopting both writing and interview as narratives (Connelly and Clandinin 1990) according to post-structuralist inquiry enabled the participants to tell their stories while constructing, negotiating, and re-constructing their identities through the process of story-telling. In my auto-ethnographical account and the participants' biographical accounts, I learned to adopt both emic and etic perspectives, to be self-reflexive, to "gain insight into educational and other important social issues through understanding the experience of the individuals whose lives reflect those issues […] to make meaning through language" (Seidman 2006, p. 14).

It was hoped that my adoption of narrative inquiry would allow the participants to express their views in more detail in a relaxing environment. To ensure anonymity and confidentiality, the participants were identified not by their names, but by pseudonyms, and I also sent the participants their narratives for review, to ensure that they approved the narratives I use in this chapter. The data discussed are based on the personal experiences of the author and the narrators, and I, by no means, want to imply that the data can be generalized to the entire university. In the data analysis section, I first adopt an auto-ethnographic perspective and discuss my negotiation of my professional identity. I then analyze four teachers' narratives to explore the concept of identity in more detail.

5   Narratives of Chinese English Teachers

5.1   My Own Narrative as Auto-ethnography

I have worked as an English teacher for more than 9 years. In the first several years of teaching, as an NNET, I recognized a distinction between NETs and NNETs. It is interesting that the university employer appears to distinguish Chinese English teachers (CETs) as one group, and international teachers as another group, in areas such as pay and teaching load.

I started to work as an English teacher after I obtained my MA degree. Like other newcomers, I was enthusiastic and devoted myself to the job. Although I realized

some disparity existed between Chinese teachers and international teachers,[5] I was not distracted by this inequality, since I was told that during the first several years of being a teacher I should learn how to "stand firmly on the lectern." I did not feel a strong sense of marginalization because the international teachers had more teaching and service responsibilities than the Chinese teachers. After working for 4 years in the university, I went to the UK to pursue my PhD. I gained more working experience in the UK, teaching in the pre-sessional summer program. I noted the working conditions of the university staff members in the UK. Although I was not involved in the recruitment process, I realized that NETs and NNETs (although *privilege* and *marginalization* are taking shape differently in different contexts) had similar working hours and received the same amount of pay for teaching the same courses.

In the university in China (and many others in similar expanding circle contexts, see also Miyazato 2009; Yeh 2002), NETs normally receive higher pay, even if some international teachers do not hold a higher academic degree, or have no previous working experience as a language teacher. Apart from the teaching load, international teachers are not required to conduct research,[6] while Chinese teachers must publish academic papers in both national and international journals to get job promotions. Although I would agree that university teachers should conduct research to pursue professional identities, so as not to be "quasi-professionals" regardless of their status as an NET or NNET, I also believe this requirement puts undue pressure on CETs.

Another aspect I would like to mention is the language policy. English as a medium of instruction (EMI) is prevalent in Chinese universities today, and the focal university also provides a supportive English learning environment. This, for me, should be promoted as English is currently the lingua franca and an independent English learning center on campus is a popular place for students to practice their English skills. However, the language policy that stresses the predominant use of English (and other *foreign* languages), which has been adopted by the independent learning center here, reflects the imbalance of power and policy decisions. It is not sensible to think that, in this globalized and multilingual world, the language policy should largely encourage an environment that is homogeneous and native-centered. As an insider, I would prefer a more flexible language environment and policy so people can learn and practice different foreign languages, while at the same time not losing their native language and local identity (Kubota 2004;

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[5] In the context of my research, international teachers refer to those who are not from Mainland China. The university sets its pay scales based on the teachers' educational background, research record, and past teaching experience. The university presumes that international teachers should be paid more than their Chinese counterparts, even if they have similar educational backgrounds. However, international teachers are offered different pay scales and contracts.

[6] In the context of my research, international teachers sign a shorter and more fixed contract for one to three years, and not many of them continue to work at the same university after their contracts have expired. However, the stress of being promoted or getting a new job title and a higher pay scale requires Chinese teachers to conduct research and publish academic papers. Although some international teachers participate in academic conferences and publish research articles, the system requirements they must meet are different from those of Chinese teachers.

Kumaravadivelu 2006). I want to end my own narrative by quoting Kumaravadivelu (2006), who states that "the TESOL profession cannot remain oblivious to the fact that globalization has resulted in greater contacts between people of different cultures, leading to a better awareness of each other's values and visions, and to a firmer resolve to preserve and protect one's cultural liberty" (p. 19).

5.2 Chloe's Narrative

Chloe worked as an English instructor before she went to an inner circle country to pursue a master's degree, as she planned to work as an English teacher after graduation. She hoped to share various cultural experiences and stories with her students and hoped that the students would make some changes in how they learned English. She has been working as a university instructor for more than 4 years.

When asked about the relationship between the teachers' academic degrees and salary scale when she was abroad, Chloe responded that she did not know much about it. She believed that in general, however, NETs and NNETs earned the same pay because working conditions in this country were equal. She noted that an Asian professor received the highest salary in the business school.

Asked whether NETs have certain advantages compared to NNETs in China, she gave an affirmative answer. She did not see a difference in teaching methods between Chinese and international teachers; however, she struggled being a CET and commented that, "this is a realistic problem. In the field of English education, NETs receive higher pay, doubled, and even more, compared to CETs with the same qualification and academic degree." She further mentioned the advantage taken-for-granted of being an NET: "students prefer international teachers, especially NETs, because they have little contact with NESs and have an immanent idea that NETs teach more authentic English." She also mentioned that, "students tend to choose the classes lectured by NETs. On the one hand, students feel that it is real English communication, and, on the other hand, students have not developed a mature mindset of English learning." In the job market, for example, NETs tend to secure a job easily with higher pay if they have the same qualification compared with NNETs. However, Chloe further commented that some CETs can also gain popularity among students; students may not highly evaluate a course lectured by some NETs because, for example, NETs sometimes cannot accommodate the class content according to students' English level. This echoes the globally dominant construction of the "idealized NS of English" (Chomsky 1965), while essentialized categories of "inside/outside" and "Us/Them" are hybridized, fluid, and have been challenged and negotiated (Rudolph 2016). However, NETs are often automatically perceived as being in a privileged position, and having superior teaching skills before students actually get to know their teaching styles and manners.

In terms of professional development as English teachers, Chloe believed that CETs had pressure to conduct research, stating that: "even though the working load is quite similar, in this system, research and publications determine professional

development of most of the CETs." However, what confused her was that international teachers enjoyed higher pay and better housing conditions, without having any pressure to conduct academic research. As a qualified English professional, Chloe believed that teachers should update their knowledge of the English language and enhance their teaching ability, be creative, and keep pace with the times.

At the end of the narrative, Chloe seemed to be quite optimistic regarding the marginalization of NNETs, saying that the situation may change in the future. With the trend toward globalization and mobility, the global market of English instructors will expand and become more competitive. Along with an increasing number of CETs obtaining high qualifications and having experience abroad, monolingual NETs will face fierce competition from bilingual CETs. In the future, the dichotomy between NETs and NNETs will most likely fade away.

In terms of the localization of English, Chloe mentioned that against the backdrop of globalization and the global status of English, bi- or multilingual teachers of English should be able to challenge the ownership of English, and should gain certain advantages if they understand TESOL knowledge and methods and if they have a high level of mastery and competence in English. For localized English, Chloe used an example of her roommate from Singapore when she was pursuing her master's degree: "my roommate enjoys speaking Singlish because she believes that this is their language with unique characteristics. In China in recent years, we also come across some expressions such as 'no zuo no die'."[7] As an English teacher, Chloe thought that it was not really necessary to correct them because "language itself is to be used for communication […] if the new expressions can be widely accepted," which depends on the level of formality (see also, Fang 2008).

5.3 Jason's Narrative

Jason majored in English in his undergraduate study in Mainland China, before entering an outer circle context for his master's degree. In his narrative, Jason wanted to see things from a more diverse and tolerant perspective. Jason mentioned that his teachers were from different geographic regions when he was pursuing his master's degree. He came back and worked as an English teacher because he hoped to apply the knowledge he had learned to classroom teaching and to bring meaningful learning experiences to his students. He commented that: "my teachers in primary and high school adopted a mechanical way of English teaching. I found that even if I had studied English for more than 10 years, I could not communicate with others as fluently as I would expect. It was a pity. I was exposed to different and more open teaching methods at my university, and my English improved. Therefore, I hope to change the current English teaching situation and make changes to provide appropriate English teaching methods according to students' English levels."

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[7] According to *Urban Dictionary*, the phrase is of Chinglish origin. It means that, "if someone does not make any trouble out of nothing, he or she will not be in trouble either."

Jason also believed that NETs were more popular in ELT in China because most language learners had few opportunities for contact with NETs and were curious how smoothly they could communicate in English. Jason also stated that, "students believe that it would be good to imitate NESs and believe that they speak more authentic English." When looking for a job, he found that being an NES was a basic requirement for candidates: "people have stereotype that NESs have a higher level of English competence with good pronunciation. Recruiters do not pay enough attention to whether English teachers understand theories of language learning. They only focus on language competence."

Although Jason did not know whether there were discrepancies in his teachers' pay when pursuing his master's degree, as a CET he felt that there was discrimination against CETs and preference for NETs in China. He mentioned that with the same teaching load and same job title, NETs receive higher pay with fewer research tasks, which he felt was unfair. The majority of the international teachers are from developed countries (mostly from the US), and the university is not willing to recruit NETs at a lower salary. The current job market in China is not that optimistic: "even if the salary is not high enough, there are still many Chinese applicants for jobs." Jason also mentioned another reason: "NETs are popular among Chinese students." He argued that international teachers should have a larger workload as they have fewer research tasks. In terms of a qualified English teacher, Jason used the word *facilitator*. He argued that teachers should not only be practitioners of theory, but also researchers themselves. They should be able to use English to effectively communicate with others.

In terms of localized versions of English, Jason believed that there has already been a trend of localized English in China. Every year new expressions are included in dictionary, such as "long time no see." Jason argued that: "localized use of English in China will help students not to set a strict standard of native English and be more confident in English use and not to feel frustrated about their own accents and not to devalue Chinese teachers."

5.4   Emily's Narrative

Similar to Jason, Emily is a new graduate from an MA program. She had plans to study abroad and had a clear goal of being an English teacher. She entered an inner circle context for her MA as she wanted to make ELT changes in China and hoped to update her teaching knowledge in order to help her students in the future. In Emily's experiences of studying abroad, she had a teacher from Greece. Emily noted that her Greek teacher would repeat herself and even correct her own pronunciation during lectures: "I could understand her accent but the teacher may have cared a lot about her English accent." When talking about any discrepancy in terms of remuneration and workload, Emily mentioned that NETs and NNETs had the same pay and workload when she was abroad.

However, when discussing her work situation at the university in China, she separated things into the "ideal and real." Emily argued that no matter what their mother tongue and skin color are, both NETs and NNETs are, on an ideal level, able to be qualified English teachers. However, in reality, the privilege of NETs is rather salient in her working environment. She argued that: "few international teachers conduct research but they can still survive as university instructors". Emily mentioned the problem that, if NETs receive a-priori higher pay than CETs without any further in-depth consideration, this will strangle the professional identity and personal endeavor of CETs, and NNETs will no longer have a say in this field which is a grievous and realistic concern.

Emily further narrated a crucial reason why NETs enjoyed a privilege: "they gain certain advantages because the majority of CETs never hear of the concepts of ELF and WE. The CETs will tell their students to choose classes offered by NETs as they are more 'authentic.' When I first worked as a university teacher, I wept but failed to shed a tear." Emily pointed out that although some CETs may have a lower language competence, this should not be a reason to encourage students to choose English classes offered by NETs without a second thought. Again, students may set up a stereotype that NETs teach better English compared to NNETs. She further commented that students cannot be blamed: "the advantage may be rather complex. Chinese students and administration system endow the privilege for them. At the same time, NETs have their own additional advantage." Emily pointed out a serious problem that most of the CETs work hard but some NETs are not as devoted to their work as their counterparts, although she mentioned that we cannot "knock them down with one stroke." She said that NETs enjoyed certain privileges from multi-faceted aspects, but some do not work properly for their pay. In terms of teaching, researching and workload, this should be changed in the future. Emily believed that a qualified English teacher should meet the students' and parents' needs, be flexible and devoted to English teaching, and conduct research for their professionalism.

5.5   *Joyce's Narrative*

Joyce obtained her doctorate in an inner circle context. She was interested in her major but did not plan to be an English teacher during her MA studies. She hoped to explore English teaching and TESOL in more detail and decided to work as an English teacher in China. Joyce stated that there was no difference in terms of payment between NNETs and NETs when she was abroad. However, she believed that NETs have a higher "face validity," and can find a job more easily compared to NNETs. Joyce also mentioned that students tend to believe in the "authenticity" of NETs in the ELT field. Sometimes, CETs and NETs may have certain misunderstandings due to different treatment. Joyce claimed that NETs got much higher pay even if they had qualifications similar to CETs, but CETs had more specific requirements in terms of research. Joyce then argued that regardless of nationalities, teachers with similar academic qualifications should receive the same treatment.

In regard to the professional identity of the teachers, Joyce believed that it is necessary for English teachers to introduce the global status of English to students, encourage students to learn English for specific purposes, and adjust teaching approaches according to students' language level. In terms of localized variety, Joyce believed that although English is not a common language used in China, she could not deny that Chinese people will process their own English for communication purposes. She also noted that localized English did not make a great impact on testing but reduced the requirement of specific target accents.

6 Discussion and Implications

The above narratives clearly indicate a discrepancy in the treatment between NETs and NNETs. Although the notorious dichotomy of NES and NNES has been challenged due to the global status of ELF (for example, with Cook's (1999) notion of multi-competence), the social norms of native ideology are still deep-rooted. The binaries of NES/NNES and NET/NNET are contested, in that these dichotomies "fail to allow conceptual and descriptive space for learner, user, and teacher experiences negotiating translinguistic and transcultural identities" (Rudolph et al. 2015, p. 34). From the teacher narratives, it is seen that it is difficult for CETs to enjoy the same status as international teachers, especially NETs. However, we should also recognize that the concepts of *privilege* and *marginalization* are fluid and should be shaped differently in various contexts. To a large extent, CETs are marginalized in the ELT field, regardless of their professional and academic qualifications. The ELT situation in some expanding circle countries may create an invisible hierarchy, as noted by Fang (2015): "(that) NESs are better models and that the English language belongs to NESs are still being generalised and rooted into people's belief systems" (p. 208).

Regarding the complex notion of identity, teachers expressed a concern that people tend to neglect the use of ELF in reality. Teachers in this study were aware of, and had a critical perspective on the marginalization and position of their professional identities. However, the current language policy in China is still largely native-oriented, and the native versus non-native dichotomy is still salient in real practice (see also, e.g., Houghton and Rivers 2013; Leung et al. 1997; Lippi-Green 2012). Given the fact that CETs interviewed voice the situation of marginalization, it is necessary that ELT moves from the native-oriented ideology to view the global status of English and to reconceptualize ELT models. Currently, the local practice of ELT is largely based on monolingual native speakerism (cf. Holliday 2005). We see the power of NETs and the lack of the process to empower the NNETs in ELT. Although a critical perspective has been taken by many scholars in various contexts, changes are difficult to implement if the current language policy adheres to the native standard ideology. Fang (2015) has argued that there is a lack of multilingual perspective on language policy in the Asian context, while research on

language attitude will be necessary to "raise the awareness of language learners to address their needs, and recognise any of stereotypes and expectations they have of a language" (p. 65).

In terms of professional identity, it can be found from the previous narratives that CETs feel that they are struggling for professional legitimacy in a field where research seems to be more significant than teaching and service. Some teachers mentioned that qualified English teachers should update their knowledge and understanding of the global status of English. This, however, is seldom mentioned in the teaching curriculum and ELT in China (see also, Fang 2016). Although globalization has urged people to view English from a broader perspective and the ownership of English has been challenged within the paradigms of WE and ELF (Jenkins 2007; Kachru 1992; Seidlhofer 2011), local practice seldom realizes the concept of ELF. The whiteness metaphor still heavily shapes the ELT field in expanding-circle contexts (see Golombek and Jordan 2012; Kubota 2004; Moussu and Llurda 2008; Pavlenko 2003) and invisibly emerges in the notions of *privilege* and *marginalization*. Local practitioners struggle to make their voices heard on these issues, and language policies and recruitment practices have been slow to challenge the a-priori, assumed authenticity of NETs.

From the teachers' narratives above, it can be summarized that teachers should be aware of the global spread of English, learn to challenge the native-oriented ideology, be a facilitator and understand students' needs and goals in learning within a local context. It should be noted that the native-oriented model views NESs as the only yardstick and that this violates multilingual and multicultural realities (see Baker 2015; Li 2016). The understanding of local practice in ELT, and the reconceptualization of ELT models to fit the complex context of communities of practice, have been pointed out by Kumaravadivelu (2003). The parameter of *particularity,* of Kumaravadivelu's post-method pedagogy. Requires teachers to be both sensitive to the local contexts of language teaching and to negotiate their professional identities.

Interestingly, other NNETs might still be privileged compared to local Chinese teachers (even though Chinese teachers comprise the majority of teachers of English in China) but are hierarchically lower than NETs. Additionally, the translinguistic and transcultural identities of Chinese teachers have challenged the essentialized categories of "*Chineseness"* and "Chinese teacher." This is, in many respects, an example of being situated in complexity even while interpreting one's experience (with emotion) in the binary of privileged/marginalized without accounting for the fluidity of privilege and marginalization, and the complexity of the negotiation of Self-Other in and across the linguistic, cultural, ethnic and national borders of identity (Nathanael Rudolph, personal communication, see also, Rudolph 2016).

7   Concluding Remarks

This chapter draws upon Chinese university teachers' narratives about the construction and negotiation of their professional identities in relation to their challenge to confront the marginalization of their positions. Given the fact of ELF, and that there is an increasing number of NNESs who use English for various purposes, the professional legitimacy of local NNETs should be firmly established (Faez 2011; Leung 2005; Liu 1999). Furthermore, ELT should treat bilingualism and multilingualism as resources, rather than imposing a strict notion of English only privileging NETs. I, therefore, call for "a move beyond the NS construct in ELT" (Rudolph et al. 2015, p. 28) to challenge the ideology of *native speakerism* that constructs and maintains borders between the Self and Other within the ELT field and the context in which it is situated. Teacher education and training programs should enable NNETs to establish their professional identities and "offer them avenues for imagining identities for themselves that contest the racist stereotypes with which they may otherwise have to contend" (Golombek and Jordan 2012, p. 529). It is hoped that from a postmodern and post-structuralist perspective, the binaries of NS/NNS and NET/NNET will be reconsidered and reconceptualized (Cook 1999; Faez 2011; Norton 1997; Piller 2002) so that the "glocalized discourses of identity in each given context" (Rudolph et al. 2015, p. 29) can be envisaged. Faez (2011) also argues that "[a]dopting a dynamic and situated view of linguistic identity rather than dichotomizing individuals as native or nonnative also means paying attention to contextual factors" (p. 396).

It is also hoped that language policy makers realize the global status of English to challenge the native-oriented language ideology. TESOL is in an era of transition, and therefore the power imposed by the NES and NNES labels should be reconsidered (Liu 1999). This will require language policy to be multilingually, rather than monolingually oriented. Administrators, however, should also raise their awareness that NETs are not the panacea as de-facto qualified English teachers. It is crucial that those in the ELT field reconceptualize the model of language teaching and challenge the entrenched native ideology, in which professional identities of NNETs will further be envisaged and constructed. ELT should be more contextualized, as not only should people view ELT from a global perspective, but also the localized versions of English should be integrated into the language classroom for students to reflect upon the current linguistic landscape of English across the world. This will also help to revisit and reconsider the hiring practice of English professionals. As Liu (1999) concludes, based on one of the student participants in his research, "it really does not matter whether the teacher is an NS or an NNS of English, as having either as a teacher carries advantages as well as disadvantages. What matters is the teacher's professionalism" (p. 100).

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Power and Ownership Within the NS/NNS Dichotomy

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Abstract Drawing on Bakhtinian *dialogism* (The dialogic imagination: four essays. University of Texas Press, Austin, 1981), this study examines power and ownership within the NS/NNS dichotomy in Taiwan. Bakhtin explicates identity, similar to one who has dialogues with others. One's identity emerges from appropriating voices which are characterized with status and values; meanwhile, dialoguing creates space for negotiating one's standpoint. This study comprises my narrative and 27 qualitative interviews with NNS college students. The students' interviews are juxtaposed with my narrative to explore the effect of an idealized NS on a NNS's self-perception. The study found that the NNS identity to which my students and I subscribed, positioned us as permanent English learners, constantly chasing English knowledge. While a NS's accent was deemed as desirable, a NNS teacher's fluency in English and pedagogical expertise were acknowledged in order to have her accent dismissed. The study concludes that a NNS identity evolves from a dynamic and conflicting process.

1 Introduction

In the field of English Language Teaching (ELT), the distinction between native and non-native speakers of English (NSs/NNSs) is crucial to understanding power and ownership (Huang 2014; Motha 2014). Drawing on Bakhtin's dialogism, this study elucidates the NS/NNS dichotomy as the practice of power in order to examine how the linguistic binary is created with values. While the analysis of power is concerned with the ways in which symbolic meanings interact with being NSs/NNSs, the way in which meanings serve does not monopolize every speaker's experience. Ownership is engaged by this research, in a way that challenges the universal view of categorically apprehending NSs as "privileged" and NNSs as "subordinated." Viewing ownership involves looking closely at local spaces where one's perception of being a NS/NNS has been negotiated.

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2   Literature Review

According to Davies (2013), a native speaker (1) acquires the first language at a younger age, (2) has the capacity to differentiate standard from dialectic usages of a language, (3) has communicative competence to produce fluent discourse, and (4) is capable of creative writing. Criterion 1 is biological, and according to it, one is not considered to be a native speaker if the age at which the language is learned is beyond one's childhood. Criteria 2–4 describe how well one can use the language, which is similar to Cook's (1999) *multicompetence.* This coined term describes one's second language proficiency on a continuum. Cook aims to emphasize that the competence of NNSs should not be evaluated against that of NSs' because the final stage of one's proficiency in his/her second language varies across individuals. In other words, NNSs should be exempted from being judged according to NSs' standards. Despite the fact that the distinction between NSs and NNSs may be irrelevant to one's wide range of English knowledge, a hierarchy between NSs and NNSs exists.

Moussu and Llurda (2008) note that the NS/NNS label is embedded within *Anglo-centrism*. Everyone is a native speaker of a language; however, the NS/NNS relationship is constructed on the basis of "English as the only language in the world," which classifies speakers whose first language is and is not English (p. 317). Additionally, a NS is believed to demonstrate how English is best used. To what extent NNSs succeed or fail is measured against the NS's competence (Cook 1999). English input selected for NNSs who learn English is not arbitrary. It is "based upon a description of an educated variety…the Standard Language" (Davies 2013, p. 1). However, this Standard Language, Lippi-Green (1997) cautions, is a myth. A myth is not based on facts, yet is very powerful. It influences people's beliefs and attitudes toward language use. A homogeneous and standardized English language myth is not only perceived as a desirable goal for NNSs to pursue, but as a prototype for English teachers to represent.

Davies' (2013) biological view on the NS/NNS distinction does not provide every native speaker of English with an equal status. The varieties of English which have emerged in nations with colonial histories (e.g., India and the Philippines) generally have a lower status, when compared with English spoken in inner countries (Kachru 1986), such as Great Britain and the United States. English used by these native speakers, who acquire English as their first language outside the inner countries, is often identified as *learner English*. It is a deviant and disparaging form of English language (Brutt-Griffler and Samimy 2001; Jenkins 2009). The equation of NSs with Standard English and the inner circle is further elaborated by Motha (2014). She argues the desirable language variation of ELT and its geographic connection "are understood and take on meanings…shaped by broader social processes" (p. 110). An inner circle style predominantly exists in pedagogical approaches, textbooks, as well as assessments and reminds NNS teachers and learners of success and prescriptiveness.

Additionally, accent defines legitimacy. From a linguistic perspective, Lippi-Green (1997) emphasizes that accent is the effect of first language phonology on the

pronunciation of NNSs' English. The reality of any spoken language is multifaceted in terms of geographic regions, social functions, and linguistic styles. Accent characterizes a NS's English, dependent upon the environment in which one is raised and educated. Nevertheless, the absence of accent "is often considered to be the defining characteristic of a native speaker" (Davies 2013, p. 26). Non-accent is *unmarked* as "the normal or neutral term" whereas accent is *marked* and derogatory (Shuck 2006, p. 261). When people engage in linguistic interactions, phonological features are connected into social categories (e.g., race and nationality). Jenkins' (2009) study on the attitude of NNSs toward accent demonstrates that they hold on to the NS model and deem NNSs' accents to be inferior. British English is considered as more prestigious than Indian English by Indian native speakers of English. NSs' unmarked accent is "accepted as a natural outcome of certain characteristics thought to be intrinsic to ... nativeness in English" (Shuck 2006, p. 273). Consequently, NNSs' fluency in English and educational backgrounds are secondarily ranked. More than audible differences, accent signifies superiority and deficiency (Braine 1999; Freeman and Johnson 1998; Holliday 2008; Huang 2014).

Since the NS/NNS dichotomy has been analyzed with reference to power and status, Rudolph (2013) celebrates the fact that this inquiry contributes to work on language identity and ownership. When one starts to acquire English, where one learns it and how one speaks it dictate one's membership and construct one's sense of self. Norton (1997) insists: "When language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with target language speakers, but they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world" (pp. 17–18). The importance of Norton's view is that social contexts are inscribed to identity. Identity allows scholars to tackle structural influences on individuals. Contexts in which individuals have been situated can be traced to identify individuals "as composite of many, often contradictory, self-understandings and identities" (Holland et al. 2003, p. 9).

Huang's (2014) qualitative study on NNS teachers in the US secondary schools highlights the contextualized negotiation of identity. She found that the understanding of being a NNS is a result of negotiating one's translingual and transcultural backgrounds. The administrators' and students' praises regarding the NNS teachers' English ability concur with their confidence in their English fluency. The issue of the "accents" of the NNS teachers can be dismissed because their students are exposed to the diverse ways of using English in and out of class, including, slang, ESL peers' English, and Ebonics. While the NS/NNS boundary seems to be in-flux when taking one's comfort level of using English and the dominance of English in one's daily life into account, Huang (2014) argues that power and stratification are not precluded. One's "fluency" in English neither suffices to render one's nativeness nor to corroborate one's comfort level of using English. Wider sociopolitical factors are involved to form the NS/NNS identity with a veneer of biological quality. However, one's self-understandings of the pre-given categorization and the contexts of teaching and learning allow space for developing advocacy and creating alternatives within professional activities of ELT (Huang and Varghese 2015; Moussu and Llurda 2008; Rudolph et al. 2015).

According to Freeman and Johnson (1998), contradicting nativeness must be achieved with an epistemological agenda. Equity between the NS/NNS division would be untenable if the knowledge-base of ELT teachers is not conceptualized. Freeman and Johnson place teacher knowledge in the center of ELT teaching itself, encompassing "pedagogical thinking and activity, the subject matter and the content, and language learning" (p. 406). This epistemological premise serves as a benchmark for assessing and fostering competence which both NS and NNS teachers should learn and demonstrate. Along the same line, Kamhi-Stein (2014) maintains that practical implications for research on NSs and NNSs are to address the issue of teacher preparation for every teacher. Kanno and Stuart (2011) demonstrate that native-speaker intuition is insufficient for classroom practice. One's *subject matter knowledge* and *pedagogical content knowledge* (Shulman 1986) are vital to developing as a full-fledged teacher. Tsui's (2003) ethnographic study details the myriad of aspects for a classroom in which incidents rapidly and concomitantly occur. Qualitative differences are found in expert and novice teachers in terms of their knowledge and classroom practice (e.g., one's ability to attend to students' behaviors and manage the flow of activities). Teaching does not come naturally to people, and Johnson (2009) refers to teaching as socialization. What presents for NNSs would be dual socializations as they are prompted to (1) be socialized into the profession and (2) become highly proficient speakers of English. Nevertheless, the latter is assumed to critically determine teachers' professional competence in the field of ELT. Medgyes (2001) states that "pride of place is granted to the teacher's language proficiency" (p. 430).

3 Theoretical Framework

This study applies Bakhtinian *dialogism* to theorize the NS/NNS dichotomy. A fundamental concept of dialogism is *self* in relation to *other*. Because "'self' is dialogic," one's behavior and cognition are formed through turn-taking with interlocutors (Holquist 2002, p. 19). Utterances which one produces are built upon one's standpoint and shaped by communicative needs. Bakhtin asserts that one's utterances are constrained because "an utterance is always an answer" (Holquist 2002, p. 60). In other words, an answer is socially and linguistically circumscribed: "The word does not exist in a neutral and impersonal language, but rather it exists in other people's mouths, in other people's contexts, serving other people's intention" (Bakhtin 1981, pp. 293–294). Even though a speaker can arrange words and phrases in order to indicate one's intention, forthcoming utterances are drawn upon previous responses.

The significance of "other" in one's experience should be further detailed. Self/ other must be understood not as binary, but as asymmetrical oppositions. Self is constantly cast into others' perspectives, so the meaning that one makes to understand self is inevitably value-laden. Additionally, the characteristic of self is never finalizing. Being addressed by and answering to other provide one with a vantage point to orchestrate multiple perspectives. Bakhtin terms this process as *authoring the self*

(Holland et al. 2003; Holquist 2002). Individual consciousness is activated when other's language is fused with one's own words. The act of appropriating represents that self and other's thought are distinguished to set self free from ideological forces (Bakhtin 1981). According to Bakhtin (1981), "In the everyday rounds of our consciousness, the … word is half ours and half-someone else's. Its creativity and productiveness consist precisely in the fact that such a word awakens new and independent words" (p. 345). Authoring the self can become a limen of ownership.

Drawing on dialogism, the purpose of this study is to explore power and ownership within the NS and NNS division. Power should be interpreted as values underlying the NS/NNS dichotomy. For instance, an analysis of TESOL job advertisements indicates being a native speaker from the inner circle as the foremost qualification (e.g., Selvi 2010). However, power neither defines one as a static and coherent subject nor implies an identical experience, shared by ELT teachers. As noted by Holland et al. (2003), Bakhtinian dialogism allows us to conceive identity as always forming. They state "identity, as the expressible relationship to others, is dialogical at both moments of expression, listening and speaking" (p. 172). Identity and dialogue are analogous. It is important to note that dialogue is characterized with values, and one is ineluctably conformed to specific worldviews. Meaning making is a struggle when the goal is to respond to one's counterparts. Coming up with an answer is to restate, paraphrase, and quote others' voices; simultaneously, it can be a process for one to develop ownership and assert one's stance. This study demonstrates that being an ELT teacher is not just about undertaking an assigned identity of a NS/NNS. It locates identity within a context in which one's NS/NNS status has been negotiated throughout one's personal and professional trajectories.

Developed from the theoretical framework, the research questions are as follows:

1. How has my NNS identity been formed?
2. How does dialoguing with students help reflect on my understanding of the NS/NNS binary?

4   Methods

The methods employed for this study consist of a narrative and interviews. The narrative is to examine my NNS identity and experience of learning to become a NNS teacher. A synonym of narrative is story. Barkhuizen (2011) notes that narrative research helps to understand one's lived experience by collecting and reconstructing his/her stories (see also Barkhuizen 2016). Carter (1993) makes an explicit relationship between storytelling and the study of teaching. She explains that story "is a suitable form for expressing the knowledge that arises from action" (p. 7). A main component of story is action, and teaching knowledge crops up one's professional trajectories. Additionally, narrating is a process in which one recounts and makes sense of events; therefore, narrative offers insight into teachers' mental lives and is the locus in which past behaviors are organized, reasoned, and comprehended.

As for the interviews, the findings will be used to examine students' self-perceptions of being non-native speakers and the effect of an idealized NS on English teaching and learning. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) note that the purpose of qualitative interviewing is to gain information regarding respondents' viewpoints and beliefs. Importantly, knowledge does not pre-exist, but is co-constructed by the researcher and interviewee. The epistemology underlying interviews highlights that ways of talking are situated, and this is aligned with Bakhtinian dialogism. The interviews are accentuated by King and Horrocks (2012) as *InterViews* to capture the dynamics of interviewing findings which are filtered through participants' own backgrounds and researchers' interpretations.

This setting of this study was at Southern University (SU) Taiwan where I worked as an instructor. In 2015, a survey on background information and English proficiency was sent out to 67 juniors of two classes who were English majors at the 2-year college division. 64 surveys were returned, and 37 respondents volunteered to participate in interviews. Due to schedule conflicts, only 27 of these respondents were interviewed. Each interview lasted for approximately 45–90 min. Pseudonyms were used for the interviewees.

All the interviews were transcribed in Mandarin Chinese, and I translated these interviews in English. As for the data analysis, the transcripts were reiteratively read. Then, the excerpts, centered on the NS/NNS issue, were marked. Comments on how excerpts were related to one another were made in the margins. Connections among excerpts were identified and labeled as themes, for instance self-perceptions of a NNS, English learning process, and accent, etc. (Miles and Huberman 1994; Seidman 1998).

5 Findings

5.1 NNS Identity: My Narrative

This section is outlined as follows. The first part is my reflection on my NNS identity, and the second summarizes how students narrated their understanding of being NNSs.

The first time I came to terms with and realized my non-native identity was during my master's study in Minnesota. I read about the linguistic polemic, written by Medgyes, "When the teacher is a non-native speaker" in Celce-Murcia's edited book (2001), *Teaching English as a second or foreign language*. Medgyes' chapter from many years ago remains indelible in my mind. I do not remember much of the class discussions except that I was overwhelmed and felt understood.

Prior to my study in Minnesota, I regarded myself as an EFL learner and speaker. I was born and grew up in Taiwan in which English was exclusively used in classrooms. At college in Taiwan, I worked as a part-time children's English teacher. I had some preliminary preparations, including two methods courses and one 40-h workshop for teaching children English. I was paired with a native speaker. I participated in a regular basis in the direct instruction of students, and the native speaker

taught an hour for every 4-h class. Due to my primary contact time with the students, I developed the curriculum and the NS colleague used my lesson plans. My English ability sufficed to teach English beginners, and songs as well as games comprised a large part of my teaching. I was competent in terms of my pedagogical skill and English ability; meanwhile, I felt alienated when teaching about American holidays, which were integral to children's English learning. For instance, children wore costumes and asked for candy with the phrase, "trick or treat." I thought that I faked participation in these cultural events because I had never celebrated holidays in an English-speaking country and used English in my daily life. The idea of having an authentic experience in language and culture prompted me to pursue my postgraduate degree in the United States.

Craving for a real English-speaking life, however, was momentary and was soon replaced by frustration, when I arrived in Minnesota. My eleven years of knowledge and practice in English barely equipped me to deal with academic life.

In American graduate schools, oral participation is a norm. Instructors usually pose questions, have students work in small groups, and ask the class to share group responses. The frequency of speaking relatively determines one's membership as a legitimate or incompetent student in academic communities (Morita 2004). I felt a need to contribute to class discussions; nevertheless, the flow of conversation was fast-paced and usually interrupted. While the instructors helped turn-taking to prevent one from dominating conversations, I was unable to use the floor. My Asian appearance pronounced my physical presence among white students, but my voiceless participation made me invisible. My English was "poor," and I spoke with an accent. Compared with my American classmates, I was different. Medgyes' chapter helped me realize the difference. I am a non-native speaker who was born in a non-English-speaking country where English is taught as a foreign language. The privilege of a NS is their spontaneous use of English, while the English of a NNS is "disabled."

In my two-year master's program, I developed some strategies to contribute to discussions, such as a reading summary for which I could prepare in advance. Nevertheless, vocal participation had not become easier when I was a doctoral student in Washington. Doctoral courses were epistemology-oriented, and class discussions were interwoven with *in-text citations*. John Dewey felt very foreign to me. I asked the course teaching assistant for help, but she said that John Dewey was obscure to any American student, too. I did not find her assurance particularly convincing. In many instances, I only could eat snacks and watched the class fervently reference scholars and philosophers. One of the American students always sat with her back to me while the class was divided into small groups. There was one incident when she finished her lengthy opinion, took a glance at me, and asked, "Do you have anything to say?" Immediately, she looked away. I thought that my awkward silence was a result of my lack of English proficiency. My non-native identity intensified my solitude as well as silence.

By the time my advisor, Professor Manka M. Varghese, led seminars in which she guided her advisees' transition into the graduate school, I had realized that one's ability to use scholarly language had little to do with one's linguistic profile. Navigating one's postgraduate study is socialization (Cho 2004; Morita 2004). While a primary disadvantage to NNSs is attributed to their English language

proficiency, norms and values of the academic communities should be explicitly taught (Kamhi-Stein 2014). These were critical to allowing students to become members of graduate schools, such as composing a research proposal, attending academic conferences, writing for publications, and reading theories. In fact, adopting my identity as a NNS graduate student was a struggle over interactional patterns, disciplinary knowledge, and English proficiency.

5.2 NNS Identity: The Students' NNS Identity

As identity is situated and relational (Bakhtin 1981), the student interviewees' understanding of who they were as English speakers was mediated by the contexts. A commonality between my reflection and the students' interviews was that we regarded ourselves as English learners in Taiwan. Excerpts 1–3 showed that the position to which the students subscribed was in comparison with their more advanced peers.

Excerpt 1

Emma: I come to class prepared. But I need to spend time looking for answers and to think about how to say my answer in English, whenever the instructor poses questions. The way my classmates speak English is impromptu. They can even interact with the instructor in English and elaborate their viewpoints.

Excerpt 2

Irene: I want my English ability to be as good as my classmates'. They listen to audio materials once or twice, and they can understand the main ideas. I listen, listen, and listen. My comprehension is slow.

Excerpt 3

Bob: My confidence in my English ability is extremely low. Unlike my classmates, I stutter. I do not wear contact lenses so that I blur my vision to reduce my anxiety when giving an English presentation.

Many of the students were keenly aware of others' English and made assessment of it. Advanced learners were distinguished from the others based upon fluency. The former group were observed for their swift responses in English and confidence in presentations.

While the students assessed their existing English proficiency in relation to their peers, the native speaker norm was mentioned as a point of reference. Seven out of the 27 students indicated their ideal English proficiency that should be equivalent to a native speaker's. To illustrate, Chloe was further asked to clarify her definition of a native speaker, since native speakers come from various backgrounds. Chloe said that she would compare herself with a native speaker who was also a college student and at her early 20s even though she understood that one would definitely spend

tremendous efforts achieving the native speaker proficiency: "I would only be satisfied with my English ability if my English is as good as a native speaker." Julia wished that she could speak English as fluently as Chinese, like a native speaker. Similarly, the reflection of Nora and Claire on their ideal English skill was implicit to yield the NS proficiency.

5.3   Dialoguing with the Students

In this section, the interview findings of students are juxtaposed with my narrative to explore the NNS identity. The following section consists of two components. First, it reports how my students and I reflected on the pursuit of English knowledge; second, the expertise in Chinese and English is compared.

5.3.1   Pursuit of English Knowledge

Rampton (1990) argues that the "NS supremacy" is constructed through an assumed capacity for one to perfectly use a language, that is biologically inherited. To contradict the relationship between the genetic factor and language proficiency, Rampton adopts a sociolinguistic perspective. The term—*expertise*—is proposed to understand language and its speakers. Two important notions of expertise are that language is learned, and nobody has an absolute command of language. The language ability of the speaker is *relative*, *partial*, and evaluated against testing benchmarks. These characteristics of expertise can be captured through my narrative and the students' interviews concerning our English learning experience. While Rampton's expertise compares one's English knowledge with that of another person, this paper uses "expertise" to analyze how competence in a language and an area of skill (e.g., speaking) are measured against another one. The findings suggest that English knowledge, which we aim to improve, has become an endless chase.

There is always something new in English to acquire and explore. Unknown vocabulary emerges not only from teaching materials, but reading for pleasure. While my comprehension can be enhanced through reading details, I am driven to look up every new word in a dictionary. My teaching notes about word definitions are thorough. There is a sense of insecurity if I do not consult the dictionary for explanations which I give to my students. Moreover, I send my writings to editing agencies prior to any manuscript submission. The editorial messages that I have received once in a while are a critique on my English. For instance, "This paper has many grammatical mistakes in expression. You will need to enlist a native speaker to proofread it before sending the manuscript" (personal communication, February, 2014). Because none of the mistakes were specified, it had left me wondering the credibility of editing service and my knowledge of English. In order to have my manuscripts accepted, my ability of using English is verified through Standard English or the lens of an

educated native speaker. What one knows is never comprehensive (Rampton 1990), but the psychological effect of this partial expertise can be agonizing.

Similarly, the students revealed their constant chase of English knowledge. Rampton (1990) states that expertise should be rigorously assessed "through process of certification" (p. 99). Seventeen out of the 27 student interviewees passed the English benchmark at SU, which was equivalent to the paper-based TOEFL score of 520. However, only one student, Bonnie, rated that she was satisfied with her existing English proficiency. The rest of 26 students reported that there was room to improve their English or a that a gap existed between their expected and current levels of English proficiency.

5.3.2   Expertise in Chinese and English

The students evaluated their strengths and weaknesses of English listening, speaking, reading, and writing. For instance, Lauren was afraid of speaking English. She doubted her ability to fully express herself, and she felt that people would count how many errors she had made while speaking. Her study abroad trip in New Zealand did not boost her confidence in communication. While none of the native speakers and classmates confronted Lauren with her speech intelligibility, speaking in English put tremendous pressure on her. Additionally, writing was frequently identified as an area of improvement. While Andy, Leah, and Ruby's forte was their NS accented English, they perceived that their writing was a flaw. As stated by Leah, "I am a horrible writer in English. People would be stunned by my speaking and writing. They are at the opposite end of a pole."

The awareness of one's limitation as an English learner resulted in the students' investment in developing English skills and accompanied the wail of continuous development. Bonnie recalled herself as a struggling learner in her first year at SU. To improve her English, she became an avid reader of *Time* magazine and a member of the English debate society. Miranda noted that her English proficiency was only a result of her diligence. The students discussed that learning English was enduring. Emma said, "I don't think I learn enough English. Learning English is creepy…as if I couldn't see the lights at the end of the tunnel." Fanny accounted for her weak English ability. In her words, "I just have to work harder. My English is poor. I should make more efforts to study English." Gina was never happy about her speaking performance even though she often received positive feedback on her English speaking:

Excerpt 4
I-Chen: Why are you so strict about assessing your English skill?
Gina: I don't know why I am praised. I am not that good. I think I would never
               be satisfied with my English.

A dichotomy existed while examining one's attitude toward the relative degree of Chinese and English knowledge that a user possessed. The interviewees were asked to evaluate their Chinese ability. Only one of the students, Ruby, said that she was very confident in her Chinese. 26 interviewees indicated that they were

poor at Chinese, and some of them sheepishly admitted that their Chinese might be worse than English. For example, Rebecca and Eva said that their Chinese writing was so elementary, that their college application essays were packed with colloquial expressions and nonstandard punctuation. Interestingly, according to Rita, a written mistake in Chinese would be associated with one's dependence on using keyboards rather than be attributed to one's deficiency. Ruby and Anya further stated that English errors were magnified, but Chinese ones passed unnoticed. Most students acknowledged no pressing need to improve their Chinese ability. A consensus on the matter was that their competence in Chinese was sufficient to function in daily life.

5.4   Authoring Self

The goal of this section is to examine accent. A reflection on how my accent affected my teaching and the students' perception of their accent will be discussed.

My awareness of accented English can be organized into my studies in the United States and current teaching experience in Taiwan. In the United States, I felt comfortable with my accent, as my Asian appearance declared my status as well as speaking ability. I rarely had met an American who asked me to clarify or repeat myself. When I started my college teaching in Taiwan in 2009, I had occasionally received comments on my accent. In my first year of teaching, one of the students' written feedback was regarding my accent. This student wrote: "The accent of the instructor is difficult to understand. Although I can get used to her accent, it is usually difficult to understand her" (teaching evaluation, February, 2010). Throughout the years, some of my students were apprehensive in confiding in me that their initial reluctance to accept me as a teacher was due to my accent. They subsequently affirmed that my fluency and knowledge surpassed my articulation. I was thrice nominated for the teaching excellence award, and it was awarded to me in 2015. I was content with my teaching; however, I had been concerned about my accent. For instance, it was only the fall semester of 2014 when I did not avoid audiotaping exam instructions in my own English. I used to be afraid that my English would have sounded odder if it had been played via the loudspeaker.

The students' interviews involving accent were mixed. Some of them favored the native speaker accent, but the others did not view accent as a problem. To illustrate, Miranda was an advanced learner and her TOEIC score was 880, but she regarded a NS's accent as supreme. She perceived her friend, Helen, as a native speaker who had better English proficiency than she did. As both Miranda and Helen were my students, I gave Miranda my honest observation. She outperformed Helen in terms of comprehensive knowledge and spontaneous use of English. She commented that Helen's English proficiency was marked by her accent. "Her English sounds very pleasant, and mine is not," said Miranda. Leah and Ruby emphasized that their English was frequently complimented as they sounded like native speakers.

Excerpt 5

Leah: I like to participate in activities in which I can meet many international friends. Their first impression of me is that I am from the United States. They all say that I sound like an American.

As for the students' attitudes toward the teacher's accent, only one student, Miranda, stated that a teacher's accent mattered. However, a point that should be clarified was whether Miranda meant a teacher's accent or articulation. The below excerpt showed her confusion.

Excerpt 6

Miranda: I used to think that teachers' accent was unimportant. It can train students to understand English spoken by different people. However, accent can have a detrimental effect on student learning. Sometimes, teachers and I pronounce a word differently. I am not sure whose pronunciation is correct.

I-Chen: Accent or pronunciation, which one has the negative effect on English learning?

Miranda: (A long pause) I meant pronunciation. The students may imitate the teacher's pronunciation and think that hers is the correct one…. The teacher's accent helps me prepare for TOEIC listening. Some of the TOEIC speakers' English is accented, like an Indian and Singaporean. When I try to concentrate on the content, I ignore the speaker's accent. Well, I think that the teacher's accent should be trivial.

The students pointed out that even English was spoken differently by native speakers who came from the "inner circle." An example was New Zealand English, as Lauren was there for an English program and Anya took courses with a New Zealander. They said that it took a while for them to become familiarized with New Zealand English. Furthermore, the student interviewees indicated that a teacher's primary responsibility was to ensure students' comprehension. Rita said that learning occurred because the teacher was able to present learning materials with explanations and instructions. Hebe said that English was not the first language for most teachers, so their English was accented. She also stated that accent should not be perceived as a problem because one generally spoke Mandarin Chinese with an accent which was marked by the speaker's region.

Interviewing Lily and Olivia allowed me to examine how fluency could compensate for accent. Olivia inquired about my fluency in English, and I replied that there should be preparation in teaching. Lily realized that her English skill was due to a lack of practice rather than "the accent."

Excerpt 7

Lily: I yearn for the accent, bearing no traces of Mandarin Chinese. It would render me a sense of pride.

I-Chen: How about a teacher?

Lily: Of course not. The teacher's English should be comprehensible, not native like.

I-Chen: Why do you say so? If you aim to achieve an American accent, why do you have a different standard to evaluate the teacher's accent?

Lily: I don't know (laughing)…because not everyone can speak like an American.

I-Chen: Including you?

Lily: Um. Yes.

I-Chen: Let's revisit the question of your English skill. Fluency or accent, which one do you want to improve?

Lily: Um. I choose fluency (laughing). I should practice to sharpen my English.

Speaking English with a NS accent was perceived as a desirable goal to achieve and could be a cut-off point to evaluate teacher qualifications. The interviews between my students and I had become a dialogue to clarify assumptions placed upon the NS/NNS dichotomy.

6 Discussion

While the NS/NNS binary categorizes teachers into their first language status, Bakhtin's dialogism (1981) emphasizes this linguistic identity as never finalizing. One orchestrates competing voices in order to make sense of oneself. The contentious and active aspect of identity presents us a lens to examine power and ownership within the NS/NNS dichotomy.

Even though a NS who has an omniscient body of English knowledge is a myth (Cook 1999; Davies 2013; Motha 2014), this idealized NS has profound effects on my students' self-perceptions of being NNSs as well as that of my own. One effect is that we position ourselves as permanent English learners. The findings suggest that we do not feel that English belongs to us. Every now and then we are met with vocabulary, expressions, and feedback which throw sharp light on the level of English proficiency which we have not mastered. Besides, it is important to highlight contrastive attitudes toward Chinese and English proficiencies. Insufficient knowledge in our mother tongue, Chinese, can be taken for granted. However, the unfamiliarity in English is treated as if it were an impediment rather than a relative degree of expertise, as proposed by Rampton (1990). Accent also distinguishes the power of the linguistic binary. My narration, similar to existing literature, shows that foreign accent has been identified as a "major weakness" of NNS teachers (Ma 2012; Moussu and Llurda 2008). In a similar vein, my student, Miranda, a highly proficient English user, treasures a "Standard English" accent.

The analysis of power does not endorse a modernistic perspective on the linguistic binary that universalizes NSs as privileged and NNSs as marginalized. This study examines the normalcy of the NS/NNS division that is produced in and extends to individuals' daily lives. These include contexts in which one has been situated and English knowledge that one aims to develop, co-constructing one's understandings of being a NS/NNS. The self-perceptions unfold a set of

ideological statements about the NS/NNS identity, which illustrated Bakhtin's (1981) dialogism: "Language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker's intentions; it is populated- overpopulated -with the intention of others" (p. 294). Although Motha (2014) states that nativeness is irrelevant to daily communication and Cook (1999) urges to frame the goal for English teaching toward a language user agenda, an omniscient image of NS persists. English learners are constantly judged based upon an educated variety of English and have desire to pass as non-native speakers. Cho (2004) notes that English "seems to act as an avenue of *control* and *selection* for NNSs" (p. 66, original emphasis). A NNS's sense of self and access to the scholarly and professional discourse remain dependent on his/her English proficiency. Therefore, individual pursuit of English has made the students identify their not yet perfect English competence which has to do with their non-native status even though the study participants recognize that a Taiwanese-born native speaker of Mandarin Chinese merely possesses its partial knowledge. They are confined by the construct of an idealized NS of English who is linguistic authority. The power of "the NS" can cast a shadow on fostering a positive image of being fluent and comprehensible non-native speakers.

An integral aspect of Bakhtinian dialogism—authoring the self—helps examine how our NNS identity emerges from constraints and presents possibilities. Provided that my students position me as a competent ELT instructor, bias toward my accented English would be diminished. My students' belief in teachers' pedagogy and fluency respond to ELT scholars who emphasize what teachers know far more critical than who teachers are (Freeman and Johnson 1998; Kamhi-Stein 2014; Tsui 2003). Besides, some students' lenient attitudes toward NNSs' accent are oriented toward experiences in which they have participated. These include TOEIC listening materials recorded by speakers outside the inner circle, study abroad trips, or reflections on Mandarin Chinese and English. While the native speaker model to which the students in Taiwan are primarily exposed is British and American English, their contact with World Englishes diversifies their understanding of what it means to be a native and non-native speaker. By orchestrating and mixing *other*'s perspectives and words, I can construct and accept my NNS accent as part of my professional stance. As explicated by Holland et al. (2003), dialogism views identity as always answering to others and affording one with a choice of what to reply.

7   Conclusion

Drawing on the Bakhtinian concept of dialogism (1981), this study contributes two points to the NS/NNS inquiry. First, this study presents the NS/NNS distinction underlying values. It indicates that a synonymous identity for NNSs, to which my students and I also subscribe, is English learners because our idea of English proficiency is that of an impeccable, educated, all-knowing NS. The "NS accent" is often associated as a tempting characteristic of ELT teachers and successful English

learners. Second, this research shows that while one's sense of self is constructed through societal influences, possibilities to redirect oneself from social constraints exist. By dialoguing with my students, I have attempted to redefine my perception of being a NNS teacher with an "accent." Although one's proficiency in English is a deciding factor to access the ELT field, a NS's accent or status alone does not qualify one as a competent instructor. As argued by Freeman and Johnson (1998), the ELT profession should be conceptualized as a professional discipline rather than a birthright.

Contextualizing the NS/NNS dichotomy allows us to explore how this linguistic binary is sustained through power and can be self-fashioned to assert one's voice. This study demonstrates that one's sense of self is similar to dialoguing with others. Future studies involving NS/NNS counterparts, students, and administrators can investigate how they perceive NS/NNS teachers and in what way teachers' linguistic status affects English learning. Dialoguing may shift the focus away from the native speaker model to subject matter and pedagogy that every ELT teacher should possess.

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Teachers' Identities as 'Non-native' Speakers: Do They Matter in *English as a Lingua Franca* Interactions?

Yumi Matsumoto

Abstract This study closely examines sequences in which a so-called nonnative English teacher resolves miscommunication with students in a multilingual writing classroom at a U.S. university, and investigates how an identity as a nonnative-English-speaker teacher (NNEST) might affect English as a *lingua franca* (ELF) interactions. Recent studies on ELF academic discourse (e.g., Björkman (2013) have demonstrated ELF speakers' skillful communicative strategies for dealing with complex intercultural communication. Combining sequential analysis with ethnographic information, this study examines such ELF academic interactions, highlighting the practice and identity of an instructor. The data analysis exhibits that pre-given categories (NNESTs and 'nonnative' students) are neither interactionally relevant, nor treated as important by interactants in this context. Rather, the instructor's identities as a multilingual teacher, who works hard to resolve miscommunication with students, have been *achieved* through ongoing classroom interactions rather than being predetermined. I contend we need more research exhibiting the fluid nature of multilingual teacher practice and process of identity construction in *real-time* instructional contexts.

1 Introduction

It is well known that so-called nonnative speakers of English in the world outnumber so-called native speakers. Crystal (2012) proclaims that about a quarter of the world's population is either fluent or competent in English as a second or foreign language, and that this number seems to have grown steadily since the early 2000s.

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The population of such English users is now estimated to be approximately two billion worldwide. English very often plays an important role as a *lingua franca* among people all over the world. Furthermore, in the context of English as a foreign language, so-called nonnative English teaching professionals are predominant in the field, because of the increasing need for English teachers owing to the global spread of English (Braine 2005). Considering such conditions, a closer examination of how 'nonnative'-English-speaker teachers (NNESTs) interact with students in multilingual classrooms, and how they position themselves in ongoing, situated classroom interactions is indeed necessary. In other words, the assumption that is often perpetuated in the field of English language teaching (ELT), that 'native'-English-speaker teachers (NESTs) serve as *better* teachers than NNESTs, and that NNESTs are inherently deficient in terms of linguistic and cultural authority, should be critically re-examined by illustrating the complex process of how 'nonnative' English teachers achieve mutual understanding with students in classroom contexts. This study thus examines English as a *lingua franca* (ELF) academic interactions in accordance with a call for reconceptualizing identities beyond essentialized categories (e.g., Menard-Warwick 2008; Park 2012).

The main aims of this chapter are twofold. First, it provides a possible counter-discourse to the *native speaker fallacy* (Phillipson 1992) that marginalizes NNESTs, by demonstrating the sequences in which an English teacher collaboratively resolves miscommunication with multilingual students. Second, it seeks to problematize, confront, and move beyond essentializing binaries (i.e., NEST versus NNEST) by exhibiting a teacher's lived experience of ongoing construction of mutual understanding with students using the theoretical and analytical lens of ELF.

2   Literature

2.1   *Teacher Identities Beyond 'NNEST'*

In the field of ELT, a number of essentialized labels and categories, including 'native' speaker (NS), 'nonnative' speaker (NNS), NEST, and NNEST, have been commonly used without scrutinizing possible negative impacts and consequences. Rather than conceiving identities as dynamic, fluid, and negotiable, researchers (e.g., Kamhi-Stein 2004; Lazaraton 2003) have hitherto applied dichotomized, rather discriminatory, labels of 'nonnative' and 'native' uncritically to the study of teacher identities in TESOL. As Park (2012) convincingly argues, the dichotomization of NS–NNS or NEST–NNEST, which intricately involves an "othering" process, minimizes and neglects the possibility of multiple identities of the population involved and disregards the diversity among those people. For instance, instead of assuming NNS or NNEST identities, teachers and students can adopt more positive

identity repertoires such as multicompetent speakers (Cook 1991), multilinguals, or ELF speakers (e.g., Jenkins et al. 2011).

Although resistance to such essentialized, binary categories of NEST and NNEST has been observed to some degree, "native-speakerism" (Holliday 2005, 2006), or the native-speaker construct, is still prevalent within the field of ELT and its practice, perpetuating political inequalities and marginalizing NNESTs. "Native-speakerism" is closely associated with the belief that 'native-speaking' teachers represent a 'Western' culture and that they are ideals in language, cultural value, and teaching methodology, taking for granted idealization of native speakers and marginalizing 'nonnative' populations. What is more, based on this ideology, NESTs serve as the yardstick and standard norm by which all learners and instructors of English should be measured. It is worth noting that Holliday described such native-speakerism as a stable, universal truth, always flowing from the West, privileging NESTs and marginalizing NNESTs in identical fashion around the world. Drawing on this universal perspective on native-speakerism, critical scholars on identity and experience have argued that there is a shared and largely uniform NNEST experience, which has in fact led to the essentialization of teachers' experiences and the neglect of their translinguistic and transcultural identities (Rudolph et al. 2015). Simply put, the diversity of contexts in which individual teachers from various linguistic, cultural, ethnic, and national backgrounds negotiate meaning in interaction, and the contextualized linguistic and cultural knowledge and skills that they employ, are ignored and devalued. As a result, critical scholarship that employs this binary lens in approaching identity and experience cannot move beyond essentialization (Rudolph et al. 2015).

Postmodern and poststructural scholarship has aimed to challenge such binary, essentialized approaches to identity and experience. In particular, many scholars recognize the urgent need to attend to teachers' *glocal*, sociohistorical, and context-specific negotiations of identities. Such attention to context-specific, negotiated identities seems to oppose the conceptualization of ELT as a universal field and the understanding of NNEST experiences in a rather uniform way (Rudolph et al. 2015). Thus, this postmodern and poststructural orientation to teacher identities makes it possible to uncover teachers' plural experiences and practices. In other words, NNEST experiences should be interpreted as a product of the interaction between globalized ELT and local contexts. Rudolph (2012) similarly contended that the 'native speaker' construct is glocal (e.g., Lin et al. 2002) in nature and origin, involving local and global discourses of identity defining them inside and outside of context. Native speakerism also can be multidirectional and multilocational in nature rather than homogenous, binary, and uniform.

There is a new approach for "seeking to move beyond de-contextualized, NS-centric approaches to ELT" (Rudolph et al. 2015, p. 41). A number of scholars (e.g., Menard-Warwick 2008; Menard-Warwick et al. 2013; Park 2012; Rudolph et al. 2015) have challenged the apprehension of identities via essentialized catego-

ries of identity. According to Rudolph et al. (2015), such an essentialized, decontextualized conceptualization does not allow for the dynamic negotiation of identity both within and across categories of being and becoming, therefore leading to the essentialization of identity, experience, and characteristics. They thus call for closer attention to teachers' experience co-constructing identities with students in and outside of classroom contexts, which can illuminate their unique, diverse, multiple lived experiences from an *emic* perspective. In fact, any cultural borders or membership categories can be constantly constructed in and through the interaction of glocalized discourses of being and doing (e.g., Bhabha 1994).

Aligned with Rudolph et al.'s (2015) arguments detailed above, this study, rather than conceptualizing identity as a stable and decontextualizing experience, examines discursive spaces in which teachers actively engage in constructing their lived experience with students in and through classroom interactions. In short, it seeks to provide teachers with alternative identity possibilities through analyzing sequence-to-sequence interactions and providing a counter-discourse to the *native speaker fallacy* (Phillipson 1992). For this purpose, the present study draws on poststructuralist theories of identity (e.g., Morgan 2004; Norton 2000). The poststructuralist view sees identities as "often contradictory, and subject to change across time and place" (Morgan 2004, p. 172). As Menard-Warwick (2008) rightly points out, the most prevalent way of theorizing teacher identity in TESOL, has been so far solely based on the NNEST/NEST dichotomy. Menard-Warwick also argued that compared to the theorization of learner identities as more fluid, teachers' cultural, intercultural, national, and transnational identities remain undertheorized. This study combines the poststructuralist approach to teacher identities with the conceptualization of English as a *lingua franca*, which the discussion turns to next.

2.2   English as a Lingua Franca Academic Interactions and Pragmatics

English often functions as a *lingua franca* for teachers and students with various linguistic and cultural backgrounds in universities worldwide. Beneke (1991) estimated that 80 percent of all communication involving the use of English as a second or foreign language would not involve any 'native' speakers of English, and this number is probably even higher today. Considering such common English use among so-called nonnative speakers, recent studies on ELF academic discourse (e.g., Björkman 2013; Mauranen 2012; Smit 2010) have investigated the nature of intercultural communication among ELF speakers and demonstrated their skillful communicative strategies for dealing with intercultural communication and resolving miscommunication in multilingual classrooms in mainly European university contexts. I argue that such investigations should be expanded to different geographic contexts, such as American universities, in which English is also used as a *contact* language among people with linguistic, cultural, and proficiency differences.

Owing to the limitations of this article's scope, I summarize the four key findings based on a great deal of ELF pragmatic, interactional research (see Jenkins et al. 2011 for the detailed discussion and review of development of recent ELF pragmatics). First, a number of ELF pragmatic studies (e.g., House 2003; Kaur 2009a; Mauranen 2012) have found that ELF interactions mostly demonstrate a high degree of interactional robustness, cooperation, consensus-seeking behavior, and resourcefulness among ELF speakers (cf. Jenks 2012; Kappa 2016 for less collaborative and harmonious characteristics of ELF interactions). Furthermore, it is reported that in such interactions overt misunderstanding is less frequent despite their supposedly being predisposed to misunderstanding owing to their variance in language form, proficiency, and culture (e.g., Kaur 2011; Seidlhofer 2004). Secondly, when nonunderstanding occurs, ELF interlocutors often share responsibility for repair and exhibit a high degree of interactional competence in how they signal nonunderstanding so as not to disrupt the interactional flow and yet provide enough contextual information to the interlocutor for the problem to be solved (Pitzl 2005).

Thirdly, ELF pragmatic research has specified a variety of ELF speakers' adept communicative strategies for achieving mutual understanding. For example, according to many studies (e.g., Kaur 2009a; Matsumoto 2011; Mauranen 2012), repetition has been identified as one of the most common and robust strategies among ELF speakers for ensuring communicative success despite their differences in cultural and linguistic backgrounds. In addition to repetition, paraphrasing and rephrasing appear to function as proactive means to help avert problems of understanding in ELF interactions (e.g., Cogo and Dewey 2006; Kaur 2009b). In other words, ELF interaction demonstrates that mutual understanding is not taken for granted, but that speakers consciously engage in a joint effort to monitor understanding at every stage of communication, to eliminate ambiguity from the outset, and to raise explicitness, or what Kaur (2009b) called, "pre-empting strategies." Furthermore, Firth (1996) revealed that when a hearer faces problems in understanding a speaker's utterance, ELF interactants, at times, let problems pass and "make the other's 'abnormal' talk appear 'normal'" (p. 245). All in all, as Hülmbauer et al. (2008) summarized well, ELF interaction generally demonstrates valuable features such as linguistic flexibility, expanded usage of available resources, the exploitation of strategic competence, communicative cooperation, and mutual accommodation, as well as meta- and cross-linguistic sensitivity, all of which can feed into the success of ELF interactions.

Finally, Canagarajah (2007) and Kaur (2011) similarly pointed out that the diversity is at the heart of ELF interactions. Specifically, ELF is "intersubjectively constructed in each specific context of interaction" and its form is "negotiated by each set of speakers for their purposes" (Canagarajah 2007, p. 926). It can be assumed that each ELF interaction *in situ* reveals alternative and creative ways of making meaning through reciprocal communicative processes between speakers with "the varieties of English spoken, the levels of proficiency displayed and the cultural norms and communicative styles" (Kaur 2011, p. 2704). That is to say, in the diver-

sity of culture, proficiency, and communication styles represented in ELF interactional situations, ELF speakers need to depend to a greater degree on the successful handling of linguistic resources of ELF along with various nonverbal resources in order to achieve mutual understanding.

Virkkula and Nikula's (2010) study examining Finnish users' discursive identity construction in ELF contexts, is of particular relevance for this study, since it relates to language use and identity of ELF speakers, which has so far not been studied extensively (except Jenkins 2007; Pölzl 2003). One of the possible reasons why the topic of identity has not been much discussed in ELF literature is closely related to House's (2003) statement that lingua franca language is *for communication* rather than for identity formation. Virkkula and Nikula's data source was interviews with Finnish learners of English (i.e., their own stories of language use and learning) conducted before and after their study-abroad experience in Germany, which quite differs from the present study examining ELF academic discourse in the classroom. Virkkula and Nikula drew on poststructuralist theories of identities (e.g., Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004), combined with Norton's (2000) view on language learners' identity construction, to illustrate how English language learners actively draw on multiple discourses and construct their identities as English language *users.* While their focus was on English language *learners* rather than teachers in the classroom, Virkkula and Nikula's work is useful since it clearly illustrates the complex process of ELF speakers' agentive, fluid identity construction through their language use/ practice.

One of ELF's theoretical and analytical strengths is that it does not set interactional norms that should be attained in comparison with so-called native speakers. Simply put, the ELF concept treats people as language *users*, which distinguishes it from approaches that focus on people as language *learners* (e.g., Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2001). With such a finer ELF analytical lens, this study examines interactions amongst instructor and students from various linguistic and cultural backgrounds *as they are* and describes them independently of 'native' speaker norms while considering communicative effectiveness. It also takes into consideration Pölzl's (2003) view that ELF users have the "freedom" to either create their own shared, temporary culture or to reinvent their cultural identities in the context of ELF. In sum, the ELF concept can offer a more egalitarian analytical approach than the traditional SLA approach, which examines cross-cultural communications differently than NS English norms that are automatically regarded as deficient. The research question addressed in the analysis is as follows: How does a 'nonnative'-English-speaker-teacher identity affect ELF classroom interactions, especially when the teacher encounters miscommunication?

3   Methodology

3.1   *Participants and Data Collection*

This study is part of a larger qualitative study (Matsumoto 2015), which closely examined ELF speakers' multimodal communicative strategies in resolving miscommunication in ESL writing classrooms in a public U.S. university. Two experienced 'nonnative' instructors and 19 international undergraduate students for each course voluntarily participated in this study. In this chapter, I focus only on a Ukrainian teacher (Teacher L), who was a postdoctoral teaching fellow at the same institution. The students enrolled in her course came from a variety of nations, including India, China, Korea, Malaysia, Kazakhstan, and Mexico. Based on my regular classroom observations, these students' speaking and writing competence in English seemed to differ widely.

I video-recorded classroom interactions for two semesters from at least two angles in order to capture simultaneous actions of both instructors and students. I also conducted and audio-recorded stimulated recall interviews with focal students and instructors. I asked students and instructors involved in miscommunication sequences to participate in individual interview sessions. Although I acknowledge that they might have forgotten what they were thinking during the interaction by the time of post hoc interviews, I still valued their own perspectives on or (re)interpretations of miscommunication instances, which can open up alternative interpretations on miscommunication phenomena among ELF speakers.

The selected sequences of talk related to miscommunication were transcribed following conventions adopted from conversation analysis (see Appendix). For purposes of identifying miscommunication sequences, interactants' perspectives, namely whether they oriented to the talk as being 'problematic', was taken into consideration. In short, miscommunication is conceived of primarily from an *emic* perspective. The excerpts were transcribed in detail in terms of hand and arm gestures, other embodied actions (i.e., bodily actions that add to the semantic meaning of language, including body position and orientation, head movements, facial expressions, and eye gaze), and material objects available in the classroom environment, when those features seemingly play important roles in contributing to negotiating meaning and resolving miscommunication.

3.2   *Sequential Analysis with Ethnographic Information*

As a major analytical approach, this study employs sequential analysis (e.g., Sacks et al. 1974; Schegloff et al. 2002) along with ethnographic information gained through my regular classroom observation as a participant observer and stimulated recall interviews. The reason for adopting this method is that sequential analysis has the analytical power and rigor of exhibiting the detailed and complex *process* of

resolving each miscommunication phenomenon and achieving understanding, while ethnographic information allows the analyst to take into consideration the rich contextual factors (e.g., participants' emotions, and relationships among interlocutors).

This study thus uses sequential analysis as a *method*, and takes a similar stance as Firth (1996) regarding ELF interactional norms. Firth attempted to modify the CA approach by introducing ELF data and revealing the procedures by which an interactional order is sequentially "created." It is assumed that in ELF interactions, ELF speakers do not necessarily orient to a certain 'shared' interactional norm and that they do not share a stable linguistic or pragmatic competence either. In other words, ELF speaker interactions may differ from the pattern of so-called native speaker interactions, and the structure of ELF interactions may be more flexible than that of native speakers (Deterding 2013). This perspective is rather distinctive from the CA methodology based on the belief that there should a 'correct' or 'normal' way to be/do, and that categories of identity seem to be stable. This modified approach enables us to examine the dynamic construction of identity in and within talk-in-interaction. The focus for analysis below is on the discursive, ongoing process of a teacher jointly negotiating understanding with students in her multilingual writing classroom. By revealing how the teacher's practice of negotiating intelligibility with students is sequentially accomplished, I aim to problematize binary-oriented approaches that automatically assign identities (e.g., NS/NNS; NEST/NNEST).

4   Data Analysis

This section presents two excerpts selected to problematize the binary-oriented understanding of assigned identities or categories as teachers successfully construct mutual understanding with students in multilingual classrooms. The first excerpt entails Teacher L's nonunderstanding triggered by Gupta's (from India[1]) unexpected question regarding the word limit for the assigned analytic essays. Although Gupta repeated his question, Teacher L did not appear to understand his intended meaning. This sequence of talk followed Teacher L's explanation of the general guideline for analytic essays. Anna, who sits next to Gupta, tries to help Teacher L and Gupta by representing his viewpoint.

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[1] Such national background information of students and teacher is utilized only in relation to precise behavioral evidence from video-recorded interactions to avoid haphazard invocation of background information in order to explain what is seen in interactions. This is because it is inappropriate to take for granted the nature and impact of these cultural background aspects on interactions.

Excerpt 1 "I think, he means that,"

```
14.  G:  like, the quotes or any (.) comments? (0.8) ye-ah, in
15.      the essay, >are included in the (wordly-) word count?<
16.      (.)twelve hundred words?
17.      (1.2)
18. TL:  >say that again
19.      (0.5)
20.  G:  [the quotes and,
21. TL:  [((walks from podium to center of classroom in front))
22.      {uh-huh?}=
23.      {nods while looking at G}
24.  G:  =any references, >you make,< is included
25.      in the word count?
26.      (0.8)
27. AN:  °yeah.°
28.      {(2.0)}
29. TL:  {((both eyes gaze shifts upward))}
30.      {u:h, what do you mean,}
31.      {points at G with RH, with palm facing body with
32.       confused face}
33. AN:  that is, ((quickly turns head to G))
34.      [{I think,}
35.       {turns back to TL}
36.  G:  [((nods once while making eye contact with AN))
37. AN:  he means that, does these quote:s, uhn,
38.      (1.5)
39.      will count, >in this like,<
40.      [uh, twelve hundred words?
41.  G:  [((nods a few times looking in TL's direction))
42. AN:  for the present essay?
43.      (1.2)
44.      [like (.) he means,
45. TL:  [((both eyes gaze shifts upward))
46.      whether, it's (.) uhn,=
47. AN:  =yeah! are they [part,
48. TL:                  [{in the part?}
49.                       {both eyes gaze shifts upward}
50.      {yeah!}
51.      {nods}
52. AN:  [((faces to G and gazes at him))
53.  G:  [((smiles at AN and nods several times))
```

After Gupta completes his question (lines 20, 24–25) with regard to whether quotes and references are included in the word count for analytical essays, Teacher L exhibits nonunderstanding through a variety of means. She first shifts her gaze

Fig. 1 Lines 30–32:
"`u:h, what do you mean,`"

upward during a 2.0 second pause, and then she utters, "`u:h, what do you mean,`" while pointing in Gupta's direction with her right hand with a confused look on her face (see Fig. 1). This turn demonstrates that Teacher L makes nonunderstanding very explicit to the class, which probably enabled other students to help clarify Gupta's question, as exhibited in the following sequence. In fact, Teacher L's explicit signal of nonunderstanding seems to effectively prompt the students' interactional move to collaborate in subsequent repair sequences. According to ELF pragmatic studies, this type of communicative strategy can be interpreted as "enhanced explicitness" (e.g., Mauranen 2007) to avoid ambiguity, which is considered one of the most common causes of misunderstanding in ELF interactions (Kaur 2011). This phenomenon closely relates to Smit's (2010) finding that explicitness (i.e., a high level of directness) was found to be particularly important for achieving understanding in ELF academic contexts, and that such explicitness was not treated as impolite because instructors and students shared a great interest in achieving communication for the purpose of teaching and learning.

From line 33, an intriguing collaborative communicative act is observed. Namely, Anna (from Kazakhstan), who sits next to Gupta, takes over Gupta's turn for representing his point of view based on her own interpretation. Anna first says, "`that is,`" and then quickly turns her head to Gupta, seemingly seeking to confirm with him that she is going to take over his turn for clarifying his intended meaning with Teacher L. On lines 34–35, Anna says, "`I think,`" while now turning back to Teacher L. At the same time, Gupta shows his agreement with Anna nonverbally by nodding once and making eye contact with Anna. Then, from line 37, Anna tries to express Gupta's intended meaning based on her understanding. During this moment, Gupta shows that he agrees with Anna by nodding a few times while looking at Teacher L (line 41).

Yet, even after Anna represents Gupta's viewpoint, it seems that Teacher L still needs more time for negotiation of meaning, exhibited by a 1.2 second silence (line 43) and her embodied action (i.e., eye gaze shifts upward at line 45). Subsequently, Teacher L and Anna continue to negotiate Gupta's meaning, especially on lines 47–48, in which Anna's utterance, "`are they part,`" and Teacher L's "`in`"

Fig. 2 Lines 52–53

the part?" overlap each other. Finally, on lines 50–51, Teacher L shows understanding by saying "yeah!" while nodding. Right after Teacher L's signal of understanding, Anna and Gupta exhibit some interesting embodied actions (lines 52–53). That is, Anna now faces Gupta and directly gazes at him, probably to confirm that he is satisfied with how she represented his question and the response ("yeah!") from Teacher L (see Fig. 2). Responding to Anna's embodied confirmation, Gupta smiles at Anna and nods several times (see Fig. 2). Here, without expressing anything verbally, Gupta's smile and nodding clearly express his satisfaction with Anna's representation and Teacher L's answer.

I interpret this collaborative sequence, initiated and constructed by Anna, as a third-party participant's voluntary help. In Goffman's (1981) term, third-party participants are considered a type of "ratified participants," or more specifically, "official hearers" who are not addressed by the speaker directly (p. 133). When there are more than three people, like in classroom interactions, there are many such official hearers, or third-party participants, involved in ongoing interactions by listening and having the right to join in turn-taking whenever they want. Teacher L's clear signal of non-understanding (lines 29–32), very effectively solicits assistance from such third-party participants and results in the successful resolution of nonunderstanding without any loss of face by Gupta or Teacher L (Brown and Levinson 1987).

In the very process and practice of resolving miscommunication through collaboration with another multilingual student, Teacher L positions herself not as a mere 'expert' who can make sense of everything that students say, but rather as a multilingual *ELF user* who is ready to negotiate meaning collaboratively, with assistance from other multilinguals, and who treats all students as meaningful resources or "collaborators." To support this argument further, I present stimulated recall interviews from Anna and Teacher L. Regarding Anna's behavior and the reason she represented Gupta's viewpoint, she commented:

> She [Teacher L] didn't understand his question, because I don't think she has ever heard such a question before…I decided to help her understand the question *because she looked so confused.* Sometimes Gupta talks, tells, asks, not clear questions, and *I feel like, because we are peers, we actually understand his confusion*. This way, *I tried to explain and help Gupta and Teacher L.* (Interview on October, 17, 2013)

Fig. 3 Lines 21–23:
"`uh-huh?`"

In her own stimulated recall interview regarding this sequence, Teacher L commented on Anna's character, "Actually she is a very centered person, I think. She wants to be, if she knows, she speaks. *That's good. That's nice to everyone*" (Interview on October, 31, 2013). In fact, Anna's active involvement in classroom interactions successfully avoided any loss of face for Gupta and Teacher L. These stimulated recall data illustrate that both students and teacher appreciate collaborative assistance in negotiating meaning, and that students can understand each other because of their shared status as *peers*.

Besides her explicit signal of nonunderstanding, it is also worth noting that Teacher L shows her active listenership and engagement with understanding her students, especially on lines 21–23 when she walks from the podium to the center of the classroom (see Fig. 3) in order to physically move closer to Gupta. She also employs back-channeling ("`uh-huh?`") along with nodding in order to facilitate Gupta's verbal production. In summary, this excerpt clearly captures the moment in which Teacher L is well equipped with a collaborative attitude, a willingness to negotiate meaning with her multilingual students, and an eagerness to make nonunderstanding explicit and public and to treat miscommunication as a common phenomenon that needs collaborative, mutual work. It appears that in this sequence of talk, 'NNEST' is not a relevant category or identity among interactants.

The next excerpt involves a more complex miscommunication. In this excerpt, Singh's (from India) utterance ("`eight and, uhn, second?`) caused Teacher L's misunderstanding. The class was learning about argumentative essays, using worksheets provided by the teacher. The third page of the worksheets listed four different types of claims. The first page listed 12 example statements made in various types of argumentative essays listed on the third page. Right before this sequence, Teacher L asked the class to choose one example from the first page and to link it with types of claims suitable for the chosen example from the third page. The moment of interaction here represents what Walsh (2006) referred to as the "materials mode" of classroom interaction, where "the interaction is organized exclusively around the material" (p. 70). In other words, the teacher-prepared worksheets appear to play an important role of organizing the classroom interaction. Yet, it seems that Teacher L did not initially realize the importance of Singh's use of the handouts in relation to his speech, until he explicitly clarified his meaning in coordination with his use of the handouts.

Excerpt 2 `"eight and, uhn, (0.8) second?"`

```
 7.  TL:  {Singh?}
 8.       {shifts gaze to S}
 9.       (1.0)
10.   S:  {eight}
11.       {gazes at first page of handout on lap}
12.       {and,}
13.       {flips pages}
14.       {uhn, (0.8) second?}
15.       {looks at third page of handout}
16.       (0.5)
17.  TL:  [{second one?}
18.        {gazes at first page of handout holding with RH}
19.   S:  [((quickly looks up to TL))
20.       (0.4)
21.       [{eight.}
22.        {gazes at TL while widening eyes}
23.  TL:  [{okay,}
24.        {gazes at handout}
25.   S:  {°no,° eight and second.}=
26.       {body leans toward chair back while gazing at TL}
27.  TL:  ={okay,}
28.        {nods once while looking at handout}
29.       (0.4)
30.       {probably choose one.}
31.       {quickly raises RH to chest level with index finger
32.        up, which possibly shows image of number 1, and
33.        holds it}
34.       (0.7)
35.   S:  {No!}
36.       {quickly looks down at handout on lap while smiling}
37.       [{$I'm saying,$}
38.        {looks down at handout while leaning forward}
39.  SH:  [{haha[ha}
40.        {smirks}
41.   G:       [{Hahaha, ↑Hahaha}
42.             {body orients back to SH's direction}
43.  TL:  [((smiles and looks down at handout))
44.   S:  [{on the first page,}
45.        {gazes at TL while smiling}
46.       [I chose eight,
47.   G:  [{khhhuhhhhh,}
48.        {covers face with LH while laughing hard; looks
49.         in front}
50.   S:  {and it is, u:h,}
```

```
51.            {looks down, flips pages, and looks at third page}
52.            [claims {of cause and effect.}
53.                    {gazes back to TL}
54.   TL:   [{O:h!}
55.             {opens mouth widely}
56.            {you >want me to match,<}=
57.            {flips pages of handout, shifts gaze to third page,
58.             and nods head}
59.    G:    =[{ye:s, ˚yes.˚}
60.              {body orients to TL}
61.   TL:   [{okay,}
62.             {nods}
63.            {okay, I see.}
64.            {looks at third page}
```

On lines 27–33, Teacher L signals misunderstanding of Singh's intended meaning by the utterance ("eight and, uhn, second?), as manifested in her speech, "okay, probably choose one," synchronized with making the iconic gesture ("number 1″) with her right hand. Based on this utterance, she seems to interpret that Singh chose two examples from the first page, instead of one example linked with a type of claim. Prior to that, on lines 10–15, while Singh is saying, "eight and, uhn, second?," he gazes at the first page of the handouts on his lap, flips the pages when saying, "and, " and looks at the third page (see Fig. 4). The series of embodied actions, coordinated with the worksheets here, subtly signals that Singh is *visually* referring to both the first and third pages for his utterance. However, this nonverbal signal by Singh does not appear to help Teacher L understand Singh's response, exhibited by her partial repetition, "second one?" (line 17) and "probably choose one." (line 30) discussed above. In fact,

Fig. 4 Lines 14–15 "uhn, (0.8) second?"

Teacher L's utterances implicitly repair Singh without recognizing that his verbal meaning is deeply entwined with the worksheets. It is possible that Singh's coordination of embodied actions with speech was not taken up by Teacher L because his actions were mostly done under the desk, likely making them hard to notice (see Fig. 4).

In response to Teacher L's signal of misunderstanding (lines 27–33), from line 35 onward, Singh initiates his repair in a very explicit manner, starting with "No!" while shifting his gaze to the handout on his lap, which demonstrates his attention to it. Also, it should be noted that he seems to mitigate any potential face threat by smiling. Right after that, he uses a discourse marker, "I'm saying," with his smiley voice, which seems to simultaneously make explicit his intention to clarify what he meant, and to mitigate his overt repair with concerns of politeness. Seemingly reacting to Singh's repair act, on lines 39–42, Sharma and Gupta (both of whom, like Singh, are from India) initiate laughing. It can be interpreted that laughter here functions as ridiculing Singh and possibly Teacher L's misunderstanding. Reacting to laughter among these students, at line 43, Teacher L interactionally aligns with them by smiling (see Fig. 5), even though it seems that she does not understand what is actually going on. Here at this specific moment of interaction, these students (especially Singh) might gain more power than Teacher L to control the flow of conversation. It is worth noting that the nature of classroom interactions is in constant flux, and that not only various types of cultural and linguistic identities but also power relations/dynamics between teachers and students are being mutually and jointly negotiated and co-constructed in and through interactions (e.g., Manke 1997). In short, it is rather simplistic to assume that teachers always hold more power than students; instead, power is *negotiated* in interactions.

From line 44 onward, Singh initiates his repair more strategically, by adding verbal explanations. On lines 44–46, Singh gives a more thorough explanation than previously ("on the first page, I chose eight") while looking at Teacher L with a smiley face. Subsequent to that, he further explicates, "and it

Fig. 5 Lines 43

Fig. 6 Lines 50–51 "and it
is, u:h,"

is, u:h, claims of cause and effects." During this utterance, Singh
once uses nonverbal interactional resources coordinated with his verbal explana-
tion. Namely, on lines 50–51, Singh looks down at the worksheets, flips the pages,
and looks at the third page (see Fig. 6), which embodies that he is referring to both
the first and third pages of the worksheets. This coordinated action with the work-
sheets is similar to what he already did (lines 14–15; see Fig. 4). Such series of
embodied actions, or gestures closely associated with objects in the (classroom)
environment, can be considered "material actions" (Olsher 2004, p. 223), or "envi-
ronmentally coupled" gestures (Goodwin 2007) because their meanings are deeply
entwined with the material objects. This time Singh's embodied action (lines 50–51)
is more effective in clarifying his intended meaning. This might contribute to giving
richer clues to Teacher L. To put it another way, Singh's integration of the handouts
for verbal explanation along with directing his eye gaze downward—that is, his
"multimodal ensemble" (Bezemer and Kress 2008, p. 166)—successfully makes his
speech "visible" to Teacher L.

Eventually, on lines 54–55, overlapped with Singh's utterance, Teacher L dem-
onstrates her newer understanding with a change-of-state token (Heritage 1984),
"O:h!", while opening her mouth widely. Even further, she says, "you >want
me to match,<". With this utterance, Teacher L still seemingly tries to under-
stand what Singh has explained verbally *and* embodily. In other words, she is con-
firming with Singh whether her newer understanding is correct. At the same time,
Teacher L also nonverbally demonstrates and confirms her understanding. Note that
on lines 56–58 she flips the pages, shifts her gaze to the third page, and nods her
head (see Fig. 7). This embodied action coordinated with the handouts apparently
aligns with Singh's action on lines 14–15 and 50–51. Simply put, Teacher L employs
an "embodied" confirmation check with Singh regarding what he originally meant
by "eight and, uhn, second?". The co-coordination of Teacher L's and

Fig. 7 Lines 56–58 "`you >want me to match,<`"
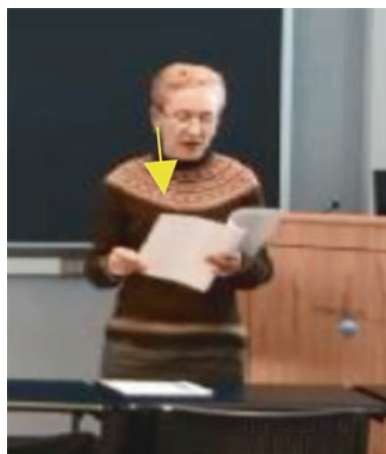
Singh's embodied actions with the worksheets is interactionally achieved in order to confirm their mutual understanding through alignment (Atkinson et al. 2007).

What is crucial here is that even after Teacher L made an embodied confirmation check with Singh, she keeps demonstrating understanding later (lines 61–64), where she says, "`okay,`" while nodding and further adds "`okay, I see.`", highlighting her newer state of understanding. This part specifically exhibits her careful attitude toward making sure that mutual understanding has been achieved. One possible reason why Teacher L was attentive in this way is that Singh did not give any response to Teacher L's utterance, "`you >want me to match,<`". Instead, Gupta, who initiated laughter, gives a minimal response, "`ye:s,°yes.°`" (lines 59–60) exhibiting his orientation to Teacher L. Gupta's confirmation check with Teacher L, rather than Singh, also demonstrates the collaborative nature of this academic community as a whole in that everyone, including third-party participants, engages in achieving mutual understanding. As a result of arriving at mutual understanding, both Teacher L and Singh can project their favorable identities as successful *users* of English, who skillfully resolve even complicated misunderstanding cases, as observed in this excerpt.

To sum up, I argue, based on this second excerpt, that while Teacher L seemed to temporarily lose control of the class as students appeared to ridicule her misunderstanding by laughing, in the end she successfully managed this miscommunication sequence by explicitly showing her newer understanding and skillfully making a confirmation check integrated with her embodied action, which clearly aligns with Singh. Especially since Singh's utterance, "`eight and, uhn, second?`" is intricately situated in the specific context and closely related to the content and structure of the worksheets, the utterance might be hard to comprehend without paying attention to the other interactional resource (namely the worksheets) that Singh incorporates with speech. The teacher-prepared worksheet has become a particularly important ecological resource that provides structure for class activities

and affects classroom interactions (Guerrettaz and Johnston 2013). This excerpt clearly illustrates the significant influence of teacher-prepared handouts on classroom interactions.

Lastly, it is clear that dichotomies such as 'nonnative'/'native'-English-speaker teacher or 'nonnative' learner identities, are nonfactors in this multilingual classroom interaction. In other words, such dichotomized identity categories do not seem to matter in this specific interactional context as long as all the interlocutors are willing to achieve understanding through mutual effort. Furthermore, classroom interactional practice can offer space for negotiating options of identities (e.g., successful *users* of English) and power dynamics among students and teachers. I argue that Teacher L's identity as a successful multilingual teacher equipped with a collaborative attitude, a willingness to negotiate meaning with her students, and an eagerness to make nonunderstanding explicit emerged in and through ongoing classroom interactions. In other words, this is not a fixed identity but came about within a specific classroom context.

5 Discussion

The sequential analysis of multilingual classroom interactions above, exhibits that the instructor in this multilingual writing classroom made an effort to construct mutual understanding with students as an active, successful user of ELF. Such interactional practice and action itself can lead to the projection of positive English language teacher identities. I contend that as a result of achieving communicative success in intercultural classroom interactions *in situ*, both the teacher and students can establish linguistic and cultural authority pertaining to the "ownership" of English (Widdowson 1994). To put it differently, it is not legitimate to presume that so-called nonnative English teachers demonstrate 'inferiority' in ELT (e.g., Mahboob et al. 2004) until we actually investigate and showcase their varied, lived experiences and local practice in the classroom. Rather, this study develops an alternative to the *native speaker fallacy* that marginalizes NNESTs; it does so by illustrating how a teacher's classroom practice and interaction with students challenge essentialized views of who she might be or become as a language teaching professional and can create a space for agency in her language ownership and use.

Importantly, the data analysis involving the teacher and students in the multilingual writing classroom in this chapter does not show any acts of 'othering' anyone in this academic community or of positioning the teacher and students as members of nonnative speaker/learner communities. In contrast, this study indicates that teachers and students in multilingual classrooms collaboratively resolve miscommunication in order to achieve mutual understanding. That is to say, both instructors and students can have autonomy in projecting themselves as legitimate *users* of English by achieving mutual understanding successfully.

6   Conclusions

Based on the data analysis, it is clear that pre-assigned labels or categories such as 'nonnative' English teachers, are neither interactionally relevant nor treated as important by interactants, namely multilingual students in this intercultural classroom context. In other words, the data indicate that some aspects of identity (e.g., 'nonnative' teacher or 'learners') are not in play during interactions. What the teacher *does* and *achieves* through classroom practice can challenge the presupposed characteristics and qualities inscribed within the essentialized category of 'NNEST.' Based on a poststructuralist perspective on identity as "performative," "constructive," and "practice-based," I argue that the teacher's behavior is a very important part of the identity construction process, and "being and becoming" and "doing" are therefore bound with each other. The sequential analysis has demonstrated different ways of being and becoming successful teachers of English. By revealing teachers as having a collaborative attitude, a willingness to negotiate, a complex awareness of language, sociolinguistic sensitivity, and intercultural competence, we can destabilize the essentialized category of 'NNEST.'

Through the ongoing process in which a teacher resolves miscommunication moments by making use of diverse communicative repertoires (Rymes 2014) and available interactional resources (e.g., other multilingual students' representations and embodied, coordinated actions with materials), he or she can project and construct a favorable teacher identity that is able to handle miscommunication with students collaboratively and effectively. As Rymes argued, such communicative repertoire and resources (including multiple languages, gestures, and clothes) expressing *who we are* in dialogue with others, contribute to infinitely varied performance of identities, and expand and overlap with others, thereby helping us to find common ground with people in multilingual contexts. Therefore, rather than automatically and uncritically assigning NNEST identities, and defining teachers by what they *are not* (i.e., nonnative), we should more closely examine fluid teacher identity construction/performance situated in sequence-by-sequence classroom interactions with students by closely looking at who they *are* and what they *can do* in the classroom, which can bring forth agency in terms of their language ownership and use.

With regard to an emerging approach to English language learning and instruction, some poststructural researchers (e.g., Canagarajah 2013; Menard-Warwick et al. 2013) have argued for approaches that draw on teachers' and learners' translingual and transcultural identities and lived experiences within and across borders of being and doing (Rudolph et al. 2015). Furthermore, regarding English teacher education in particular, Sifakis and Bayyurt (2015) have recently developed a proposal called "ELF-aware teacher education" that prepares English language teachers to become ELF-aware and to gain insights and experiences on how to apply ELF concepts and research in their local teaching contexts. Sifakis and Bayyurt's proposal involves facilitating teachers into a critical reorientation and transformation of their deeply rooted beliefs toward English language teaching, learning, and

communication, which can open up new possibilities for teaching and learning and professional development. It is worth noting that this proposed ELF-aware teacher education does not prescribe or dictate a particular teaching methodology or a specific curriculum. Instead, it values autonomous teaching professionals making decisions based on their understanding of ELF theories. Needless to say, all English language teachers, regardless of their 'native' or 'nonnative' status, should be fully aware of cultural complexities in multilingual classrooms. Biculturality and interculturality are increasingly becoming an asset of multilingual teachers—just like Teacher L in this study, who is ready to negotiate differences successfully and maintain intelligibility in intercultural classroom contexts.

To conclude, I contend that we need more research from an ELF perspective that exhibits the construction and performance of fluid teacher identity in various classroom interactional contexts. Such scholarly endeavors will be a promising direction in challenging prevailing inequality among NESTs and NNESTs in ELT, and achieving a more nondiscriminatory and inclusive TESOL professional field based on an understanding and awareness of linguistic and cultural complexity and diversity. Lastly, such research can illuminate the intricate ways that ELF use is not only a matter of communication but also a matter of identity construction in this increasingly multilingual, multicultural, and globalized world.

Appendix

Transcription Symbols

The video-recorded materials were transcribed according to the following notation system, whose core was originally developed by Gail Jefferson for the analytic research of conversation (cited by Atkinson and Heritage 1999).

Symbol	Represents
[	Overlapping utterances
=	Latched utterances
(.)	Micro pause
(2.0)	Timed (e.g., 2-second) pause
:	Extended sound or syllable
.	Falling intonation
,	Continuing intonation
?	Rising intonation
!	Animated intonation
-	Cut-off
>word<	Speech at a pace quicker than the surrounding talk
°no°	Speech quieter than the surrounding talk
$	Smile voice

Symbol	Represents
((walks toward))	Nonvocal action that is <u>not</u> synchronized with verbal, details of conversational scene
{*raises his arm*}	Nonvocal action that <u>is</u> synchronized with verbal speech
( )	Unrecoverable speech
RH	Right hand
LH	Left hand

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The (Re)Construction of Self Through Student-Teachers' Storied Agency in ELT: Between Marginalization and Idealization

Alvaro Hernán Quintero and Carmen Helena Guerrero

Abstract This chapter presents and discusses the findings of a narrative inquiry conducted over 2 years in an English Language Teacher Education Program in Colombia (South America). Focusing on the stories of pre-service English language teachers, this inquiry examines how these pre-service teachers (re)constructed their personal, academic, and professional selves. It draws upon written narrative data set collected through a teacher education course over four semesters and this data set includes four different course assignments from 80 pre-service teachers. In these assignments, pre-service teachers were engaged in a three-step reflective practice upon significant people, contexts, and practices during the activities of teacher education. Their reflective practice fostered the notion of self-as-teacher that future teachers construct (Hopper T, Sanford K, Teach Educ Q 31:57–74, 2004). The data analysis yielded findings which we present under three headings: public education as possibility, ELT as a glocal profession, and teachers' multiple ways of being. The study findings point to pre-service teachers' identity construction experiences between marginalization and idealization.

1 Introduction

In this chapter, we draw on the area of second language (L2) teacher education and narrative inquiry in order to address the need for pre-service English language teachers to (re)construct and make sense of their personal, academic, and professional selves. The reason for addressing such concern, is that future teachers' subjectivities need to be made present in processes of developing a sense of self and in processes of transformation of the contexts and dynamics of the profession of language education. The organization of the contents of the chapter is as follows: First, we

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problematize models of teacher education based on the native speaker myth (Phillipson 1992) and a colonizing tendency. Then, we discuss the narrative "turn" to study identity construction. Afterward, we describe the pedagogical and research designs based on the view of life stories as narrative data. Next, we present the findings that revolve around the main discussion of the ongoing negotiation of self between marginalization and idealization. Finally, we present the conclusions of the study.

2   Colonial Legacy in Initial Teacher Education

There is a general consensus that teacher education falls into three main models or approaches, and that ELT teacher education has drawn on those models. Here we will use Kumaravadivelu's (2003) terminology, but acknowledge that other authors have made a similar claim (Atkinson 2004; Giroux 1988; LaBoskey 1994; Richards 2008; Woodward 1990).

In the first model, the *passive technician*, teachers are expected to master disciplinary knowledge, follow exact methodologies or strategies to teach it, and in general terms, to consume the knowledge produced by experts. A second model known as *reflective practitioner* sees as the aim of teacher preparation not only the mastering of the disciplinary knowledge but also the capacity to reflect upon classroom practices in order to improve them. A step forward in this model is the *reflexive practitioner,* which adds to the former one, the capacity of the teacher to also reflect on institutional structures, and the self, that is, to examine teachers' "beliefs, attitudes, assumptions, prejudices and suppositions that inform teaching" (Atkinson 2004, p. 380). The third model is the critical practitioner in which teachers are engaged in problematizing social, cultural, and ideological issues, among others, and acting upon them. As such, they are considered as *transformative intellectuals* and therefore, producers of knowledge.

These models that have served in the education of in-service teachers, have been extrapolated to initial teacher education in ELT. A revision of the curriculum of such programs in Colombia shows that the prevalent model is the first one. There is a strong emphasis on a) disciplinary knowledge, which for our case, is the mastery of the English language and b) teaching methodologies that are the traditional approaches developed by the countries of the *inner circle* (to use Kachru's 1986 denomination), particularly the United States and Great Britain.

Although teacher education models have moved from seeing teachers as passive to seeing them as intellectuals, for the most part, initial teacher education in Colombia is stuck in the past as "schools of education," and particularly programs devoted to the preparation of ELT professionals-to-be, are still designed to perpetuate a top down approach that stems from a colonial perspective (Pennycook 1994) aimed at the preparation of "TESOL soldiers" (Phillipson 1992). The colonial legacy in ELT undergraduate programs could be evidenced through several overt and covert elements that are articulated through the curriculum and through broader social practices (e.g., hiring and/or scholarship requirements, social prestige,

salaries, etc.). We briefly address some of them here to bring to the surface some critical issues that need to be examined in ELT undergraduate programs.

2.1 Prevalence of the Native-Like Speaker Model

Much discussion has taken place around the world about the dichotomy of native speaker-nonnative speaker (Jenkins 2006, 2009; Kachru 1986; Kubota 2012). The native speaker model has been very pervasive, and has spread the idea that anyone learning English should mimic a native-like accent. Although speaking a language implies much more than just "accent," the importance given to accent is enormous and has ideological, cultural, and professional implications. Private schools, universities and language institutes usually market their English language programs on the premise that they have "native speakers." Therefore, non-native speakers of English who do not attain the native-like accents are regarded as second-class teachers; as not having the "right" linguistic capital and as a consequence, their job conditions are unequal compared to that of native speaker teachers or native-like speaker teachers (de Mejía 2002).

In Colombia, native speakers are constructed as individuals born in the United States, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand or Canada, and their linguistic capital is regarded as the one that anyone learning English should acquire. Undergraduate ELT programs make great efforts to instill in student-teachers the native-like accent; some programs have phonetics classes and devote a great deal of attention to native-like pronunciation. For lay people and school administrators alike, there is a privilege of native-like pronunciation and accent over teaching skills. For hiring purposes, having an ELT degree is not enough (even necessary) but to show excellent TOEFL scores. Teachers with native-like pronunciation get better jobs than teachers who do not fit those standards. This discrimination does not apply to native speakers who do not fit the model of the idealized English speaker; actually it does not apply to any foreigner as long as they speak any variety of English, and their working conditions are better than those of Colombian teachers.

2.2 Teaching Methodologies from the Center

Undergraduate programs include courses on teaching methods that student-teachers are expected to master and implement in their practicum by the book. Very little discussion happens around what language is, what teaching is, what learning is, and why and when one should use a particular methodology. One major criticism of the methodologies produced by the inner circle countries, relates to their "English Only" orientation (Auberbach 1993; Canagarajah 1999; London 2001), where the students' first language (L1) is seen as problematic and negative. Additionally, the social dimension of teaching is often neglected in the methods class since the emphasis is on the L2 as an object of study and not its use to signify the world.

2.3   Isolation from the Social, Cultural, and Political Context

The teaching of English has been constructed as a neutral activity, where the role of the teacher is to explain grammar and discourse structures, and students are expected to replicate them (Guerrero and Quintero 2009). Seeing language as a vehicle of the exertion of power and domination, or as the possibility to counter hegemony, has not been included in either language policies or in syllabi content. Isolated efforts have been made to bring discussions on the role of critical pedagogy to counter this presumed neutrality and invite student-teachers to reflect on the social dimensions of education and the importance of situated practices. This is the case of the authors of this chapter and their colleagues in their research group, who have all incorporated practices and discourses based on critical pedagogies to better serve the mission and vision of the university and equip student-teachers with context-sensitive tools.

The critical issues mentioned above, have been discussed and problematized in the literature, but we know very little about how much understanding student-teachers have about them and how that might play a role in their negotiation of identities. Narratives have proved to be a powerful tool for both researchers and student-teachers to dig deeper into their understandings of these issues and how they intersect with their identities (Barkhuizen 2016).

3   Life Stories as Narratives

From a narrative perspective, stories can be accounted for as the representation of experience and the self. (Re)storying meaningful life experiences, is an event that calls for an introspective complexity and an alternative conception of language. Such conception needs to evolve from viewing language as a mere system of communication (Stern 1987) towards considering it as a form of self-representation that is deeply connected to people's social identities (Miller 2003). Language is more than a mode of communication or a system composed of rules, vocabulary and meaning. It is also an active medium of social practice through which people construct, define, and struggle over meanings in dialogue with others. Furthermore, because language exists within a large structural context, this practice is positioned and shaped by the ongoing relations of power that exist between and among individuals.

The connection of the individual and collective dimensions of language lead one to think of language as a form of self-representation. In that regard, Canagarajah (2004) claims that we construct ourselves through narratives that we share with others. He further explains that the self is shaped by language and discourses composed of multiple subjectivities derived from heterogeneous codes, registers, and discourses found in society. Moreover, Norton (1997) maintains that how we relate to the world, the way we construct it across time and space, and the understanding

we add to what lies behind that relationship determines people's identity. For Rudolph (in press), the construction of identity involves dynamic and discursive positioning and being positioned.

The notion of identity in this study is equated with the notion of self, or the self-as-teacher that student-teachers construct (Hopper and Sanford 2004). The self can be considered as a life story since it is through narration that people construct their own selves. In other words, while people make sense of their past life experiences and understand their possibilities for the future, they construct their identities (Barkhuizen 2008, 2016; Clandinin and Connelly 2000; Peacock and Holland 1993).

In the same vein, Kumaravadivelu (2012) describes the sense of self as a set of features of an individual's identity that relates to their capacity and willingness to exercise agency. This leads one to think that the representation of one's own self demands reflection and action upon the experiences that one individual has had throughout their life, the ones they continue to live in the present, as well as those that project them into the future. This can take the shape of stories that tell and contribute to making sense of our lived experiences as human beings.

4   Using Narratives as Pedagogy and Data

This study took place during 2 years in a public university in Bogotá, the capital city of Colombia. The university serves 27,000 students from low and middle low social classes; it is organized into five Schools and offers three doctoral programs, two in the School of Education and one in the School of Engineering, 35 graduate programs, and 43 undergraduate programs. The context of this study comprises an academic space of a last-semester research seminar of a ten-semester English language teacher education program, where one of the authors serves as a teacher educator. For four consecutive semesters, the teacher-researcher collected the narratives of student-teachers enrolled in the class, which totaled 80 participants, whose average age was 20 years old. Of 80 participants, 70% were female and 30% were male, and all of them signed a research consent form to participate in the study. All of them had finished their practicum and were finishing writing their research monograph. Traditionally the main goal of the research seminar in which this study took place, has been to help students prepare their monograph oral and written reports paying special attention to matters of form. The teacher-researcher, motivated by his own philosophical perspective in education, transformed that objective towards the creation of an atmosphere for an introspective practice upon the (re)construction of the personal, academic, and professional selves of student-teachers who engaged in a process of writing to (re)story their meaningful experiences in their academic formation. The new dynamics of the seminar encouraged them to make a transition from academic formation in the undergraduate program towards both professional performance in educational institutions and graduate studies in the fields of their interest.

The reflective practice took the shape of written life stories that were determined by guidelines (see Appendix) that contained the description of their trajectories as related to their academic experiences before (retrospection), during (interpretation), and after (prospection) their university program. The written life stories constituted research data for analysis from a narrative perspective (Barkhuizen 2014). The uses of narratives were not so commonly found in the contexts of language education research in past years. However, the *narrative turn* in the field of applied linguistics in general, and in the area of L2 teacher education in particular, is nowadays acknowledged not only as a genre (form), but also with a focus on it as methodology and data (a means to do research), sometimes under criticism about a loss of "scientific" specificity (Barkhuizen 2013). As Clandinin and Connelly (2000) equate narratives with qualitative studies, the conception of narrative is methodological in this chapter and used in close relation to the use of language as a social practice through which identities are negotiated and experiences storied (Norton and Early 2011).

In regard to the view of stories as data, or in the case of this study, written life stories as a form of narrative data, the introspections of the authors of such stories here became discourses that provoked insights about how selfhood was (re)constructed (Canagarajah 2004). Drawing on the area of L2 teacher education, our main concern here is related to the need for the pre-service English teachers to (re)construct and make sense of their personal, academic, and professional selves. One reason for addressing such concern is that, when student-teachers are called upon to make a transition from practices that make them dogmatize language education towards alternatives for transforming their realities as future professionals of language education, their subjectivities need to be made "less absent" in such processes of transformation. Even though transformation in teacher education is not an easy task, it is necessary to find a way for preparing future teachers to negotiate the processes of developing a sense of self (Bullough 2008).

5 Between Marginalization and Idealization: The Ongoing Negotiation of "Self"

After collecting and analyzing student-teachers' narratives, we identified one core category and three sub-categories (See Table 1). The core category, Between marginalization and idealization: The ongoing negotiation of "self," gives an account of the epistemological, professional and personal journey student-teachers make from their years previous to enrolling in the program, to the time of the collection of narratives which was close to their graduation. This category encompasses the idea of student-teachers' agency to make their own way from assigned identities to self-constructed identities. Our student-teachers come from socio-economic contexts that are already marginalized and therefore their assigned identities stem from deterministic and essentializing discourses. Their own life experiences and the

Table 1 Emerging categories

Main category	Definition
Between marginalization and idealization: The ongoing negotiation of self	Student-teachers' agency to make their own way from assigned identities to self-constructed identities
Sub-categories	
Public education as possibility	The role of public universities in granting an underprivileged population access to social mobility
The ELT glocal professional	Pre-service ELT teachers are thinking globally as local participants in the global world; they project their own selves as overcoming the barriers they might find in terms of knowledge, geographic location, and economic constraints.
Multiple ways of being	Using pre-service teachers' narratives, we show that in the (re)construction of their identity, there is no single way of being but rather they take different paths related to two themes: Language education as a profession: Language and teaching; and the role of social actors in becoming transformative social agents.

academic formation they receive at the university allow them to take control of their own destiny and struggle to self-construct their professional identities.

Our intention to inquire into the ways pre-service English language teachers (re)construct their identity draws on an area of research that is known as marginalization (Varghese et al. 2005). Such identity (re)construction took place in social, cultural, and political contexts – the teacher education program and the public schools in which the pre-service teachers developed their teaching practicum – where the identities that emerged were multiple, shifting, and in conflict with the agency of the individual participants as a mediating factor. Varghese (2000) claims that the construction of teacher identities is developed against the marginalization of the language education profession that is always in the background of real life. As an illustration of Varghese's claim, we can mention the Colombian bilingual language policy[1] is based on the *native speaker myth* (Phillipson 1992), which leads to the idealization of who can be the best teacher. Such idealization, in the process of formation and growth, can be linked to the tension between the ideal and real dimensions of language teacher identity, which in turn creates tensions between claimed identities and assigned identities.

The examination of the signs of the origins and evolution of their personal, academic, and professional selves in their stories was a crucial way of understanding how the participants were becoming language teachers who can challenge the traditional models of language education based on the notion of "effective instruction" (Cummins 2001) and who are willing to perform their roles as teachers and researchers with much involvement in their classroom, school, or community. That serves the purpose for them to explore the possibilities of (re)constructing themselves,

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[1] Information on this Colombian government program can be found at: http://www.colombiaaprende.edu.co/html/productos/1685/w3-article-261856.html

both as individuals and professionals who can transform their lives and be responsible for the holistic development of their true selves (Kumaravadivelu 2003).

From a narrative perspective, the participants' life stories were ways to account for the possibilities that attending a public university offered them to become critical educators, the evolution of their personal and professional beings in their university program through their interaction with teachers and fellow students; also, the different alternatives for the (re)construction of their identities. Such accounts gave rise to three sub-categories that are defined, illustrated, and interpreted below and that serve the purpose to define the main category. The three sub-categories are: (1) *Public education as possibility;* (2) *The ELT glocal professional;* and *Multiple ways of being* (See Table 1 below).

5.1   *Public Education as Possibility*

Public education in Colombia, as in many other countries around the world, is under constant scrutiny. Neoliberal discourses – amplified through mass media – spread the idea that money that goes into public education is a waste (Apple 2006b; Nussbaum 2012). Colombia has participated in neoliberal models since 1990 when the then elected president had as his main government policy to adopt this particular economic model. Many attempts have been made along all these years to privatize education. Although on the surface those attempts have, apparently, failed thanks to civil and students' movements of resistance, governments have found subtle ways to impose their economic agendas on the education system. Outsourcing is a good example of this, and can be evidenced through the presence of international NGOs in charge of recruiting and selecting teachers to work in different schools; the evaluation of the English proficiency of Colombian teachers and students; or catering services for underprivileged students, to mention just a few.

The university where this study took place, is the public university of the capital city, Bogotá, financed by City Hall monies; it serves close to 27,000 low-income students (Universidad Distrital 2013) whose family income average corresponds from 1 to 3 of the 6 (highest) Colombian social and economic strata. To all our participants, enrolling in a program in this university is the only chance they have to obtain a college degree, as can be seen in the following excerpt:

> When I graduated my mom was really proud of me. I had been 1 year out of school and then I applied to the Universidad Distrital. I felt so happy when I was admitted because I wanted to study. (Participant 1, final narrative)[2]

This participant is categorical in her claim: *I wanted to study*. From this statement we can be sure she did not see any other opportunity to pursue tertiary education. According to the OECD report for Colombia (OECD 2016), only 9% of low-income

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[2] The authors took the liberty to "correct" students' English to make their narratives understandable to a wider audience. We tried to respect the essence of their thoughts.

students are enrolled in university-level education. For most of them, the possibilities after finishing high school are divided between taking a low paying job (mechanics, construction workers, doormen, housekeeper, delivery person, etc.), and going to vocational schools run by private operators, mainly. According to the Ministry of Education, graduates from technical and technological schools increased from 20.4% in 2002 to 33.9% in 2011, while college graduates dropped in the same period of time from 62.3% to 44% (Ministry of Education 2012).

Despite the fact that the ELT program was not purposely tailored to address social issues, participants in the study find that public education offers them more than just "content"; it offers epistemological elements to critically examine the world and become active participants in searching for solutions for their communities. The following excerpt is a clear example of this:

> I consider that the core of this program in this university, which suited my interests, was its social vision, because going beyond the typical image of the bilingual teacher that teaches the verb to be, I consider I was educated within a setting where students are seen as persons, as humans with capacities and necessities. (Participant 4, final narrative)

As we can see from the voice of this participant, the isolated efforts some teachers make to engage students in reflecting about social issues, have shown results. The participant acknowledges that education comes with more than just content, goes beyond grammar structures, and allows them to be an active member of the community.

Tertiary education in Colombia is regulated by Law 30 issued in 1992. This law grants universities "autonomy" which, among other things, means that universities are free to create, organize, and develop their programs and curricula. Contrary to neoliberal models, universities, particularly public universities, do not have to respond to the demands of the labor market, but to an educational philosophy that understands that human beings need education in the humanities and not only in the mastery of technical skills. For the population served by the Universidad Distrital, this part of their education is very relevant because it allows them to see themselves as part of the solution of some of the many problems faced by their future pupils.

Another important aspect acknowledged by our participants, is that the education at a public institution is of the highest quality and the one that allows them to apply for a job anywhere they want. In the excerpt below, one of our participant's voices serves to illustrate this point:

> Anyway, I consider that my professional profile is very competitive at the moment of applying for a job; as a graduate from the Universidad Distrital I have a good command of English, therefore I can help students develop their communicative competences in English; I can use theories about language in order to reflect about my own professional performance; I can promote a respectful attitude towards the foreign language without leaving aside the importance of our culture. Also I am able to create new teaching techniques that stem from linguistic and technology advances, promote a critical reflection about the social, cultural and political context of the country and perhaps the most important aspect is the research training that I acquired during my studies and along the development of my research proposal. (Participant 3, final narrative)

This participant's account of her skills, all of them obtained through her education at a public university, counters mainstream discourses in Colombia which spread the idea that private colleges offer better quality of education than public ones (Apple 2006a). As can be seen from this excerpt, public university provided her with a multidisciplinary knowledge along with the linguistic capital needed in English as an L2; theory, experience, and research skills, all crossed by a critical view of the world. Her education, in their view, will allow her not only to apply her knowledge in a multiplicity of contexts but also to develop it further. If attending this public university has meant all this to her, we can say that we have moved towards the third model of teacher education we mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, which is *critical practitioners*, where teachers are seen as transformative intellectuals (Giroux 1988).

5.2   *The ELT Glocal Professional*

Discourses on globalization have been around for quite a long time now, and while many acknowledged the advantages of the "global village," others were cynical about it. ELT was no different in this regard and discussions about the role of the English teacher profession in the growing global world abounded. Cameron (2002) called attention to the dangers of the discourses on "unity in diversity" as a fallacy that intended to homogenize English speakers around the world under the dominant model of Anglo-American speakers. Others like Warschauer (2000) called for a new English language teacher who is able to face the challenges of the twenty-first century in terms of technology and new varieties of English. Nowadays it is not possible to talk about the global without the local; it has become an oxymoron, since both are in a dialogical relationship and one cannot exist without the other.

Guerrero and Meadows (2015) point out the responsibility of teacher education programs in helping student-teachers develop a global professional identity that overpasses the dichotomy of NNEST/NEST. The mission and vision statements of the undergraduate program in English at the Universidad Distrital claim, on the one hand, the commitment to promote the improvement of English teaching in Bogotá and in Colombia and, on the other hand, the promotion of innovation and research in ELT.

Through the analysis of student-teachers' narratives, we found that they are in a constant (re)construction of their identities. For many of our participants, the teaching profession was not a choice but an accident; they enrolled in the program as a way to obtain a professional degree to have a source of income or after trying out other programs. It is common to find statements like: "After I graduated from high school and got the highest scores on the ICFES[3] exam in the English section, I wanted to join a translation program but there is none in Bogotá." (Participant 13, final narrative); "I finished it [high school] and I decided to become a veterinary at

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[3] ICFES is similar to the American SAT (Standard Achievement Test).

'La Salle' university… After a time I decided to study English pedagogy and applied to the Universidad Distrital and I got accepted" (Participant 6, final narrative).

They recall how as they were progressing in their plan of studies they were finding their teaching vocation through their interaction with teachers, fellow students, different subjects and their teaching practicum (Díaz Benavides 2013), so, their identities were unfolding towards their ongoing negotiation of self. Our participant 6, quoted above, also states:

> When I did my practicum I discovered that definitely I love to be a teacher. It is grateful when students say "Teacher I learnt" I feel happy and I realize that I'm doing the things in the right way. Now I'm finishing the undergrad program and I consider that it was an excellent choice and I'm totally sure that the way to transform the world is through the education (Participant 6, final narrative).

Through his/her discourse, this participant positions him/herself within non-geographical reference. For him/her his/her education allows him/her to act upon the world in order to transform it. His/her identity as a teacher is not attached to a particular place but to the world. Participants' narratives allowed us to see how the dialogic relationship between the local and the global discourses and practices played a role in the (re)construction of their identities. Traditionally the dialogue between the local and the global in Colombia, and particularly in the field of ELT, has been an unequal one. As we mentioned above, the contents of the curricula and the syllabi of the different subjects have been dominated by the knowledge and theories produced by the inner circle countries. Despite this fact, in their narratives, student-teachers give relevance to the emphasis that their undergraduate program and the Universidad Distrital place on the social dimension of education to make sense of all those theories produced somewhere else. We identify this aspect as critical in the construction of a glocal professional identity, since student-teachers establish connections between their local context and the global one.

Global and local discourses on ELT co-construct themselves to mandate who can become an English teacher and what and how they should teach. In developing this glocal identity, the data show that student-teachers are not mesmerized by the global world; they do not see themselves as passive participants of what the outside world has to offer. Quite the contrary, as local participants in the global world they project their own selves as overcoming the barriers they might find in terms of knowledge, geographic location, and economic constraints.

In regard to knowledge, although all participants state their interest in pursuing postgraduate education, their choice of doing it in Colombia or abroad is influenced by the availability of programs; none of them questions the quality of education in our country as illustrated in this excerpt:

> If it is possible, I may study my master program either outside or in my country and I would like to work as a university teacher to put into practice all that knowledge, probably participating in the education of teachers that is vital in the life of every teacher for the personal as well as the professional education (Participant 10, final narrative).

The interest of getting a master degree right after their undergraduate program is a new trend. Student-teachers take it for granted that graduate education is a must, and there is no discussion on that; the issue is where and what to study.

As stated by González (2007) English teachers are seen as "unfinished" and for that reason they have to undertake postgraduate degrees; according to the data, this discourse has been naturalized and all our participants take for granted the need to obtain an MA degree. What is interesting, though, is that in González's study, in-service teachers complain about the gap between the contents of MA programs and school realities. The participants in our study are not expecting the MA programs to fill these gaps for them; rather, they expect to actively participate in bringing theory into practice into their real contexts.

On the other hand, they do not see institutionalized capital (Bourdieu 1986) as the only source of obtaining knowledge. Student-teachers recognize that knowledge is also to be found in the contact with real people in the real world. This is an interesting way of bringing the local onto the table to dialogue with the global knowledge they have acquired at school. Here is the voice of one of our participants:

> As a teacher I see myself, not in Bogotá or any other big city, but in somewhere else; where I could share my time, feelings and knowledge with people who really appreciate it, where I can also learn more…I want to learn about real life of common people in Colombia, it would make me happy, it would fill my expectations. (Participant 5, final narrative)

For this participant, learning is not attached to the university exclusively; he/she finds value in "common people" to gather more knowledge, probably to make sense between the theoretical knowledge they acquire in the program and the real life real people face every day.

Our participants also see themselves as producers of knowledge. This shade of their glocal identity ranges from their interest in bringing into their classes innovative practices, strategies and techniques to actively participate in the academic community through publishing articles and being members of research groups (actually one of our participants got her first article published in a peer indexed journal at the time of the data collection). "I would like to keep on researching about social issues related to foreign language education. I dream of being part of an educational group supported by Colciencias" (Participant 17, final narrative); "With the purpose of getting a job at a university I should start building my curriculum vita on a researchable base. Hereby, my intention is publishing a research article in a peer reviewed journal and work hard in the research group I am a member of" (Participant 16, final narrative). As these quotes show, our participants find enough agency within themselves to project their professional selves as producers of knowledge, as researchers and academics able to be members of research groups acknowledged by the Colombian research institute, Colciencias, and as publishing in peer reviewed journals which, for many in-service teachers, has been unattainable.

In terms of challenging geographical barriers, our participants value the education they have received in their undergraduate studies and think it gives them the

necessary tools to start out in a different country. Their motivations are different: some dream of working abroad, others want to travel to get cultural experience, others to improve their language proficiency. Either way they do not seem to find constraints in geographical borders:

> Within five years I project myself as a qualified Spanish teacher at the university level or secondary education. Naturally, this requires extensive preparation in the field. For example, for teaching Spanish in any country in Europe, North America, Oceania and Asia, the minimum requirement to apply for a job is a postgraduate degree at the Masters level in that particular field. (Participant 2, final narrative)

These excerpts of student-teachers' narratives allows us to infer that they fight their imposed identity, due to their coming from a marginalized section of the population and project their identities in the global context, where they see it as relevant to have a master's degree or any other form of academic preparation.

The third barrier our participants intend to overcome in the search for their ELT glocal identity, is the economic one. They are quite aware that economic capital (Bourdieu 1986) plays a crucial role in helping them achieve their professional objectives. As we mentioned above in the previous section, our population is made up primarily of low-income families. These students struggle to have their basic needs served but nonetheless seem determined to fight their economic disadvantage in order to attain their goal of traveling abroad and obtaining masters' degrees. Some of them had already started to plan their future and were saving money at the time of the data collection; others plan to get a job as soon as they graduate to save money for their studies because they know that if they want to study in Colombia, there are no scholarships offered and unless they work, postgraduate education would be unaffordable (González 2003). If they want to study abroad, they might apply for a scholarship, but they would need money for traveling expenses, food, and housing. Here are some of our participants' voices:

> My expectations to start a graduated program are one of my priorities right now. I would love to be able to do it abroad. So, I will apply for scholarships abroad and I am saving as much money as I can, in order to be able to afford it. Unfortunately, the fees are extremely expensive for international students. (Participant 17, final narrative)

In this participant's sample, once again the interest of pursuing further education is relevant. His/her claims show his/her concern about saving money to pay for his/her education, not saving to buy a house or travel for pleasure but to obtain the possibility of getting more professional preparation. He/she is aware of the expenses but also of the possibilities of applying for a scholarship.

What is interesting from these participants' narratives, is that they do not seem defeated. These student-teachers are taking their professional future in their hands and making provisions to attain it. Each does or will take different paths but they are not accepting the essentialized categories historically imposed by society on them first, low-income populations, and second, Colombian teachers.

5.3   Multiple Ways of Being

This theme refers to the varied realizations of the participants' identity by means of writing and sharing life stories. Life stories led the participants to make sense of academic experiences related to two elements that are the object of language education as a profession: language and teaching. In addition, their stories served the purpose to introspectively determine the role of social actors in becoming transformative social agents.

The theme of language education as a profession was present in all the participants' reflections and led them to take a stand about language and teaching. This theme results from the perception of teaching as both a human and a genuine social practice that inspires the true selves of the participants in this study. As a life experience, teaching is not seen as an abstract entity, but as a central part of the intellectual life in school and is relevant for the participants because it mediates knowledge and helps to form attitudes and values (Quintero 2003).

The view of teaching as a social practice, can be paralleled with a view of language that participants evidenced in this study. Language was viewed as more than a mode of communication or system composed of rules, vocabulary, and meanings. It was also viewed as an active medium of social practice through which people construct, define and struggle over meanings in dialogue with others. Furthermore, because language exists within a large structural context, this practice is positioned and shaped by the ongoing relations that exist between and among subjects (Norton and Toohey 2011). In regard to the above conception of language, Pennycook (2001) maintains that language can be understood as an emergent social act, rather than an external code that we acquire and reproduce: a material part of social and cultural life rather than an abstract entity. Thus, in this study, there is an intention to evolve from viewing language as a mere system of communication (Stern 1987) towards considering it as a form of self-representation that is deeply connected to people's social identities (Miller 2003).

This helps the participants to perceptively and reflectively value their own university experiences as part of their growth, which leads them, as well, to consider themselves as autonomous moral agents living under a variety of real and constantly changing circumstances that can never be exactly repeated. After all, teachers are basically human beings full of emotionality, feelings, and rationality, components of intellectual and human ways of being. This aspect of teaching is illustrated in the following comment:

> My teaching practicum classes have aided me to be more patient with students and get rid of the stress that is always implicit in our profession. Going back to all this experiences, I would say that I'm more sensitive towards students' needs because I always tend to put myself into their shoes and develop activities which involve their daily life and accomplish their particular needs. Taking into consideration my mother's opinion, she told me that I'm more conscious about their understanding of the foreign language instead of only doing my class. Besides, I receive calls in order to clarify a certain topic or even giving them some feedback so she considers that I'm more human because I'm more aware of them and their learning. (Participant 13, final narrative)

This participant's quote is relevant, as it relates to the experiences that lead her as a person to grow in varied dimensions i.e., sensible, sensitive, and empathetic. That happens at the same time as the exchanges in which the participant engages generate relationships, in addition to leading her to achieve goals and fulfill expectations. The teacher-student type of relationship can be determined by (and also determines) the sensitivity and sensibleness of being a language educator. A rational and affective attitude towards students' needs becomes a sign of an empathetic way of being.

The human dimension referred to above has no limits, with regard to the human potential of teachers. Teaching, in other words, can be a whole life project. The role of education cannot be a utilitarian one that serves only extrinsic goals such as those of positivistic pedagogy models based on instrumental ideologies (Giroux 1983). When participant 13 states, "I'm more conscious about their understanding of the foreign language instead of only doing my class," she is detaching herself from pedagogical models that are value-free, objective, neutral, purely empirical, and reduced to predictable results. Conversely, education and pedagogy should be valued intrinsically; educators cannot operate, therefore, as uncritical technicians (Quintero 2013).

In the same line of thought, the story below of participant 9, appears as the resistance to an emphasis on teaching practices that revolve around pre-established and remote objectives of language teaching and learning (Giroux 1983). Such resistance can be supported by Bakhtin (1986) who does not conceive language as an idealized succession of forms that is independent of their speakers or their speaking. Conversely, he sees language as contextualized utterances in which speakers, in dialogic exchange with others, engage in meaning making.

> She also shared her cultural experiences with us too, which motivated us to learn more, be more interested and engaged in the class. I do not remember any other teacher doing that at the university; usually English teachers just taught the contents from a book or copies, but never got close to the real use of the language which is a determining factor for me as a future teacher. (Participant 9, final narrative)

Bakhtin's view of language learning, which includes the use of language in order to participate in particular speech communities, serves the purpose of informing the resistance of participant 9 to rely on the use of textbooks, which is forced by the editorial marketplace, since it is based on structural principles that create an idea of language learning as a gradual individual process of internalizing a number of rules, structures, and vocabulary of a standard language. That was something that needed to be rethought in order to assure a focus on continuity and immediateness of life in and outside schools. This last idea provides sense and genuineness to the teaching and learning experiences (Apple 2006b). Such genuineness is also a determining factor for *self-as-teacher,* as it can also be inferred from the story of participant 9 when she states, "[…] the real use of the language which is a determining factor for me as a future teacher."

Another theme that is in close relation to the one discussed above, is that of becoming transformative social agents. In their life stories, the participants made reference to significant others, such as relatives, teachers, and classmates that played

the role of identity shapers (Díaz Benavides 2013), as models of authority, teaching, and personality. Those three factors also generated either affiliation or resistance towards a model of a teacher. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) assert that society offers alternatives for people to opt for in a specific time and place, "to self-name, to self-characterize, and to claim social spaces and social prerogatives" (p. 19). That explains why individuals are continuously involved in the (re)creation of modes of being and the belonging and creation of new selves. A story that illustrates the theme of becoming transformative social agents is the following:

> The university, as my second home has taught me about life, it has awaken that spirit of rebellion and adventure that allows me to understand many things and realize that we can dream but reality is different. Yet, I must admit that dreaming is amazing. The people I have met in the university are vital in discovering who I am. They share my dream. The dream of being good teachers, help our families, have a real impact in others, discover and experience amazing things, have a different perspectives on the world and live intensely. Therefore, the personal and academic plans and my perspective as a good teacher and constant learner will permit me to achieve my goals that are inherent to the development of education and its importance in the society. Even more, as English teacher I have the possibility to change different contexts, make use of multicultural aspects and the language itself to communicate and understand the world through different experiences allowing students to appropriate that language and become users of it in a real context. (Participant 8, final narrative)

Through this excerpt, participant 8 shows a socio-critical perspective of education elucidated, in a desired educational community that assumes a desired identity. An alternative way of being can be inferred from the statement, "we can dream but reality is different," that participant 8 makes in the sense that she intends to implement new alternatives in educational practices. Such new alternatives, or transformations as Quintero and Piñeros (2006) call them, are the result of a critical attitude about commodity, recipes, and prescriptions, which implies taking personal or professional risks in their schools (Nieto 2003). The participant's hopes for the future are integral to language teacher identity. Such desired communities are named "imagined communities" by Anderson (1991) in order to signify that people can feel a sense of community in imagining themselves related to others across time and space, even if they have not yet met. In the participants' view of the teaching labor and their social commitment, there is a focus on the future, the same as in the idea of imagined community, when people imagine who they might be, and who their communities might be when they advance in their academic formation.

Participant 8, and the other participants in the study, encountered conditions that complied with their expectations in relation to others, as well as the opportunities to fulfill their academic formation goals. This implies an individual sense of self (i.e. memories and self-knowledge) and group communication, both of which involve other people in various contexts. This in turn relates to the dual dimension of language as Pennycook (2001) puts it when referring to it as a vehicle that not only reveals, but also builds the dialogic relationships among social actors in which two dimensions are connected: the individual and the social or collective dimensions.

In their stories, the participants address the possibility of transforming their future teaching practice by considering language not as a goal, but as the means for social construction and transformation. By referring to the contribution they make

to construct a vision of the world, they can be interpreted as willing to become social transformers, rather than passive agents intended to reproduce officially sanctioned patterns and ideas. It can also be said that the exploration of their meaningful experiences within a formative environment, allows them to question dogmatizing language education. That implies that they prepare themselves to make the transition from the heavy emphasis that their teacher education program places on the theory *about* how to teach, how to do research, and how to innovate in the field of language education towards the sensible and practical reality of *being* and *doing* in language teaching, research, and innovation. We think that our participants are willing to "step outside the mold," though it might imply that they find themselves "needing to engage in actions contrary to their beliefs about teaching and learning in order to satisfy one or another set of externally imposed mandates" (Bullough 2008, p. 5), as found by Guerrero and Quintero (2010) in a previous study.

6   Conclusion

Practices of marginalization can take various and subtle ways. In initial teacher education the curriculum, plan of studies and teachers' practices are good examples of this. The participants in our study face marginalization not only within the context of their area of studies but also within the social and economic circumstances in which they are born. Throughout this research we unveiled different shapes and paths in which student-teachers' identities were (re)constructed to overcome imposed marginalizing conditions. As researchers we found this multiplicity to be thought-provoking; it remains to be seen what is left in their struggle between their marginalization and the idealization, once they graduate and deal with the real world.

Appendix 1: Guidelines for Introspective Practice and Written Life Stories

In this introspective practice, you are encouraged to engage in reflection upon your academic experiences before and during the university, as well as make or design a projection for future professional performance. The introspective practice will take the shape of written life stories that have trajectories or sequentially ordered events that provoke insights about your academic experiences and construct a detailed picture of personal factors that may be having an impact on the teaching of languages. Use these questions to guide your practice from beginning to end:

• How does reconstructing my past life experiences allow me to make sense of how my life is situated socially and historically?
• How do my life experiences continue to influence me as a learner and as a teacher?
• What type of language teacher do I want to be?

Independent Work I

1. As a preliminary activity, you need to think of people, institutions, environments, activities, and any other influencing factor about your academic formation before university. Focus your attention on the following questions:

    (a) How does reconstructing my past academic experiences allow me to be aware of how my life is situated socially and historically?
    (b) How do my life experiences continue to influence me as a university student and as a future teacher?

2. With the proposed questions in mind:

    (a) Choose a meaningful past event either in elementary or secondary school.
    (b) Talk with key people or, if possible, visit the school
    (c) Take notes on the meaningful event, people, or place.

3. Using your notes, write a narrative text that accounts for your retrospection i.e., the reconstruction of meaningful past experiences about your academic formation. Write as much as you wish and pay attention to contents, not to form.
4. Keep the narrative text for later use.

Independent Work II

Please consider the following in order to write the continuation of the narrative text you wrote in Independent Work I.

1. Reconstruct and reflect upon meaningful experiences during your university program. Think of only one key event, academic space, professor, or classmate that you may consider relevant for your formation as a future teacher. For this, focus on the following question:

    What kind of language teacher-researcher am I being educated to be?
2. With the above question in mind:

    (a) Choose a meaningful past event.
    (b) Talk with key people at the university
    (c) Take notes on the meaningful event and people.

3. Using your notes, write a narrative text that accounts for your reflection upon your own meaningful experience at the university. Write as much as you wish and pay attention to contents, not to form.
4. Keep the narrative text for later use.

Independent Work III

As the continuation of Independent work I & II

1. Conduct an inquiry on graduate programs and schools that you consider related to your own profile as a future English language teacher. Use the following question for this work.

   What kind of language teacher-researcher do I want to be (after I graduate)?
2. With the above question in mind:

   (a) Inquire about graduate programs of your interest (local, national, international) that fit your personal and academic profile.
   (b) Inquire about schools where you could apply for a job. Prefer a match between the school's philosophy and your personal and academic profile.
   (c) Take notes on each aspect that you may consider relevant.
   (d) Using your notes, write a narrative text about your projection as a future professional of language education. Write as much as you wish and pay attention to contents, not to form.

3. Keep the narrative text for later use.

Pair Work (in Classroom)

Use the narrative texts that resulted from the Independent Work I, II, & III to have a writing conference with a classmate.

1. Share your texts and talk with your classmate about the following questions:

   (a) What meaningful event/person/context in did you decide to focus on for your narrative texts?
   (b) Why does that event/person/context represent a lot of meaning for you?
   (c) How did the meaningful event/person/context shape your own view of your academic formation and your future career as professional of language education?

2. After talking with your classmate, your answers to the questions above may lead you to make some additions to your narrative texts.
3. Incorporate your classmate's feedback into your texts and make the corrections you may feel relevant.
4. Submit the resulting narrative texts to your professor.

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English, Identity and the Privileging and Marginalizing of Transculturality

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Abstract The English language has been promoted as an international language without ideologies, culture, and judgment that can be molded and, therefore, belongs to all. However, there is also the idea of the idealized native speaker, a theoretical concept born from sociology of language that has become naturalized and realized making the concept very problematic. Although education has connected people on not just the local scale but also the global scale, English language programs continue to differentiate between native speakers and non-native speakers. Using an autoethnographic methodological approach and feminist standpoint theory, we, a perceived native speaker and a perceived non-native speaker, examine the ways transculturality in English language teaching is privileged and marginalized based on the instructors' native speaking or non-native speaking status. Therefore, we will explore the ways in which our cultural backgrounds, nationalities, linguistic abilities, academic backgrounds, and gender connect intimately with our professional and personal identities within globalized world Englishes and how we navigate stated and unstated politics. Finally, the perception of race and nationality is explored in connection to accent in the form of speaking ability, teaching, and competency.

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1 Introduction

In this chapter, we, a perceived "native speaker" and a perceived "non-native speaker" use feminist standpoint theory and autoethnographic methodological approach to examine the ways transculturality in English language teaching is privileged and marginalized based on the instructors' assumed native speaking or non-native speaking status and other identity markers. Transculturality does not assume that cultures are homogeneous, static, or united within a nation state border, since the concept of cultures can no longer be conceived, as autonomous spheres as cultures have become hybridized due to migratory processes, technology, and economic interdependencies. It is used to examine the interconnectedness of cultures within English language programs and classrooms (Welsch 1999). Therefore, we will explore the ways in which our cultural backgrounds, nationalities, linguistic abilities, academic backgrounds, and gender connect intimately with our professional and personal identities within globalized world Englishes and how we navigate stated and unstated politics. We examine both students and administration biases when dealing with conflict regarding grading, instruction, and policy and what language choices are made when speaking to a native speaker compared to a non-native speaker. Finally, the perception of race and nationality is explored in connection to accent in the form of speaking ability, teaching, and competency.

2 Theoretical Framing of the ESL Teacher

Although there has been much research attending to identity and ESL (Duff 2002; Miller 2003, Miller 2004; Mohan, Leung, & Davidson, Mohan et al. 2001), there is little research examining the identity of instructors, and even fewer exploring the identity of ethnic and racial minorities instructors outside of the native and non-native frame of discourse (see Motha 2014 for exception). Actually, the voices of this particular group in the field largely continue to be silenced. The division of teachers' experiences occurs at the native and non-native level neutralizing, to some degree, the issues of race and gender. Standpoint theory, a controversial theory that emerged in the 1970s to challenge knowledge production and practices of power and has continued to generate debate within feminist circles, challenges the assumption that feminism is a political movement and, therefore, can obstruct and, to some extent, damage the production of scientific knowledge (Harding 2004). However, standpoint theory was not only a theory, but also a methodology that guided feminist research and expanded conventional thinking in many other fields, making it both explanatory and normative. According to Collins (1989) and Sandoval (2004), standpoint theory provides a way to empower oppressed groups by highlighting and valuing their experiences.

Non-white identified women in higher education, particularly in the area of TESOL, represent a small minority in the United States, and standpoint theory will

allow the point of view from "women's place" where different aspects of the world are assigned values to bring some into the foreground while diminishing others (Harding 2004; Lin et al. 2004; Tuitt et al. 2009). Non-white identified women's experiences contain a multiplicity of surfaces with properties and relations generated by social organizations; structures that underlie the direct experienced world, highlighting differences in human experiences. Men and white women appear in the world as necessary and vital to the development of societies, while non-white identified women are reduced to being invisible in their struggles and triumphs. By using standpoint theory, non-white identified women are positioned as complete people with knowledge of the world that provides the modes in which they enter into relationships with others and themselves. Therefore, addressing the problem of the conditions, the forms and organizations of first-hand experience when events actually occur in the material world, should be considered a matter of fact because events that enter human experience originate somewhere in human intentions, relations, and activities, even those that do not seem apparent.

In today's globalized world, the blurring and crossing of national and cultural boundaries through location, relocation, and dislocation has become more common, and national culture has become different from other situations and periods. Governments and individuals are crossing cultural and national boundaries and passing cultural materials from one society to another at both the local and global levels. People in many disciplines have used terms like "transculturation," "acculturation," and "neo-culturation" to describe the influence of one culture onto another. According to Taylor (1991), transculturation includes the shifting of sociopolitical borders such as policy borrowing, the modifying of collective and individual identities, and the changing of verbal and symbolic discursive practices.

Borrowing from scholars in different disciplines, Wolfgang Welsch introduces the theory of transculturality to bring the changing dynamic of the public more closely to the personal. He defines transculturality as "a consequence of the inner differentiation and complexity of modern cultures. These encompass … a number of ways of life and cultures, which also interpenetrate or emerge from one another" (Welsch 1999, p. 4). This clearly shows the complexities of identities in a globalized world with the culture's internal design, challenging the long held essentialist modes of identity construction that is "authentic" and always stable.

3   Autoethnography and Representation

Transcultural connections join the local and the global to address the realities of the individual and the collective, obscuring cultural boundaries. The process of autoethnography challenges the ways in which identities and cultures are discussed in academia. Unlike autobiography, memoir, and, as some would mention, narcissism, autoethnography allows individuals to make sense of the world in which he/she lives in, by giving voice to one's life in a manner that does not seem to be articulated in academic writings. Non-white people have been trained to accept their lack of

voice in western academia. To understand cultural experiences, the approach of autoethnography seeks to systematically analyze the personal experience, challenging the traditional approach to research and the representation of others and treating research as a socially conscious, political, and social act (Adams and Holman Jones 2008; Ellis 2004; Holman Jones 2005; Spry 2001). To do and write autoethnography, researchers use dogmas of autobiography and ethnography because, methodologically, it is both process and product.

When doing autoethnography, researchers selectively write and analyze teaching instances that originate from being part of a culture or multiple cultures, through the possession of particular identities. Autoethnography examines experiences analytically with a set of theoretical and methodological tools that use research literature to frame those experiences. Furthermore, personal experiences must be used to highlight different cultural experiences by contrasting and comparing the personal with the existing research (Ronai 1995, 1996). Therefore, these experiences must be meaningful and the cultural experience must also be engaging while being accessible, in order to reach a broader audience than traditional research.

Autoethnography as a methodology, was the optimal choice to analyze the experiences of two university level English language teachers who are immersed into various cultures and discourses about English and language learning and practice, within a university level English program where the body and language are read and heavily judged on several levels. Tierney (1998) asserts that, "autoethnography confronts dominant forms of representation and power in an attempt to reclaim, through self-reflective response, representational spaces that have marginalized those of us at the borders" (p. 66). We, the authors, try to produce accounts of the complexities of identity within a field that has tried to neutralize and universalize the teacher's body, by portraying the tensions we have experienced as instructors in English programs at different universities. The instances examine how new non-white teachers in the area of TESOL come to discover their identities and location within this subculture.

4   Reading the Body as "Other"

Language is generally taken for granted, since many do not deeply understand how it works to produce and (re)write within the material and ideological legacies of colonialism and imperialism. In the domain of language, vestiges of theoretical and political discourse emerge as part of an attempt to employ meaning as "a form of social memory, social institutions as powerful carriers, and legitimators of meaning, and social practices as sites in which meaning is re-invented in the body, desire, and in the relations between the self and others" (Giroux 1992, p. 19). The complexities of language become centralized both in the production of social identities through meaning and as in an integral condition for individual agency because language inscribes human beings and gives form to the different modes of address that is vital to their sense of the ethical, social, economic and political. Therefore, recent

literature has been acknowledging the importance of teacher identity in ESL (Amin 1997; De Costa and Norton 2017; Morgan 2004; Santoro 1997; Tang 1997; Varghese et al. 2005; Varghese et al. 2016; Vásquez 2011). In the teaching profession, teachers usually undergo a shifting in identity as they become more immersed in the school and in their particular program.

As non-white identified women in the U.S. American[1] context, we have been in the field of TESOL for a combination of more than 10 years, both in East Asia and in the U.S. Therefore, we will write about our personal experiences within the field of TESOL from the perspective of non-white identified women navigating the TESOL industry, where our bodies are constantly being positioned and repositioned depending on economic climate and the origin of the students with the most economic influence.

5 Haiying's Identity

5.1 *Positionality of Two Women of Color*

Before my doctoral study in the U.S., I had my own perception of my ESL qualification and self-identity as an English instructor at a top language institution in Beijing, China for five and half years. I had a conversation with the department head when I went in, to formally notify him of my resignation, and he said, "You are one of our best, most responsible and rigorous teachers. I don't know if you have to get a Ph.D. to be a great teacher, but I trust that you will graduate with honors and more knowledge about something you are already doing great in. Come back to us with your doctorate in four years." The head of the department assessed my expertise based on my language and teaching skills and ability to understand and guide students during their study. My identity was just an English teacher, because ethnicity and nationality was neutralized as a citizen who belonged to a nation that perceives itself as homogeneous with almost non-existing diversity. For me, my body was invisible, as it blends with everyone else's bodies within the context of China. Therefore, I was not a "Chinese English teacher" but just an "English teacher."

A Han, dominant ethnic group, Chinese woman born and raised in China, I have been teaching ESL courses part-time in a college preparatory program in the U.S. for 2 years. I used to think that I was a more than qualified EFL/ESL teacher, but after I started in this program, part-time and no longer "sheltered" by a nurturing and supporting mentor/director as the transcultural "the international student", I had to reposition myself as a teacher while struggling with perceived identities imposed on me from various parties: administrators, supervisors, and students. It is always a

[1]Culture and people from the United States of America is referred to as U.S. American because North and South America is called the Americas. Therefore, people from these continents, regardless of country, at times, refer to themselves as American even though the de facto identity and culture is generally associated with the United States of America.

debate on what our identity is, who we are and what our relationship is to others. While some researchers agree that identity should be who we define ourselves to be to us as well as to others (Lasky 2005; Norton and Tang 1997), Beauchamp and Thomas (2009) point out the factual dilemma that a teacher cannot escape from identities imposed on them due to social and cultural reasons, making the body of the teacher fluid moving in between identities while working at the intersections.

As someone who began teaching ESL in a program at a job training facility during college, I saw English as a necessary tool for the immigrant students to survive and thrive in their new environment. I can recall when I first approached the program director, and she said, "We are not hiring any new staff," even though I saw an ad in the paper from the company seeking new tutors. At the time, my 18 year-old self just decided to volunteer, overlooking the subtle rejection by the director who hired someone who fit the "idealized English speaker", a few weeks after I began volunteering. After college, I moved to Japan for a position as a cultural trainer and also volunteered as an English teacher at a community center during the weekends, and it was there I came to understand the concept of the "ideal speaker" better. Although I was well trained and experienced, many parents did not feel completely comfortable with me teaching their children. At first, I did not understand, but then I heard the whispers about my skin color and its connection to my English ability and country of origin. Parents claimed they wanted a native speaker from America or Great Britain to give their children an advantage since these accents were more preferred. It was in the East Asian environment, where I became conscious of race, nationality, and linguistic ability and the perceived connection of genetics and biology to language.

However, these connections became more blatant during my graduate education in the U.S. While the connection was more subtle in Japan, it was more direct in the U.S. I am not sure if that had to do with the fact that I understood many of the mores, unspoken cultural cues, in the U.S., as opposed to Japan. I quickly came to understand why the director observed me two times and had two other senior teachers observe me unlike my white peers. As a new graduate student unfamiliar with the politics of graduate school, I was watching the process of rationalized racism and white supremacy like a death row prisoner waiting to be executed. During an observation, I was teaching the differences between infinitives and prepositions with 'to'. In the beginning of the lesson, I was trying to elicit information from the students, and before I could even begin to teach the students the differences, the director interrupted and said, "This is not correct" and taught the grammar point herself while never giving me the opportunity to teach it. After this incident, the students refused to have me as an instructor, and I was quickly replaced by a white male teacher, because my grammar was "questionable". Her action reinforced what my skin represented to the students, the product of hundreds of years of socialization in which brownness and blackness represented poverty, low intelligence, low IQ, violence, hypersexuality, and more, yet never being a teacher, instructor, mentor, or scholar. Again, there was a definite preference for a white European looking body and how that was automatically associated with a higher level ability in English. After receiving a graduate degree with a focus in language learner, it was very

difficult to obtain a position at university programs once the interviewers saw me. Nonetheless, I did understand people's reluctance to hire me, especially with the high level of competition for students in the growing industry. I understood these were companies, although educational companies, which were selling a product to its customers who have certain expectations. Therefore, I quickly learned to request interviews over the phone so that I would be solely judged on my speaking ability and my appearance on paper.

Before entering the field of TESOL, I always saw language as a learned subject, not as an ability by only a specific group of people, since anyone has the ability to learn, to some extent, any language. While some can learn a language with ease and reach native level ability, others may struggle with the process and never fully reach "native level", regardless of the amount of time spent on studying the language. Nevertheless, I understood that everyone has the ability to learn any language. However, in ESL, I often have to navigate my position because my body does not represent English, since the English language has always been heavily embedded within the sociopolitics of societies, and because it is a tool that has been used to oppress, suppress, deny, and control, especially those with brown, red, and yellow bodies. When colleagues tell me that English is culturally neutral, I always question whether or not I should remain silent, since my body does not really belong within the space of ESL in the U.S. where the "real" native speakers live and are easily accessible.

English has been used as a tool for both the British and American empires, whose cultures are deeply embedded into the language, and the way the language was used as an oppressive tool with embedded cultural meaning in all of the British and, later, American colonies. Therefore, the English language cannot be culturally neutralized, as many in the field of teaching English to speakers of other languages have been saying for many years in both theory and practice, because the questioning of certain bodies and nationalities remain even in the age of transnationalism and transcultural identities. It is through the complexities of English and TESOL that many ESL teachers navigate to find their positionalities within an ever-changing industry.

5.2   Voiced and Voiceless

As one of two Asian women in my program, I will always recall when a full-time professor invited me to a meeting with him to "co-design" an advanced reading and writing course. He was a white middle-aged American male professor who was popular with our young female students. On my way to his office, another senior full-time faculty member joked, "Oh, you will be teaching a level 3 course, a legendary one: We never know where these students go after they finish their one semester. They simply disappear. Oh it's just a joke." I did not understand this joke, however, since it was an inside joke, and I was an outsider. When I sat down with the professor, he passed me a textbook and a draft syllabus and said, "We will need

to make the course very rigorous because these students came in with high TOEFL scores, and they only have to take one semester before they finish the program. Our goal is to make them produce publishable grade work." I did not understand why students at a college preparatory program would need to produce such high level of work when "native speakers" at the graduate level do not develop such level of work until the middle or end of their doctoral study. As a result, I asked him, "Don't we already know that TOEFL scores are often not true reflections of our students' language skills, but more of their test-taking skills? They may also have no idea what requirements are like for academic writing in this culture." Instead of taking my concern into consideration, he said, "This is the Level 3, the highest level, class in the program. They [the students] are supposed to get ready as fast as they can for the high standards." I kept thinking about my experience as a doctoral student in the U.S. college education system as "the international student" that was heavily sheltered from sociopolitics and its consequences on my identity, as one of hundreds of Chinese students in the university. In the meeting, I continued to question this expectation and stated, "Some requirements may not be realistic. For example, last semester you said a student shouldn't get an A for the listening and speaking class if he or she makes one single mistake in pronunciation or stress." No students could receive an A in my classes according to that standard, but some of them did great presentations. However, what I did not say was that I would have never received an A myself.

The full-time faculty in the program seems to want to show, indirectly, that the curriculum is teacher proof and, therefore, disregarded feedback from part-time faculty members. According to Apple (2013) and Giroux (1988), teachers are now being placed in the role of the technicians who manage classrooms and implement structured curriculums that do not adjust to the actual levels of the students. Teachers are required to use programmed texts and adhere to test preparation (TOEFL) teaching while trying to balance missing or incomplete a priori knowledge and learning of "American" classroom culture. Curriculum in some TESOL programs are de-professionalizing the nature and role of "instructor", especially relating to "NNESTs". The knowledge base, repertoire of expertise, skills, knowledge, and understanding of such instructors, obtained through various modes in the process of becoming a professional with a graduate degree, can be a tool that many English programs can fully utilize to improve not only the curriculum but also the program culture. Non-native language teachers possess content knowledge, pedagogical knowledge, theories of teaching, teaching skills, communication skills, contextual knowledge, language proficiency, and language learner experience (Day 1993; Freeman and Johnson 1998; Richards 1998). Although "NNESTs" bring a wealth of formal and informal knowledge because of their experience of going through the process of learning English and, at times, share the students' first language, they have to deal with discourse about education practices, discrimination, and the negotiation of identities and pedagogies based on the new non-native identities within the field of TESOL (Amin, 2000).

Throughout American history, ethnic and racial minority women have been continuously represented in the role of caretakers, whether in the role of housekeeper,

nanny, or more recently, in nursing. The Orient, Africa, Near East, and later the Far East, became a figurative story of gender relations in the story of colonization with the feminization of the Orient as foreign, deviant, and inferior and in need of domination, definition, and guidance. According to Said (1979), the Orient was created in the imagination of the western mind based on western experience from a very ethnocentric perspective and European colonialist experience of the Middle East and Africa. Today, "the Orient" is based on the American experience of the Far East evoking exotic surroundings, culture, artifacts, and racialized bodies and experiences. "Oriental" has not only objectified the culture and location but also the race and gender, particularly the idea of the "Oriental woman", who is seen as caring and a woman of selfless servitude, such as the tiger mom and the submissive wife, from a western perspective within a western context.

As a result of this "Oriental woman," I was not too surprised when he said, "Haiying, think of yourself as a mother. You care about your students like your own kids. You want them to be ready for the real world after they get out of this program. Nobody else cares about them but you." Although I was bothered by the mother duty speech since we are at a university and he probably would not have made a similar comment to a female colleague who embodied whiteness and English, I ignored the comment, since I was not sure how to address the situation because of the sociopolitics surrounding the "model minority" and my position within the discourse. I started to wonder about the pass rate of our program, especially the pass rate of the Level 3 students, the highest level students. I picked up the textbook and flipped through it. I was unsure and told him, "The readings in this book are almost all magazine articles and they mainly focus on issues in Canada. Also, they seem unrelated to our writing assignments." I made my concerns about the disconnect between the requirements and the material known very clear. Rather than allowing me to elaborate on the point, he said, "Depends on how you look at it. Aren't these good topics for students to write about? They can be a good starting point for the assignments." I tried to rearticulate myself and said, "My concern is that they don't contain examples of the assignments – four different genres: synthesis paper, annotated bibliography, encyclopedia entry, and issue paper. They are all new to our students." At this point, I felt like my voice was not being heard because he said, "Those examples shouldn't be hard to find, right?"

The role of teachers in curriculum, particularly in its reform, has been an ongoing issue and an interest of researchers (Kirk 1990). Kirk and MacDonald (2001) ask about what support is required for teachers to participate in curriculum change and how teachers can continue to sustain good practice, once that change has been implemented. In order to be inclusive, many ESL programs in higher education have taken to the notion of partnership, which encourages a partnership of top-down and bottom-up strategies, in order to create a bridge linking all of the stakeholders with an interest in improving education reform (Kirk and MacDonald 2001). However, what is not usually highlighted when discussing ESL curriculum, is the issue surrounding whiteness in both the curriculum and the committees that are formed to insure those reforms. Although I am thinking about my personal experience as a Chinese international student, and my experience in a graduate program

while highlighting these concerns about the curriculum, I am very much aware of potential cultural clashes among full-time faculty, and between full-time faculty and part-time faculty.

Petrie (1995) highlights the importance of understanding power dynamics, which is inevitable, during any collaborative process. Therefore, I moved on and said, "Oh, about the grammar component, I went through the list of textbooks you sent and really liked *Focus on Grammar Level 5*. It should be a great supplemental material for our writing practice as well. Shall we order it for the class?", and he replied, "It's not necessary. There are lots of other grammar books in our program library. When you have time, you can go check them out." When I left that "collaborative meeting", I walked out of the meeting room, feeling like I said a lot, but in a weak voice. My voice was slowly silenced when I explained my concerns and possible ways to improve the curriculum. Education institutions appear to use different methods to marginalize teachers' voices when in conversation with them which eventually leads to teachers believing that their voices will not be heard even though "dialogue" is heavily encouraged by the institutions. This meeting made me understand the complexities of my identity in the context of ESL in higher education in the U.S. because the silencing and marginalization of my voice are entangled with my othering in the ESL academic English space, in the form of cultural, national, linguistic, and academic identities, which many "NNESTs" embody as foreign born, ESL speakers with experiences in more than one national academic system.

5.3   The Non-native Teacher Identity

If one takes a look into TESOL as a global industry, it is easy to see that the majority of the trained ESL/EFL teachers in the world are "NNESTs." This representation of the number of NNESTs challenges not only English language program administrators who are always searching for qualified NESTs, but also students who believe that NESTs are "better" because they are native speakers of the language (Amin 1997). Consequently, these preconceptions have caused many well-trained NNESTs to be less likely to have stable employment in the industry. Although many TESOL professional organizations have been created to provide equal opportunities to NNESTs, non-white NESTs, and white NESTs, it still remains difficult for NNESTs and non-white NEST teachers to find teaching positions, especially in ESL settings and programs (e.g., Mahboob, Uhrig, Newman, & Hartford, Mahboob et al. 2004). Although some in the field might interpret the use of "NNESTs," "non-white NESTs," and "white NESTs" as essentializing, the concept of the native speaker, which reiterate these labels, has been given great significance in TESOL because linguists and sociolinguists, such as Fishman (1991) and Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1986), have been exponents of nativity, language, and identity ideology, appearing prominently in their work on language maintenance and language rights. Although the term is purely theoretical, it has been given so much credence by people in the language learning community that the concept has become a reality.

Myhill (2003) highlights the problems with the concept of the native speaker since it is a social construct and not just an empirical fact. Moreover, the idealized native speaker comes with a certain skin color and "good" language ability, which has become a reality due to history, creating overt and covert social and political meaning. These differences can be explained, not by inherent biological "natural" characteristics that are shared by group members, but by how certain characteristics and bodies have been positioned within discursive practices and research in the area. To say NNESTs, non-white NESTs, and white NESTs have been essentialized is to say the concepts like men, women, black people, white people, Asian people, etc., have been essentialized too within academic fields, since these categories have both overt and covert social and political meaning, turning them into everyday common sense understandings.

Since NNESTs, non-white NESTs, and white NESTs have been "naturalized" and "stabilized" within research and discourse, thereby, creating the reality of these identities, people in the industry have become more aware of the discriminatory practices based on native and non-native status, race, ethnicity, and nationality, and have been trying to deconstruct and challenge these identities within globalization and transcultural identities. In 1992, for instance, TESOL International Association, the largest professional organization for English language teachers from around the globe, published a statement condemning discriminatory practices against highly qualified individuals solely based on non-native status, race, ethnicity, and nationality.

In education in the U.S., course evaluation has become common practice in many educational institutions, especially in TESOL programs. However, evaluations are used as a benchmark for continued employment in many ESL institutions and programs. As a new instructor in my program, the evaluation process was not new, but it was different. I was also surprised and disappointed to read more than one international student's comments on my abilities, specifically my speaking ability. Many students wrote "this professor has poor English speaking skills", "this professor has an accent" or "this professor knows nothing about American teaching style". Reading these comments made me painfully realize the long-ignored issue of my teacher identity, be it a fact or controversy. I am almost always seen as a non-native English speaking teacher that is associated with negative connotations and unequal power, not seen as the person who I think I am, a senior English teacher who understands most students' needs and knows how to help them to achieve their language goals.

I also recognized that some students appreciate these facts when a Thai student expressed her appreciation for having a female Asian professor: "Haiying, I am really glad that you understand my difficulty and what I am trying to say. American professors just tell me that my English is wrong, and I feel sometimes they cannot help me because they do not understand what I have in mind. They just think that I should work harder." Despite the unspoken belief that NESTs are better language models, many ESL/EFL students, nevertheless, appreciate the fact that I am a living example of what they can achieve through perseverance. Another female student

told me after our first class in the beginning of the semester: "Professor, I want to be like you after my study in the US."

Nevertheless, even after I had braced myself for unpleasant comments since becoming aware of the demands for the Advanced Reading and Writing course and the unpreparedness of the students, I was still made speechless by one comment in the course evaluations. This one particular comment said, "She (the professor) knows nothing about American teaching style. She enslaves students' thinking. She says there is only one correct answer for a quiz question. When students complain the quiz is too difficult, she says she didn't write the quiz. She makes students all write in the same way and does not allow freedom of thinking." Reading this comment made me realize the way ideology, particularly language and teaching methodology and practice, works within education. Ideology has always been a powerful tool to legitimize the power of a social group. The most widely accepted definition of ideology is written by John B. Thompson who wrote that ideology, "is to study the ways in which meaning (or signification) serves to sustain relations of domination" (as cited in Eagleton 1991, p. 5). Norton (2000) ascertains that students' identities are also being constructed through discourses and practices influenced by ideology of East and West and native speakers and non-native speakers inside and outside the classroom, and they are constantly negotiating their identities since language education, particularly English, is deeply embedded in discourses of power because identity is "frequently inequitable, social structures which are reproduced in day-to-day social interaction" (p. 5). I believe I knew the identity of the evaluator based on the comment because of our interactions. I believe it was a Chinese female student who chuckled instead of speaking during group discussions. Her papers were often composed of chunks of paraphrases from Wikipedia. I tried to talk to her once about her paper to advise her to take a unique, catching focal point to make the paper more interesting and engaging to read rather than an overview, which was thorough. She stared at me over her glasses and said, "I think this (paper) is very interesting." Power is a tool that is at a disposal to use in the classroom to facilitate course objectives. Although power is discussed in education literature as one-sided coming from the teacher, students can also choose to take power from the teacher (Sprague 1990). ESL students feel more comfortable challenging NNESTs because of their non-native status, especially female NNEST teachers, as found by Amin (1997) in her study on immigrant ESL teachers.

Another instance of students challenging the power dynamic, occurred when students would take vocabulary and reading quizzes after we finished each chapter of the textbook as specified in the standardized syllabus. When I was analyzing choices for the vocabulary question, the same female student spoke up and said, "Why is the other word XXX wrong? It makes sense to me." Even though I had already explained the differences among the word choices and why the correct answer best fits, I asked rhetorically: "You have to choose the best answer, right?" She immediately replied, "To me that is the best answer." I reposition myself in the relationship of power that is played out in many classrooms with great implications. Discourses constructing NNESTs as "less competent and knowledgeable" of the language, were playing out in the classroom. Therefore, I said, "That is not good

enough. Every student may think that they got the best answer." When another student joined the conversation and said, "Professor, don't you think the quiz is too difficult for us?" Instead of using the traditional western "discourse of cordial relations" of entertainment and establishing good rapport with the students (Giroux 1988, p. 94), I was very direct and said, "I actually disagree. We went over all the words last week before you saw them on the quiz. Besides, this is a standard quiz provided by Pearson the publisher. I didn't write it and every class at Level 3 using the same textbook would have the same quiz." I chose to avoid the positive strategies of what Sprague (1992) refers to as manipulation, which is typical in many western classrooms, to reposition myself within the teacher/student power dynamic in order to fulfill the learning goals.

The belief of NESTs as the ideal English teachers has been very harmful for not only the growth and development of the profession, but also for the classroom dynamic because the *native speaker fallacy* (Phillipson 1992) has shifted the objective from a teacher's professional knowledge to the teacher's language "ability", thus allowing a power struggle to ensue in the classroom. The last encounter with the student was really unexpected. I made it clear that the final essay would have to include a thesis statement in the introduction and the abovementioned female student did not follow the instruction. During the one-on-one conference discussion, she said, "You can find my thesis statement in the conclusion," and I replied, "Wouldn't it be more helpful to let your readers know earlier what problem and solutions you are presenting?" Challenging the conventional way of writing papers, she said, "Why do I have to do this?" I thought to myself, come on, not again. I explained that most academic papers (U.S. American writing) do so to save readers some time, so that readers can decide if they want to read on at the very beginning. To my surprise she was prepared to disprove me. She quickly clicked open an article on her computer screen and turned it toward me and said, "This is an article I found on a journal. They don't have a thesis statement in the introduction. And I can show you another one, too." I was not prepared for this to happen. This incident showed me that not only are teachers negotiating their identities within the classroom, but so are students.

6 Tamara's Identity

6.1 Native But Not Really

The *native speaker fallacy* promotes the idea of the superior native speaking English teacher since the native speaker has the authority on the language and is able to make sound grammatical judgments. The very label, "native speaker," is very problematic, because language in all its complexities is central not only in the production of both meaning and social identities but also in the integral part of human agency. It is important to understand how the English language is rewritten and reproduced

within the legacies of colonialism and imperialism. Language allows meaning to be engaged as a form of social memory with social institutions as the legitimators of meaning while social practices provide the space where meaning is reinvented in the body in relations between the self and others (Giroux 1992).

As a multiracial and multicultural immigrant who strongly identifies as a black American, a social political identity, I have been mistaken for a native English speaker on many occasions because I do not have any discernable accent and do not have any markers that position me as a perpetual immigrant, like most Asian Americans are positioned with the U.S. American context, but a person with a history of oppression. My body allows me to pass, "a deception that enables a person to adopt certain roles or identities from which he would be barred by prevailing social standards in the absence of his misleading conduct," as a native speaker (Kennedy 2001, p. 1145). The concept of passing is part of popular discourse with race and identity in which a person of color, specifically of African descent, possesses the physical appearance, physiognomy of a white person, enabling him or her to present himself or herself as white; however, the individual's black lineage makes him or her black according to hypodescent laws that were enacted in the U.S. in the 1660s to prevent interracial unions (Khanna 2010). In the case of language and English, I am able to pass as a native speaker because of my brown skin, inherited from my Syrian grandparent and Lebanese descendant father, and Asian features, low and button shaped nose, high cheekbones, soft shaped face, from my grandfather, that many associate with "Africa" and "Africanness". The one-drop rule with its roots in slavery and Jim Crow has condensed all multiethnic and multiracial people to the minority parent, and everyone, including multiracial people have come to accept this status quo in the U.S.

Due to American history, I am firmly able to position myself confidently in the role of the native speaker. Initially, I saw passing as a transgressive practice, where I was challenging and destabilizing the idea of the "native speaker" as the subject who passes. My passing allowed me to have authority over English with colleagues and students. I was surprised when a student said, "you are able to do that [pronunciation exercises] easily because English is your first language. These silly exercises will never allow us to develop our pronunciation." I asked the student, "Why do you think I only speak English?", and he replied. "You look and sound like an American, a black one". This was the moment when I realized how many times my body has allowed me to easily pass as a native speaker. I felt conflicted about this duplicity in my relationship with these students. They knew I identified as a Black American, but they did not know the sociopolitical implications of that identity in the U.S. Should I expose my duplicity to create a stronger bond or will my 'native speaker' status be ripped away if I do share that English is my fourth language?

I was not only an authority on English but also American culture, particularly those dealing with brown bodies. My understanding of blackness and black female identity was never questioned even though I understood American culture as an outsider looking in like many of the students and non-native colleagues, positioning

myself outside the perpetually black and white dichotomic discourse on race that erases those who do not fit either or provide an "honorary" label to shift discussion or to excuse systemic racism and discriminatory practices. In class, students were discussing the glass ceiling and the bamboo ceiling in U.S. American corporate culture, I said, "Students remember to be critical in your approach and use the readings." A Chinese international student, who came to the program after graduating from a boarding school in the U.S., said, "This information is reverse racism because now racism is against white people, so I am not sure if this information [the readings] is providing all the correct information." This comment made me realize the power of ideology and the need many newcomers have to become integrated into the dominant [white] culture while silently challenging and even rejecting what appear to prevent the individual from being integrated.

I, too, at times, feel the lack of belonging since I am more than my skin color as a Assyrian [Mizrahim] Jew with my own history, oppression, pain, and legacy firmly rooted in many countries outside of the U.S., and its ways of examining race from a very simplistic position with a strong hold on transatlantic slavery as its defining moment without much thought to other groups and their own continued oppression. Moreover, the discourse does not fully address the rapid movement of people and shifting identities outside the black and white dichotomy. According to Gerstle (1999), Theodore Roosevelt celebrated the idea of hybridity and the American melting pot to build a superior nation; however, he did acknowledge that some boundary crossing could be damaging to the superior character of the U.S. as a nation and explained the reason to exclude non-white people from this great American melting pot which consisted of European ethnic groups and nationalities. Appiah (1996) writes that race is understood based on how a person is culturally situated, and explains that speakers of English learn the rules of race based on shared beliefs that are embedded within the English language that emphasizes skin color and facial features which are inherited from one's parents. However, if a person does not understand these beliefs, he or she will not understand the English word 'race' from that perspective, but rather from their own.

Although my brown skin allowed me to benefit linguistically and my body allowed me to be read as the possessor of a counter-narrative when colleagues reach out to me on matters dealing with racism and discrimination in the American context, or my students ask me about Africa as if the continent was one nation with one group of people and not a continent with 54 countries and hundreds of tribes, it also positions me as white noise, or signals at different frequencies, that silences the ways I am "produced as subjects in historically and culturally specific ways by the societies in which … [I] live and act as agents" (Weedon 1999, p. 192). Discourse surrounding the race of teachers in TESOL remains at a theoretical and research level even though students have shown a preference for white teachers over non-white teachers. Ng (1991) and Bannerji (1992) highlight that minority teachers have to invest a lot of extra time and energy into establishing themselves as an authentic teacher in both the eyes of students, colleagues, and administration.

6.2   Racialized Identity and Competence

Whenever I walk into an ESL classroom, I always prepare myself for the students' reaction to having a non-white teacher. Curtis and Romney (2006) highlight the way the non-white body is read by students. When students in Curtis' Hong Kong classroom saw the course was going to be taught by a Ph.D. holder, they assumed they were in the incorrect classroom when they saw that it was a black male professor who was going to instruct the course. Curtis writes that even though first impressions may be misleading at time; nonetheless, they do count. Alexander also concurs how he is always aware of his black body that is historically tied in tensions of difference against a white body, struggling for power and also preventing erasure in the academic space (Alexander and Warren 2002). In TESOL, the concern should not only be about representation, but also the policies of diversity and inclusion of colorized and racialized bodies in the ESL academic spaces.

As a first time instructor of an advanced reading course for graduate students, I inquired into the possibility of reading a novel. I contacted the designer of the course and suggested this. I received a brief email that stated that I could do this but "it should be informative and not fictional". As a critical scholar, I inquired into the concept of fiction since many writings can be placed into "fiction" from accounts of the colonies by colonialists to ethnographies, because fiction is fantasy that is embedded in reality, yet very informative. Rather than explain the terminology, she wrote, "I do not share your belief." The question was not whether or not we shared academic beliefs or agreement but rather a question of definition. What made me question the way I have been positioned and how I am being read, was when the developer of the course wrote, "The course syllabus is very detailed. I cannot quite grasp what is not clear. I am concerned that you may have a difficult time understanding the objectives and assignments of the course." After asking for her definition of fiction again, she wrote, "There is not much in your educational experiences that tells me about your understanding of second language acquisition issues." I did not really know what to think of this comment since we were both teaching at a university in an ESL program where both of us possess graduate degrees specializing in language acquisition and second language learning. Why would she assume that I lack the credentials or the ability to make book suggestions to students who may have never read an entire novel? This was the point I realized that I had been framed and created in connection to social roles and cultural structure of the division of power within the organization.

Although TESOL has become a global enterprise with NNESTs and people who are seen as racially and culturally distinct representing the majority of instructors, the concept of race and racialization through language remains very neutral and, in some places, even invisible, or marginalized. TESOL curriculum and scholarship have begun to address social identities of teachers in second language teaching to explore critical issues in gender, sexual orientation, and social class. However, race, according to Kubota and Lin (2006), is interpreted as overt forms of discrimination rather than the structural systems in place with institutions upholding social equities

in different forms and "explores the relationship between these constructs and sociocultural and political processes, including identity formation, knowledge construction, nationalism, national and local policies on education and immigration, and so on" (p. 457). Covert, subtle, "subversive, and deliberate informal and formal mechanisms that allow differential access to rewards, prestige, sanctions, status, and privileges based on racial hierarchies," racism is never addressed in the field (Coates, 2008, p. 211).

I have had experiences with administration and colleagues in which my competence is continuously challenged based on differing opinions on curriculum. I remember an exchange with the director of an ESL program affiliated with a British company. The director of the program said, "You should play games in your class to get the students more interested in American studies. Teachers used to utilize games in my previous university [which I had attended] even in the business class." I knew the information she provided was not correct since I knew people who taught at the university and also took classes there. The association of games in ESL classrooms is more for new learners in ESL programs, not academic ESL programs. I said, "I thought this program is supposed to represent students' freshman year." She said, "Well the students have been complaining about how difficult the course has been, so you should try making the course more interesting with games. I can help you develop your teaching skills." At this point, I was thinking, would she have volunteered her services if I were a NEST white teacher or would the students be complaining about the difficulty of the coursework at all?

7 Conclusion

Colonial ideologies have legitimated the idealized English speaker as the individual who validates and has authority on ELT pedagogy. Eurocentric theories have reinforced the idea that native speakers come from predominantly white western English speaking countries and have more possession of the language than people in non-western countries, creating a native and non-native binary (Amin and Kubota 2004). The intersectionality of gender, race, language, academic background, and nationality, which are often treated as vestiges of bias or domination, has been marginalized in TESOL scholarship. Some critics may say that identity politics fail to transcend differences and often times ignores or conflates intragroup differences. In the context of TESOL, NNESTs and non-white instructors are often shaped by the various dimensions of their identities. Although TESOL accentuates students' cultural differences, educators and administrators who are teaching and working in a field that rely on the movement of people and transnationalism must be aware of the growing importance of cultural sensitivity and understanding not only within the student population but also within the administrative and teaching staff. A deeper understanding of the experiences of NNESTs and non-white teachers should be made aware to avoid negative assumptions and expectations based on their location and their bodies.

Silverstein (1979) writes that language ideologies are "any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (p. 193). Some of these beliefs may include ideas about the status of a specific language and its speaker and who should teach the language to new learners. Due to the construction of language ideologies from the sociopolitical position of the individual, language ideologies vary in cultures and in individuals, but according to a study by Amin (1997), students construct non-white speakers as NNESTs and less able to teach English compared to their white NESTs. Non-white instructors are less able to negotiate their identities and the politics of the body to provide students with the "ideal".

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"What Should I Call Myself? Does It Matter?" Questioning the "Labeling" Practice in ELT Profession

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Abstract This autoethnographic writing explores the changing phases of the author's (re)construction of selves within the English Language Teaching (ELT) profession and industry (along with its labeling games). The paper discusses phases of identity (re)construction in relation to the labeling practice in ELT industry, particularly the "native" and "non-native" labels, and how the author was engaged in dialogue, and struggled in the process of (re)learning her professional realities and identities. In this paper, she presents several reflective accounts of interacting with and responding to labels that she came across, and/or were attached to her, in her teaching work and life in three different contexts (Indonesia, Australia, and Thailand). The accounts discuss her ways of coping and living with competing TESOL pedagogies, ideologies and realities. This process of (re)learning her professional realities, brought her to new understanding and the re-inventing of her professional self, as she struggles to move beyond the confinement of labels in the ELT industry.

1 Introduction

In this chapter, I explore four critical incidents in my professional learning journey that lead me to my current understanding of "native-speakerism." Through autoethnography, I was involved in a reflexive dialogue with the idealization of native-speakerism, from the first time it was introduced to me via dialogue I had with several teachers. I start the chapter with a rationale for using autoethnography in approaching the four critical incidents related to my earliest encounters with the native-speakerism ideology, my rejecting and struggling with the ideology, and the process I endured, involving making meaning of the realities of living with this ideology. In this autoethnographic writing, I adopt a poststructuralist view of

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language and identity in which language is defined as discourse (Norton 2010). It takes the position that "linguistic communities are heterogeneous arenas characterized by conflicting claims to truth and power" (Norton 2010, p. 350). It, therefore, provides a liberating landscape for me to explore the discourses I encountered, the struggle, and the conflicting realities, practices, and discourses I experienced in my professional learning. It is also through the poststructuralist lenses, that I learned to understand the intimate yet intricate inter-relations between language(s) and identities and to make meaning of these multiple realities.

2   An Autoethnographic Struggle: Talking Myself Out to Write an Autoethnography

Writing an autoethnography is a very challenging task. I have been going back and forth with this piece of writing, and almost gave up on writing it, because I was and am well aware that I will be exposing my personal thoughts about the issue of native speakerism, and that I am afraid that the readers would think less of me after reading this writing. As Wall (2008) explains, "the intimate and personal nature of autoethnography can, in fact, make it one of the most challenging qualitative approaches to attempt" (p. 39). And just as Wall experienced, I was also experiencing constant anxiety about how I present myself in this autoethnography. Ellis (2004) notes that autoethnographers "look inward, exposing a vulnerable self that is moved by and may move through, refract, and resist cultural interpretations, and simultaneously, focus outward on social and cultural aspects of their personal experience" (cited in Ellis and Adams 2014, p. 254). These characteristics of autoethnography filled me with anxiety, when attempting to write this narrative. But, one thing that lingers in my mind after reading Ellis and Adams, is "autoethnography implies connection: the stories we write connect self to culture" (p. 255). The writing of a particular story in our life provides ways of knowing and they "offer insight into the patterned processes in our interactions and into the constraints of social structures" (p. 255). The idea of connecting myself and interacting with community(ies) that I am a part of, and their practices, that Ellis and Adam emphasized, intrigues me.

Another aspect that was discouraging me to write, comes from what Britzman (2003) term as, "cultural myths" in teacher learning and education to which I subconsciously and sometimes consciously subscribed. These cultural myths "revolve around and organize ideal notions of the autonomous and competitive individual and provide a narrative of standard that render irrelevant arguments for other ways of becoming a teacher" (Britzman 2003, p. 6). I naively believe that good teaching means experiencing no conflict, tensions, contradictions, nor complications in teaching work and life. When experiencing these "crises", I chose to silence and suppress them, believing that competency means "the absence of conflict" (p. 7). Britzman explains that this "quietism" has often been exposed to teachers through their teacher education and learning. Student teachers and teachers are often indoctrinated with the idealized teaching work and life. Crisis is rarely being talked about

in the education and learning of a teacher. I particularly found encouragement in Shoshona Felman's idea that crisis is an integral part of education, hence learning. Felman says that "meaningful learning begins in the scramble to make sense of the force of knowledge" (cited in Britzman 2003, p. 9), asking oneself what we have learned and should learn from the crisis. In the same vein, Bakhtin (1981) has also emphasized the importance of struggle as a way of learning. In his view, meaning making is a site of struggle between centrifugal and centripetal forces. The centrifugal forces constitute a dynamic which constantly "whirls", drawing meaning "apart into diversity, difference, and creativity." Centripetal forces, in contrast, "strive to normalize, standardize, and prescribe the way language [or discourse] should be (Bell 2007, p. 9). Bakhtin views learning as engaging oneself in a dialogue with these various voices, and recreating meaning. Learning from Britzman, Felman, and Bakhtin, I view writing this autoethnography as my way of learning, engaging and dialoguing with various voices, and making meaning of the crisis I experienced as a teacher by breaking the quietism in teacher learning and education.

I also view this autoethnography as an ongoing identity work, and therefore it did not state a fixed representation of my future sense of self. As Freire (1993) posits, humans are "unfinished, uncompleted beings in and with a likewise unfinished reality" (p. 65). I treated this autoethnography as an artifact produced in a particular time and setting, that I can always revisit and review my past thoughts, practice, and narrative to understand what and who I was and my current self is to better navigate my future self (p. 65).

3   The Native English Speaker (NES) Construct in English Language Teaching

As an English teacher and teacher educator, I have often been categorized "first" as the so called Non-Native English Speaker (NNES) and a Non-Native English Speaker Teacher (NNEST) second, and, currently, as a non-*farang* (*farang* is a Thai word to classify Caucasian-looking foreigners) and a non-Thai, in the Thai working context. No matter in what context I am participating in (e.g., pursuing further education, conferencing, and teaching at home and abroad), I cannot escape being put in a box with these labels. Perhaps, it is in our nature as humans to put labels to whatever we see. Yet, I always felt uncomfortable being labeled with such terms.

From the first time I entered the ELT profession in my early teacher education in the early 1990s, the NES idealization was already inducted in my learning experience in the classroom. The most common construction of NES is related to, as Rudolph et al. (2015) state, how language ownership, use, and instruction are conceptualized in the ELT field. Native English Speakers (NESs) have often been imagined as Caucasian, white, born in specific inner-circle Western countries, use English as their mother tongue, are "superior" in English use, and have deep knowledge of English Western Culture, and hence, are the "perfect teachers" to teach English. It

is viewed that this NES idealization leads to privileging the NES teachers (NEST) and marginalizing the NNES teachers (NNEST). Native-speakerism is often reviewed within the NEST/NNEST binary framework. I often felt that this discussion tends to put teachers in two groups and compare and contrast them, instead of working to move the discussion of ELT profession beyond these labels. Although there has been some efforts in consolidating the issue of native-ness by suggesting a collaboration between both NEST and NNEST, Reis (2009) warns us that the way this collaboration is described and portrayed can "sometimes work to inadvertently propagate the NEST/NNEST dichotomy" (p. 1). Currently, some scholars (Holliday 2015; Kubota 2012; Oral 2015; Rudolph et al. 2015) problematize this dichotomy and view it as oversimplifying the complexity of individual teacher's identity and experiences in their own specific working contexts. From the perspective of socio-cultural theory, identity has been viewed in more complex terms, and has no longer been received as "essentialized characterizations that are on the basis of group-based, long-term affiliations that are derived from language inheritance, ethnicity, religion, or national origin" (Alsagoff 2012, p. 107). Rudolph et al. (2015) suggest poststructural and postmodern approaches in working with the issue of native-speakerism, that take value of the individual's identity (re)construction, struggle, achievement, and lived experiences in specific socio-political setting to better understand today's ELT practices and realities. As an attempt of understanding the issue of native-speakerism in today's ELT practice, I would like to present four narratives of critical incidents related to native-speakerism ideology that I encountered in different contexts. I specifically picked these four narratives from other learning narratives on the basis of four critical phases of struggle: (1) the early introduction to native-speakerism discourse and learner's belief; (2) introduction to alternative discourse and identity conflict; (3) campaigning the alternative discourse and conflicting reality; and (4) a failed reconstructing identities attempt. The four narratives depict the critical points in my learning journey in which I reformulated my understanding and struggled the most while dialoguing with various discourses and teaching realities, in four different teaching contexts. Let me firstly start from the narrative of my early teacher education experience.

4   Narrative of Early Learning Experience: "A Full Point Score Is Only for a Native Speaker"

So said the lecturer, when she explained my score for a speaking skill test result. I was stunned and a little bit disturbed at the same time, with her explanation of why I could not get a full point of 10 for my pronunciation assessment. I practiced diligently producing each sound that the teacher had taught us in class, learned to sound like an American (as most of my teachers expected), and used English when conversing with my classmate who used to live in Canada since childhood and asking her to "correct" my speech, and yet all of these work I had done was valued much

lesser than being a person who was born in an inner circle country and spoke English as their First Language– someone whom I am not. That was probably the first time I started to really think about how frustrating the term imply. Back then, I had not had enough knowledge of the issue and ability to describe this frustration. But, I remembered complaining about it to my classmate and said, "Why bother putting a full point score in the grading rubrics if no one in the Department will ever get it? There is no native speaker in our class."

During my study in the Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) Department in the early 90s, I received similar responses from other lecturers in the Department and gradually accepting this as the norm. The students in the Department treated this discourse as what they called "common knowledge." Most students, including myself, were thriving and even competing to sound (and sometimes behave and think) like the imagined NES. "Being the NES" seemed to be the authoritative discourse (Bakhtin 1981) in the Department. We were made to believe that English competency equals to being a NES or "near" NES (an imitation of a NES).

Since the start of the first semester in the Department, English-only policy was applied and any traces of students' First Language (L1) were banned. I, once, had a lecturer who actually fined students who consciously and subconsciously used their L1 in the classroom. "You still speak with an accent" or "you have a very thick accent" was a common remark that the teachers made about some students' spoken English, paying less attention to the content of their speech. The pressure to sound like a NES was really felt by most of the students because we were continuously being evaluated and corrected during our learning activities in the classroom.

Observing the lecturers' past education, I can understand that my lecturers were also led to believe in the supremacy of the so-called NES. Most of the lecturers back then received their Master's Degree from universities in the UK and US in the 70s and 80s. At that time (and still continuing to the present day), the "ELT Aid" programs (Phillipson, 1992) were flourishing. This ELT aid programs dated back from the 1950s when the Indonesian government sought assistance from the UK and US embassy for teacher training and education program and networking to upgrade the English teacher's knowledge and skills in teaching English (Manara 2014a). These ELT Aid programs exist in many forms: as teacher education short-courses or (post) graduate degrees; as language specialist aid programs (in which Western ELT consultants are sent out to train local teachers); delivered as part of scholarship programs; and as TOEFL and IELTS testing and teaching services. Therefore, one can be led to think and believe that professionalism standard in ELT originated from and is set by the West (the one who provides the language teaching aid and who decides and owns the "standard"). I, as a student in the TEFL Department back then, was also one of those believers.

I could later see (returning from my further study, and teaching as a part-timer at the TEFL Department) the signifying impact of this deeply-rooted belief of Western ELT professionalism to the lecturers' confidence and sense of self, during a staff-meeting where we discussed about which textbooks to use. The meeting started with an agenda of changing the curriculum and textbooks. The senior lecturers

suggested some titles for teaching certain courses, but it seemed that some lecturers were not very happy with the suggested titles. Then, one of the young lecturers (who had just returned from her further study) suggested, "Why not make our own materials? I mean, in that way we don't have to follow just one textbook strictly." I thought that was a brilliant idea and it would give the lecturers opportunity to design more activities that suited the students' level of proficiency and depth of knowledge about the subject. Then, one of the senior lecturers immediately replied, "We can't do that! We're not Native Speakers! We can't write the way they do." As I looked around the meeting room, I could see other lecturers nodding, agreeing to her statement. The young lecturer seemed to be taken aback by the senior's remark and made no further suggestions.

From that incident, I began to notice (most of) the lecturers' high dependency on teaching materials published by several giant International (Western) publishing houses was also originated from the issue of English ownership. These lecturers seemed to believe that these materials provided the so-called "Standard English," and that English was owned by the two inner-circle countries. English is treated as a linguistic subject (a systematic structure, rules and forms, and with fixed pragmatic convention that has to be imitated) to be studied, but cannot be used for the user's local creative and immediate purposes such as writing (producing) teaching materials to be used for learning by their learners. Hence, the lecturers seemed to think that they had no right to claim the acquired knowledge (English) as one's own, to be used or personalized for their own purposes. They saw their roles as mainly limited to transmitters of knowledge (passing the norms to the students), rather than as co-constructors of knowledge, subscribing to a restrictive self-conceptualization of "NNEST". In my beginning years of teaching, I also perceived myself as an English user who felt inferior as a NNEST. Not until I was studying for my Master's degree in Thailand was I introduced to an alternative discourse that problematized the ideology of native speakerism in ELT. The next reflective account narrates my learning phase where I was made aware of the ideologies in the ELT practices and the complexities it brought to my sense of self and teaching realities.

5 Narrative of Linguistic Identities Conflict: "Hear Yourself Out, You Sound Like an American"

In the MA program that I was studying, Critical Pedagogy (CP) and the English as an International Language (EIL) paradigm seemed to be the characteristic of every course we took. We were encouraged to analyze various discourses and make our own meaning when dialoguing with these multiple voices and to have a "voice" of our own. The courses in the program were designed to raise our awareness and to study the often taken-for-granted practices and policies that were derived from Native speakerist ideology, and how these discourses were institutionalized and normalized in the ELT industry, or what Britzman (2003) describes as "crisis" in education.

Informed by these alternative discourses, I soon fell into a Utopian projection of self, criticizing my old self that tend to subscribe to the ideology of native speakerism, and feeling guilty for it. I did feel liberated, in a way, from some of the practices that were imposed on me when I was a student in the TEFL Department and was not able to even talk about them. Indeed, the CP and EIL paradigms helped me to understand my frustration of not being able to stand up for myself against the irrational assessment using an essentialized Native Speaker as the defining criteria of a successful English learner and user. I remember in one class, I publicly criticized the Audio-Lingual Method (ALM) that the TEFL Department (where I used to study) upheld and applied so strictly in teaching speaking which led to prohibiting any trace of L1 phonetics variation in our English pronunciation and aiming at a 100% mimicking of the NES accent. I, then, accused this method as taking away my L1 identity as an English learner and user, and agreed that because of this belief, NESs were always being privileged by this ideology. Agreeing with Vivian Cook's (2001) argument, I ended my statement with, "I want to be viewed as a proficient English user not an imitation of a Native Speaker of English". Then, an American classmate suddenly said, "Really? You should hear yourself out, you sound like an American". I was left speechless by his statement, not knowing how to respond to such remarks. This incident left a very significant effect in me – an identity crisis. The fact that I had an American-like accent betrayed my L1 and C1 pride and identity. I was so embarrassed by his statement and felt guilty for having sounded like an American.

During my past English learning experiences, I had had a lot of exposure to American English. I grew up with American pop culture, because my parents loved to listen to songs and news and watch Hollywood movies at home. The importance of sounding like an American was again reinforced during my Teacher Education studies in Indonesia, in which we were specifically asked to choose to adhere to either British English or American English, and were not allowed to mix the two varieties when we were using it in our speech and writing. It is true that I took pride when I finally obtained my teachers' acknowledgment that I finally acquired the "American English" variety back then, simply because I thought that was what is expected of a proficient English user. And when my American classmate made such a remark, it felt that this history and achievement was a complete flop.

Feeling such an immense guilt, I slowly began to phase out my American English and I adopted Asian Englishes varieties that I encountered in the professional communities that I joined. In a creative teaching group, for example, I had some Malaysian and Singaporean friends, and adopted their speech style to make me feel more as an Asian rather than American "wannabe" (as the youngsters nowadays called it). Returning from my further study in Thailand, suddenly my colleagues and students claimed that my English sounded like Thai-English – which I doubted that they had ever known nor heard Thai-English before. I was again given a new label. However, it didn't really bother me much. I smiled and said, "So what? You understand my speech, right?" Then, one of my students said, "But, I like your American accent better". "Well, I like your accent better", I said, trying to encourage them to be themselves when they use English.

I grounded my teaching belief on the concept of comprehensibility, and focused my feedback more on sounds that create misunderstanding and communication breakdown, following Jenkins' (2000) advice of teaching the Lingua Franca core, as well as teaching my students communicative strategies to be a skillful communicator. But, as I continued on teaching for the next few years, I started to notice that my effort of encouraging students to keep their L1 phonology variety in speaking English started to backfire in which the students could not distinguish between mispronunciation and comprehensible accent. I guessed during my first years of returning from my study, I had tolerated all the sounds that my students produced in their speech because these sounds *are* intelligible to my ears. My ears were so used to picking up L1 variants in their L2 production that I could effortlessly guess what they were saying to me. Then, I thought to myself, "what if they are speaking to speakers who do not have the same L1 background knowledge? Would their listener understand them?" My ability to guess their speech was related to the knowledge of L1 structure, topics, scripts, and pragmatics conventions that my students and I shared. My students might not realize this when they were communicating with speakers of other L1, and may even suffer from an embarrassment while communicating with other speakers or while teaching their students – especially today's digital generation, who have high exposure to the dominant English (presumably British and American English from pop culture and media), and would naturally compare the teacher's pronunciation with the ones they are more exposed to.

Then, my mind wandered further back to the time during my Teacher Education studies, when my English lecturer strictly corrected my pronunciation with an L1 variety and asked me to repeat her for several times until I got the sound "Americanly right". I also remembered her saying, "From here on, you have to choose either you want to follow the British English or American English and stick with it. Don't mix the two when you speak and write!"

So, I asked myself, "Were they completely wrong to ask me to do that?" The drilling and corrections from these teachers enabled me to acquire one variety of English, which happened to be American English. And, I have to admit that while using this variety, I rarely experienced any miscommunication caused by my pronunciation. So, "Is it really wrong to learn and acquire one model first before the learners are introduced to other models? Does it mean that I am conforming, henceforth, preserving the ideology of native speakerism in teaching pronunciation if I ask my students to follow one model of English (that I have acquired)?" I was able to recognize new English speech varieties because I have acquired one model of English. After all, L2 sounds introduced as new knowledge can actually enrich the learners' sounds repertoire.

My utopian view of maintaining L1 sounds variants in students' L2 production was taken so far that I tended to sacrifice intelligibility and comprehensibility for identity (Derwing and Munro 2009). I then agree with Derwing and Munro (2009) that enhancing intelligibility and comprehensibility will help one's expression of identity come through more clearly (p. 485). Realizing this tendency of sacrificing intelligibility for identity, I began to provide stricter corrective feedback for my

learners' sounds production and lead my learners to view the corrective feedback as additive in nature (enriching their phonology and phonetics knowledge).

Relating back to my American classmate's remark at the beginning of this account, I would respond to him, "I may sound American but it doesn't make me an American nor do I speak exactly the same way as an American does". My English speech with an American-like accent reflects the trace of my school biography (Britzman 2003) – the history of my past learning and achievement.

I learned even more about accent and negotiating our sense of self during my study and work as a teaching assistant in Australia. In my next reflective account, I would further discuss the issue of accent and Englishes user's identity work in an "inner-circle" context.

6   A Narrative About Accent and Inclusivity: "One Metcard, with Concession?"

A short conversation at a bookstore in Melbourne, Australia:

> "Morning, one Metcard, Zone 2, daily, please"
> "With concession?" the clerk behind the counter asked while keying in the code for my order.
> "ehm… No, just the full-fare one, thanks."

While walking to the train station, I wondered why every time I bought the card (to take the public transport in Melbourne), the clerk always asked me about "concession". From what I understood, a concession card was only for Australian citizens but I was very often asked whether I wanted one. Of course, I would want one, but I was not an Australian citizen. Being uncertain whether I have misinterpreted the website that explained the eligibility to apply for a concession, I decided to ask about it to my colleague who had lived and worked in Melbourne for some years. After explaining the incident, my colleague just smiled and the conversation went something like this:

> "That means you don't sound foreign to them."
> "Huh? What do you mean?" I replied, puzzled by his statement.
> "Well, to most international students here, it's a privilege to be offered a concession because it means you don't have a foreign accent, so the clerk thought you were a *local*. My students are usually so thrilled and flattered when the clerks offered them the concession choice. It was like a compliment to them [for having a local accent]. So, you should feel flattered even though you're not eligible to apply for one" explained my colleague.

At that moment, I was not sure what to feel: whether I should feel flattered or disappointed for losing the hope to get a concession. But, I did not feel flattered at all, because I took no notice about how I sounded anymore. To me, it is not something that I need to self-consciously maintain as I was in the past. I just speak the way I was.

On my way home, I kept playing the conversation in my head, trying to understand the connection between the "concession" incident and the flattering feeling that his students were experiencing. I could not make a direct connection with the story. Not until I read some of my students' reflective journals that I realized the depth of this *sounding-like-the-local*.

During my study in Australia, I took a teaching assistant position in an English as an International Language program under the Faculty of Arts. There I taught an introduction to the concept of English as an International Language (EIL). The students were from various linguistic and cultural backgrounds (e.g., Malaysia, China, Australia, Korea, Japan, Hong Kong, Cambodia and Thailand). In one of the courses that I taught, I assigned the students to practice reflective writing, concerning their linguistics and intercultural experiences related to the topic taught in class, and to make meaning of these experiences. Several of their stories are as follows:

> I think it depends. I change my accent when I'm at work because sometimes there's a kind of discrimination when I don't sound like them. So, I changed my accent to fit-in at my workplace. But, of course, I speak differently at home. I would use Cantonese with my parents. (Aniee, 12/05/09)

> When I'm in a class, I often think that the lecturers here misinterpret my being silent. To me, it is a form of respect that I listen and pay attention to what they and the others are talking about. But, here, they would think that I'm dumb or stupid; like I can't speak English very well. (Nana, 06/06/10)

> When I first came to Australia, I was very frustrated that I could not catch up with their speaking. I knew they are speaking "English." However, it just sounds different as what I have been learning in Taiwan, since our education system has adopted American English as the teaching model. I still remember that when I had my first language class in my high school's language centre [in Australia], my teacher corrected my pronunciation, just because I pronounced "I can't" in American way. My teacher told me that here is Australia and that is why I have to say the word "can't" in/a:/sound. (Min, 15/06/10) (cited in Manara 2014b, pp. 199–200)

It was during this time that I began to really understand some of my students' narratives of the need to subscribe to the local speech variety. Ainee's, Nana's, and Min's (pseudonyms) narratives depict their feeling of being excluded and misunderstood for having and using their own learned and/or acquired English variety in their working and academic contexts. Their (learned and/or acquired) English variety was seen as a deviant from the local norm. Therefore, this need to conform to the dominant English variety is necessary to be able to function and be accepted as a member of their social, academic, and work communities. Indeed, as Levis (2005) explains, "accent is an essential marker of social belonging" (p. 373).

As I read their stories, I started thinking, "Is it so wrong to adopt the local norm if it is a necessary act to gain access to inclusivity? Does compromising with the local norm mean betraying the L1 and C1 identity? Was I advocating a premature advice (i.e. to be proud and not to be afraid to speak with their accent) to my students who are still struggling to find their place in a new context in which they had little power to project their voice or L1 and C1 identity?"

I learned that, to these students, English plays different roles and has different immediate functions in this context, in which they were often judged by their

linguistic production (spoken and/or written) in order to *pass the requirement to be included* in these communities that they were a part of. In these settings with unequal power relations, accent was used as "a gate-keeping tool" to exclude (Levis 2005). I, now, realize what accent can do to gain access to inclusivity. Indeed, identity and the use of language, as Alsagoff (2012) points out, are intimately tied to issues of power (p. 107).

In my next reflective account, I would like to share a quite recent experience of my effort to move away from the Native-Non-Native Dichotomy that tends to create the idea of "exclusive professionalism" (Holliday, 2005) towards the discourse of inclusive professionalism in ELT.

7   Narrative of Professional Identity Struggle: "Oh, So He's a Native Speaker"

I was preparing my slides for an international presentation in Thailand about a qualitative research I did on teacher's vulnerability. I was investigating vulnerable moments that English teachers experienced in their teaching work and life, and their strategies for coping with it. I interviewed and communicated with 6 English teachers with various linguistic and cultural backgrounds, but I chose to focus on one teacher narrative for my presentation at that conference. As I was about to describe my research participant's, Viktor's (a pseudonym), background, I was struggling with trying to identify him. It would be so much easier to just type a "Native-Speaker of English Teacher," but later I thought I did not want to preserve this dichotomy by labeling my participant with the native-non-native terms. I finally chose to use a "bilingual speaker" because he is a speaker of English and Mandarin. Then, I put "British nationality" after that. Then, I started thinking again, "Why should I put this here? I don't want my audience to make a pre-assumption of my participant and immediately reduced him again to the idea of "NES". He is a "teacher" of English. I didn't want my audience to reduce him as a NES with limited ability of expanding himself to be a competent speaker of more languages. So, I finally decided to take out the information about his nationality from the slide.

Then the day of the presentation arrived and I presented my paper to English teachers who attended my session. As I finished presenting my research to the audience, I moved on to the Q & A session. And as I suspected, the first question that one of the attendants asked me was, "Is your participant a native or non-native teacher?" I calmly answered, "He is a bilingual speaker of English and Mandarin." Then, the old lady continued, "Yes, but where is he from?" and I saw some other people in the room was nodding along as if they agreed that this information would be the most determining information for everything that I presented that day. I speedily said, "He has a British citizenship", hoping no one would notice it. Then the lady immediately concluded, "Oh, so he's a native speaker." I ended up saying, "He is a bilingual speaker of English and Mandarin with international teaching experiences."

Then, there was a brief moment of awkward silence. Luckily, another attendant raised his hand and asked a new question related to my data collection method. I was a little bit relieved that the attention has shifted from this nativeness topic to another topic. After the presentation, a lecturer approached me and said, "I understand that you are trying to avoid using native and non-native speaker. But, if you had to compare your NEST and NNEST participants' narratives of emotion and professional identity, are there any similar themes that the two groups share or are they totally different?" I replied, "But, don't you think if we continue the discussion limited to this framework of nativeness, we are actually preserving this divide in our profession? I prefer to see my participants as English teachers first, I mean they *are* English teachers, instead of whether they are native or non-native. And likewise, I would like others to see and acknowledge me as an English teacher, and not in any other names."

The old teacher's and this young lecturer's questions about nativeness made me wonder whether the way I presented my data was actually reducing my participant's identity. I, then, decided to ask my colleague who happened to attend my presentation about it:

> "Why do you think the lady asked me whether my participant is a Native or Non-Native?"
> "Well, I think it's a common question and I think because you presented his [my research participant] words about his opinion that English is something fussical and that he said something about Thailand not needing foreign teachers, maybe the lady wanted to know who would say such a thing."

To provide a contextual discussion on this, I would like to display a snapshot of the slide containing an excerpt from Viktor's account that was discussed above. The following excerpt is taken from an interview transcript of my conversation with Viktor. The excerpt is a response to my question about what teaching English meant to him and how he saw himself as an English teacher:

> "Teaching English is fussical": Education and narrative of conflicting feelings
>
> Excerpt 3:
> "… I just feel sometimes that places like Thailand is wasting a lot of money on Foreign teachers because I don't think a lot of the students need Foreign teachers. …I think the whole of English teaching to the world thing is fussical, slightly fussical. It's basically something that people feel like they need to do. But a lot of it is just basically going to the motion."

That Viktor (as a Foreign teacher himself) thinks that "Thai students do not need to learn exclusively with foreign teachers", and that "Thai schools are just wasting their money on hiring more Foreign teachers", can be interpreted as words of encouragement for the old Thai teacher. Viktor's statement can be empowering for local teachers because this statement was produced by a NEST himself. Viktor's statement acknowledges the important role of local English teachers in their students' learning context. Viktor sees the local English teachers as having more knowledge on English and should have more authority in the teaching of English. The teacher would not feel this effect if I crossed out the NES identity from the discussion.

Thinking about this incident and my interaction with the audience who attended my presentation, helped me to understand my earlier difficulty of identifying Viktor who does not fit to the simplistic, fixed, and idealized conceptualization of a "NEST" as often presented in most literature. Yes, Viktor is a NES, but he is also a highly reflective person and has international teaching experiences before he came to teach in Thailand (teaching English in Nepal, India, and China), who is a fluent Mandarin user, who believes that teaching means learning and that teaching is about engaging with his learner, who feels that his most vulnerable moment is when he could not create a positive and exciting learning atmosphere in his classroom, who worries he would bore his students to death, and who is, as Viktor explained, "still learning to master the art of sustainable teaching," and just like all of us, he is an English teacher. I realized that by not describing him as a NES, I was actually reducing one attribute of his identity, that at this particular event seemed to have a significant meaning to the audience who attended the presentation. Rudolph (2012) asserts that native-speakerism is multi-directional and multi-locational, and in this study, using Rudolph's words, flows from (1) Thai English teachers to idealized NES, (2) NEST who does not fit the local descriptions of the idealized NES to Thai English teachers, and (3) an Indonesian researcher to NEST who does not fit the local descriptions of the idealized NES in a Thai teaching landscape.

From this narrative, I learned that the literature on NESTs tend to create a fixed and uniformed one-dimensional imagination of NESTs: (1) use L1 from birth to present; (2) born in an English speaking (inner-circle) countries; (3) Caucasian (or in some contexts, has a Caucasian appearance); (4) superior in English use and have depth knowledge of English Western Culture; (5) have good intuition about the rules and forms of the language (hence, has absolute authority of the language); (6) and therefore, NESTs know how to teach the language best. Some literature discussed that these perspectives privilege the NESTs and that they seem to be portrayed as feeling more superior, hence, more confident in teaching English, and have less interest to become better ELT professionals. However, these descriptions of NEST do not fit Viktor's characteristics. He admitted that at the beginning, teaching English was only his way to come and live in Asia. Yet, he felt that he was not satisfied with his knowledge about teaching English that led him to pursue a further study. He is an analytical and reflective teacher. During the interview, he talked about his vulnerability in teaching and his future commitment of finding a better way of coping with it. Different from the stereotype of NEST, Viktor felt that Thai teachers should be granted with more authority of how to teach English because they knew more about English than he did. Viktor does not see himself as superior nor more confident than the local teachers. He experienced vulnerability about his teaching image similarly as other teachers do. Reading the interview transcript, I realized that NESTs like Viktor are not represented enough in the literature and I guess it is because of this lack of NEST teaching narrative, in some ways, maintain a fixed and uniformed imagination of NESTs as being privileged and taking advantage of the privileging act, and as having no interest of changing oneself. The same representation also goes to the NNESTs in which they are often presented as passive marginalized group of teachers who are helpless and need to be continuously

'empowered'. The conversation about NESTs and NNESTs still felt to be a one-dimensional way of seeing identity and focusing too much on the aspect of in and out of group, overriding the uniqueness of the individuals of the groups and their potentials to recreate themselves. Rudolph et al. (2015) describe this kind of discussion as tending to essentialize NESTs and NNESTs identity and their lived experiences (and inscribes in those categories of identity, essentialized characteristics, whether positive or negative), ignoring the agency of individuals in (re)constructing and negotiating their identity while interacting with various discourses in their teaching realities.

8   Conclusion: Making Sense of the "Crisis" in ELT

I have shared several narrative accounts that reflect my learning journey about the issue of native speakerism and its manifestations in teaching work and life. I started this journey by conforming to the native speakerism framework due to the schooling beliefs and practices although I had several objections that I could not explain at that time. Then, as I was introduced to Critical Pedagogy and EIL pedagogy, I began to be more observant and critical about native speakerism ideology and practices at various teaching contexts to the extent that I rejected and abandoned the old knowledge I learned and brought a Utopian way of thinking about language and identity, as if there is a straight line that connects language and identity without thinking of other factors affecting one's sense of self and the dynamicity of the self. The CP and EIL pedagogy certainly brought up some complexities to the way I navigate myself with the discourses of native speakerism that exist in some aspects of my teaching work. Reflective Account 2 and 3 helped me to understand these complexities of negotiating oneself regarding the choice of English variety one adopts in a particular context for a particular purpose. On the one hand, I realized that in a context with unequal power relations, a person may need to firstly conform to the norms of the community that they would like to join as a tool to gain acceptance or membership of the group. On the other hand, I also learned that I may acquire and teach one English variety but I do not necessarily feel as if I am surrendering myself to the idealization of native speakerism. The English that I have learned becomes mine, and is used as one medium of my multiple senses of self, my own personalized English. Similarly, I may teach one English variety but I also raise students' awareness that it is one variety among many Englishes. It is through conversing with my past-self and reflecting on my teaching biography that I understand how identity is situated, negotiated, contextualized, multiple and complex, restless, and incomplete. To limit oneself and others with "native and non-native" label is to dehumanize (Freire 1993) the ongoing nature of identity, learning, and being human. Although in narrative 4, I realized that I cannot escape from this labeling practice, I learned that it is a part of dialoguing with others' schooling and teaching biographies (Britzman 2003). The Native – Non-Native Discourse is still a dominating Discourse in our profession, but I would prefer to see it as one discourse among

Discourses that exist in my schooling and teaching *biographies*. And, that my engagement with these Discourses is a necessary struggle for my on-going learning and my way of struggling with the dehumanizing ideologies that are, often times, being institutionalized and normalized in the ELT industry and education and pro-fessionalism system. To answer the question I posed in the title of this chapter, I agree with Yasemin Oral (2015) who suggests that we need a new language to talk about native-speakerist dichotomy and categorizing/labeling practices and to be critical and mindful about the way this issue is being portrayed and discussed in our field. I personally think that we need more teaching narratives and biographies from ELT practitioners in different ELT contexts to enrich the repertoire of approaches, voices, local knowledge, and understandings in addressing the issue of native-speakerism as an ELT community.

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Accepting and Circumventing Native Speaker Essentialism

Robert Weekly

Abstract This chapter reports on a qualitative study of multilingual South-Asian English language teachers working in an ESOL department in Leicester. Through narrative interviews and focus groups the study explored how the participants experience linguicism, which positions them as inauthentic native English speakers (NES) or non-native English speakers (NNES). Several of the participants are also complicit in this, with many resisting a NES label or feeling some ambiguity with their native speaker status. One of the reasons for this, is that the NES/NNES dichotomy is embedded in the ideology of English language teaching and the ideological values of society. NES is semantically linked with other terminology, such as British English, RP, 'whiteness', Standard English, correct English and good English. In attempting to overcome prejudice, rather than identifying themselves as NES, the participants emphasised their multilingualism and presented stories of teaching practices. Therefore, while tending to accept essentialised identity construction by others, the participants utilized other aspects of their identity to overcome prejudice in the workplace.

1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the native/non-native distinction through semi-structured interviews and focus groups with South Asian English language teachers working in a further education college in the UK. The participants in the study are either first generation migrants, arriving in the UK in their early to late teens, or second generation migrants and born in the UK. Nevertheless, there is some ambiguity, even for some second-generation migrants, as to whether they are native English speakers (NES) or not. The first-generation migrants rejected being positioned as NES based on their perception that a NES speaks a variety of British English (BrE) or American English (AmE). This is despite some of the participants learning English from childhood as one

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among other 'first languages'. Rather than claiming 'status' as NES the participants use other methods to assert their authenticity and authority as English teachers, and tend to focus on their other linguistic attributes, namely their multilingualism.

There is no accepted definition of what a native speaker(s) (NS) is, and definitions of non-native speaker(s) (NNS) are usually in relation to native speakers. Davies (1995, 2003) outlines six characteristics that define a native speaker, though as Cook (1999) notes only the first criterion; acquiring the L1 in childhood, is "the indisputable element in a definition of native speaker" (p. 186). Although Davies recognises that there are problems with this criterion, the "established impression […] that speaker hood relates to birth within a particular country is maintained" (Holliday 2008, pp. 120–121). Moreover, as Doerr (2009) notes Davies does tend to equate native speakers with the standard language and does not fully consider the power dynamics involved in determining which native speaker variety is chosen as the standard. Defining a native speaker as the language learnt first or related to place of birth, becomes problematic for multilinguals and for speakers of an international variety of English. As Davies (2003) and Rampton (1990) argue, this categorisation places too much emphasis on biological factors in determining who is a native speaker, and not enough consideration to social aspects. Native speakerism of any language is not predetermined "in the womb" but, like culture, is socially learnt allowing people to define themselves in respect to their own status (Davies 2003).

Despite relating the native speaker to place of birth, Davies (2003) places more emphasis on identity and the ability of an individual to define themselves as a native speaker, if they can be accepted by others. Related to this is Piller's (2002) study, where she argues that the NS/NNS dichotomy should be considered as something one does, rather than something one is. Her participants discussed their ability to 'pass' as a NS, as a temporary performance in certain contexts, which Piller argues destabilises NS/NNS categories. However, this implies that non-native English speaker(s) (NNES) have to claim native English speaker(s) (NES) status in order to gain authenticity as English speakers. Many NNES perhaps do not want to define themselves as NES, but still want to command the same respect which is afforded to NES. I observed this in my study with several of the participants not claiming that they are NES, and in fact not wanting to be considered or 'pass' as NES, but still feeling that they should be accepted as authentic English speakers in their own right both inside and outside the classroom. Jenkins (2000) speculates that perhaps, with the increasing number of NNES, and multilingualism becoming accepted as the norm, the term native will again become a derogatory label, as it was during the period of the British Empire when it was used to describe the 'uncivilized' indigenous people. Or perhaps, as Seidlhofer (2011) implies, the terms native and non-native will become obsolete in relation to English, and people shall be defined as English speakers or non-English speakers at some point in the near future.

Both Liu (1999) and Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (2001) argue that the NS/NNS dichotomy is inadequate, and highlight speakers who do not affiliate with either NES or NNES, and instead find themselves in intermediate areas between the two. This was also observed in Faez's (2011) study, with his participants representing six different linguistic identities. Liu (1999) argues that it would be more beneficial to view

the NES/NNES dichotomy as a continuum, rather than a simplistic categorisation. Although he points out that a continuum implies a movement towards 'native like' proficiency, this does not necessarily mean 'native like' in terms of BrE or AmE. It seems clear from these studies that English native speakerism is a socially constructed identity, rather than a linguistic category which raises uncertainties of the ability of bilingual or multilingual speakers to be authentic NES (Brutt-Griffler and Samimy 2001). The ideal or authentic NES is seen by many within the ELT industry as being a white, monolingual English speaker from an inner circle country, and is evident in teaching materials, job advertisements and prejudice towards NNES and non-white NES (Lowe and Pinner 2016). As Lowe and Pinner (2016) observe this "classic" definition of authenticity, as being something that is "real," can have a detrimental effect on NNES and non-white NES teachers. Students may decide that their teachers are not authentic NES because of their ethnicity, and consequently their spoken English and also their teaching ability may also be considered inauthentic.

Another approach to the NES/NNES dichotomy, has been to attempt to 'displace' or 'replace' them with different terminology. This has been most notably by Cook (1999, 2008); multi-competent user, Rampton (1990) and Leung et al. (1997, 2009); language expert, and Jenkins (1996, 2000), monolingual English speaker (MES), bilingual English speakers (BES) and non-bilingual English speaker (NBES). However, these terms have had limited success in supplanting the existing terminology, either inside or outside the academic community. One problem is that the labels of native speaker and non-native speaker are so deeply embedded in the ideological roots of society that attempts to replace or displace them would seem futile. Moreover, while it may seem necessary to invent new terminology when current ones become inadequate or carry detrimental connotations, these new terms quickly acquire their own negative ideological associations. Within English language teaching particularly, it is not necessarily the terms which are problematic, but their semantic associations with Standard English, Received Pronunciation (RP), correct English, and indeed whiteness which serves to maintain the authority of the NES. Therefore, it is perhaps necessary to shift the research focus into considering "how power interacts with race, contexts and other elements in producing and perpetuating the concept of native speaker" (Kubota 2009, p. 236).

Holliday (2008) argues that NES and NNES are presented as neutral categories, attached to nation and national culture, because it gives teachers and students a sense of certainty about who people are and where they come from. He further highlights the ideological belief that NNES can be a label for non-white other. This is evident in Liu's study (1999) with students accepting a white English speaker as a NES, despite not being born in the US, and likewise a NES of Korean ancestry was not considered an authentic NES. As Kubota and Lin (2006, 2009) have argued there is tendency within the ELT industry to "equate the native speaker with white and the non-native speaker with non-white" which has obscured the "discrimination experienced by teachers who do not fit this formula" (p. 8). The authors assert that while it is necessary to challenge the discrimination of NNES, it is equally important to consider the prejudice faced by NES who are not white. Doerr (2009) applies Irvine and Gal's (2000) model of language ideologies to the native speaker concept.

Firstly, *iconization*: with certain speakers taken as iconic representations of the nation. Secondly, *erasure:* which renders individuals who are inconsistent with how NES are conceptualised as invisible. And finally, *fractal recursivity* which relates to the notion that being an NES automatically bestows a high level of competence on the speaker.

This study wishes to contribute to the NES/NNES debate by examining how South Asian English language teachers conceptualise 'the native speaker', how they personally distance themselves from this concept by accepting native speaker essentialism, and how they use other methods to assert their authenticity as English speakers and teachers.

2 The Study

The location of the study is an English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) department in a further education college in the city of Leicester in the UK. There is significant diversity in Leicester in terms of ethnicity with the 2011 census indicating that 45% of the population describe themselves as white-British, and the remaining 55% constituting other ethnic groups, the largest of which is the 28% describing themselves as Asian-British Indian (Office for National Statistics 2011). The city is also diverse linguistically, with 85 different languages being classified as the main language of the speakers in the 2011 census. English is understandably the largest, though at 72%, is lower than most cities in the UK (ibid.).

There was a two-stage process in the study. Firstly, I conducted semi-structured interviews with individual participants using an interview guide on the topics of background, language and teaching, which lasted an average of 1 h each. This was followed by focus group discussions with the participants for which I constructed three discussion cards on what could be considered contentious quotes, assembled from newspaper articles (Jenkins 2004; Meddings 2004a, b) and a short journal article (Farrell and Martin 2009). A 'rolling' process of interviews and focus groups was adopted in this study (Stewart et al. 2007) whereby the majority of interviews were conducted, followed by two focus groups, then further interviews and two further focus groups. There were a total of 20 participants in the study, who contributed to 15 interviews and 4 focus groups which were conducted between February 2012 and February 2013 at the participants' place of work. Six of the interviewed participants did not participate in the focus group discussion, and five focus group members were not interviewed because of availability. The data in this chapter is drawn from 11 participants. In this paper, participants T1, T2 and T4 were not interviewed, and participant T11 did not participate in the focus group. The participants are all of South Asian ethnicity and are multilingual, but they are not a homogeneous group and have different heritage cultures and speak different languages as evident in the following table (Tables 7.1 and 7.2).

Table 7.1 Participants' English language background

Participant	Age	Gender	Languages spoken	Teaching experience (years)	When they started learning English	Teaching qualifications	Generation[a]
T1	54	F	Guajarati, English	23	Childhood[b]	PGCE	First
						Level 4 (Dip)[c]	
T2	62	F	Hindi, English	29	Mid-teens	PGCE	First
						Level 4 (Dip)	
T3	46	F	Punjabi, English	15	Birth	PGCE	Second
						Level 4 (Dip)	
T4	45	F	Guajarati, English	15	Birth	PGCE	Second
						Level 4 (Dip)	
T5	42	F	Hindi, Gujarati, English	8	Birth	PGCE	Second
						Level 4 (Dip)	
T6	40	F	English, Bengali	10	Birth	DELTA	Second
T7	56	F	English, Urdu, Arabic, Gujarati	18	Childhood	PGCE	1.5
						Level 4 (Dip)	
T8	61	F	English, Bengali, Assamese, Hindi	30	Childhood	PGCE	First
						Level 4 (Dip)	
T9	52	F	Hindi, Gujarati, Urdu, English, Swahili, Punjabi	17	Childhood	PGCE	First
						Level 4 (Dip)	
T10	48	F	English, Gujarati, Qatchi, Swahili, Hindi	15	Childhood	PGCE	First
						Level 4 (Dip)	
T11	57	F	English Gujarati, Urdu	26	Childhood	PGCE	1.5
						Level 4 (Dip)	

[a]In the context of this study second-generation migrants were born in the UK. First generation migrants are those who arrived in the UK after the age of 16. 1.5-generation migrants arrived in the UK between the ages of 5–15. Although those who arrived in the UK between the age of 1–4 could also be considered second generation, this does not apply to any of the participants in this study

[b]In this context childhood means they were 'introduced' to English between the ages of 3–6, but could not clearly specify a time when they began to be English speakers

[c]The PGCE for further education and the level 4 diploma are part-time qualifications which are required to be completed within 5 years of starting a position as an ESOL tutor

Table 7.2 Focus group composition

	Date	Length	Number of participants	Participants[a]
Focus group 1	05.12.12	104.50	3	T3
Focus group 2	06.12.12	105.56	4	T2, T4, T5 and T9
Focus group 3	20.02.13	56.57	5	T1, T8 and T10
Focus group 4	06.03.13	36.34	2	T6 and T7

[a]Data from some of the teachers who participated in the focus groups is not used in this paper

3 Accepting Native Speaker Essentialism

While all the participants accepted English as their primary language of communication, some would not accept that they are NES, because they believe NES do not have a noticeable 'foreign' accent. This would seem to conform to the perspective of a native speaker, as one determined by birth and with an accent uninfluenced by another language, rather than one based on personal identity construction. During the interviews and focus groups the participants related NES to terminology such as BrE and AmE, RP, 'proper' English, English nationality, white ethnicity, Standard English, 'good' English and 'correct' English in a semantic chain of associated terminology. However, none of the participants, whether they consider themselves NES or not, feel that being a NES is important to be an English language teacher. Instead, many teachers believe that it is students who think that a teacher should be a NES.

The teachers worked in the same educational institution where I also worked as an ESOL teacher and were approached by me and asked to participate in the study. In this respect I am 'insider,' as I work in the same educational context as the participants and share a "community of practice" (Wenger 1998). However, in another respect I am also an 'outsider,' not sharing the same cultural heritage of participants, or at least only part of their cultural heritage, and I am also a different ethnicity from the participants. I am, and was positioned by the participants as an 'authentic' NES, being white, born in the UK, and monolingual. Despite this, while not sharing their experience of prejudice as 'inauthentic' NES or as NNES, the participants saw me as sympathetic to the difficulties they had encountered in their professional life.

3.1 Native Speaker Associations

There are various instances of the participants either positioning themselves as NNES or NES, positioning other participants as NNES or NES, and instances of me positioning the participants as NES. For example, T1 positions herself and the other participants in the focus group as NNES, even though two of the participants in the focus group are NES, English being the first language that they learnt, even though they were not born in the UK.

1. T1:   okay take our examples we're not native
          speakers but we've learnt English
2.   probably for a longer period than your
          learners have which is why (.) we can
3.   speak better than them (.) but we don't speak like native speakers
                                                          (20.02.13)

There are five participants in this focus group, and T1 positions the other partici-
pants as non-native speakers. Although all of the participants in this focus group are
first generation migrants and arrived in their teens, English is the first language of
two of the participants while the other two learnt English in their early childhood as
a second language, which according to Davies (2003, 2004) would classify them as
NES. T1's positioning could be partly based on accent and also the other partici-
pant's ethnicity. T1 implies that being a NES is an impossible state for them to
achieve by stating that they are not NES but 'better' or closer to an NES than the
students. In doing so, T1 implies that a NES is the superior speaker of English,
enacting *factual recursivity* and placing NES in a higher hierarchal position than
NNES. While English language ability is viewed by T1 as a continuum, NES status
is not and is instead viewed as fixed, unattainable and represented by Chomskyan
notions of an idealized native speaker. Interestingly the other participants do not
object to being positioned as NNES, despite three of the participants having strong
claims to NES status.

   Many of the participants do not believe that they provide a native speaker model
of English, because of the associations that they make with accent, BrE and Standard
English. Some of this derives from what teachers understand of students' attitudes,
but they are also complicit in these associations and instead associate NES with
external sources from the media or establishment figures such as the Queen.
Moreover, the participants tend to associate an NES with someone born in an
Anglophone country. For example, in a focus group, where the participants are
attempting to define a native speaker, T2 positions Sir Trevor McDonald as a non-
native speaker because he was not born in the UK.

1. T2:   i::f you look at th:: tr:: sir trevor mcdonald who for
          me is the best example of a
2.   non-native speaker who is a perfect speaker erm
          then the boundaries is so
3.   foggy I can't tell you what a native speaker is
          and what he isn't he certainly
4.   wasn't born in britain he wasn't brought up in
          britain but he's a newsreader or
5.   was a newsreader and er so in terms of delivery
          pronunciation grammar
6.   accuracy blah blah blah it was all there so
          he was native speaker so i:: don't
7.   know is the answer   (05.12.12)

T2 argues that Sir Trevor McDonald is an example of a non-native speaker who is a perfect speaker. She implies that a perfect speaker is related to grammar and pronunciation, and the accuracy of those linguistic features in relation to BrE. In doing so, she does appear to be making a distinction between a native speaker and a perfect speaker, and suggesting that these are not necessarily synonymous. It is also noticeable that T2, in l.3, uses the term native speaker to mean NES. The use of native speaker as a synonym for NES has been criticized by several authors including Holliday (2005) and Jenkins (2007) but is evident in the discourse of English language teachers and some academics, in job advertisements for English language teachers and noticeable in my study, which would seem to give English precedence in the language hierarchy, enacting *fractal recursivity*. T2 observes that Sir Trevor McDonald was not born in Britain, which appears to be based on his accent. In doing so she implicitly links being a NES with being born in an Anglophone 'native English speaking' country, as the participants in the other focus groups also tend to do. However, T2 does seem to be slightly confused about Sir Trever McDonald's ability to be a NES, saying in ll.1-2 that 'he is a non-native speaker', and then in l.6 that 'he was a native speaker', before admitting that she does not know how to define a NS in ll.6-7. In this instance, T2 suggests that Sir Trevor McDonald is an *iconic* representation of a NNES whose English language ability is equal to a NES, leading to her confusion of his status. Following T2's contribution, T9 points out that Sir Trevor McDonald could be a NES, just not a British NES. Other participants also have difficulties trying to define a native speaker which suggests that there is some fluidity and 'fogginess' in the distinction between native and non-native speakers.

In another focus group T3 also implicitly relates NES to particular Anglophone countries and appears to dismiss the possibility that a NES could be from a country outside this group.

1.   T3:   what do you call jamaican english if you like they use their own their
2.   sentence structures aren't always they don't follow
           the models of do they of
3.   native speakers yet is it important that they don't
           no because they haven't
4.   actually that's one example actually where
           they have made the language their
5.   own
(06.12.12)

T3 implicitly links native English models with speakers from specific Anglophone countries in l.2-3. She argues that Jamaican English is an example of a variety of English where the speakers can claim ownership in ll.4-5 by arguing that it is not important that they do not follow native models. T3 gives authority to English speakers who 'have made the language their own', such as Jamaican English

speakers, and is accepting of the different ways that English is spoken. However, at the same time she enacts an ideology of *erasure* as the speakers are inconsistent with her idea of NES because they do not conform to a particular variety of English, despite in this instance Jamaican English is the speakers' first and perhaps only language.

The majority of the participants tend to associate NES with BrE and AmE and this is seen as the native model that people aspire to, and consequently this is also deemed by the participants to be 'good' English. In the following focus group T4 associates AmE and BrE with 'good' English.

1. T4:   i was going to say that i d- i d- although
          we don't it it doesn't devalue the
2.   language but people <u>aspire</u> to speak like the english [do or
3. T5:   [yes
4. T4:   like the americans do even though (.) there's nothing wrong
          with their their the
5.   way they speak but people all want to speak like the english
          and they <u>want</u> to
6.   speak like the americans don't you find I find people do
7. T2:   yes
8. T4:   they want to speak like that because they think that (.)
          once you can speak like
9.   that you're good   (05.12.12)

T4 places stress on 'aspire' and 'want' in l.2 and l.5, which would seem to indicate a reasonably strong belief that people want to learn BrE or AmE, whose speakers are positioned as the *iconic* representations of ideal English speakers. Two other participants also appear to agree with T4's assertions by nodding in agreement and saying 'yes' in l.3 and l.7, while T9 remains noticeably quiet, perhaps signaling disagreement. It is also noticeable that she refers to 'people' rather than students in ll.1-6, and notes that they 'all' want to speak like 'the English'. T4 equates BrE with 'good' English in ll.5-9, although she does relate this to what other people think rather than her own opinion. T4 is implying that non-native English varieties or multilingual varieties are 'not good', and that people believe they need to achieve native proficiency to be considered 'good' English speakers. There is a tendency by the participants, as in this instance, to place sensitive issues onto other people's opinions rather than suggesting that these are their own opinions, such as 'students think a teacher should be a native speaker', and 'people think that British English is good English'. This is perhaps because they want to be seen to have liberal views, or speaking generally about what people think presents a normalised opinion.

However, not only did the participants associate NES with particular varieties of English from Anglophone countries, but they also tend to associate NES with specific English derived from the establishment such as Queen's English and the BBC.

1. T6:   yeah what is a native speaker model
2. T7:   to me it's think am i when you say native speaker
          immediately i'm thinking
3.   it's queen's english when you say english
4. I: right
5. T7:   bbc english
6. T6:   which is very unrealistic to expect people=
7. T7:   =exactly=
8. T6   =at grass roots level to speak (.) you know bbc english (.) very
          unrealistic you know yeah and I go back to the whole idea of <u>accents</u> and
9.   you know regional differences and cultural (.) ermm
          little quirks and stuff you
10.   know i don't think they should lose that i think
          they should actually (0.5)
11.   celebrate those differences   (06.03.13)

When T6 asks the other participant what a native speaker is, T7's immediate reaction is to associate NES with Queen's English in l.3, thereby disassociating herself and the other participant from being NES. T6 narrows NES to a very small group by linking a NES with the 'social accent' of Queen's English and BBC English, and presents the speakers of this variety of English as *iconic* representatives of NES. The participants tend to associate NES with an outside source and do not identify themselves as NES models. Although the participants disassociate themselves from NES, they still give authority to other models of English, as T6 does in this extract, and feel that these other varieties of English are acceptable and valued forms of English.

In an interview, T8 also relates native English to a particular variety of English based on accent and she rejects my positioning of her as a NES based on retaining an Indian 'twang' which suggests an understanding of an NES related to certain accents from Anglophone countries.

1. I: do you think er do you think er language teachers
          should be <u>nativ</u>e speakers of
2.   the of the language
3. T8:   (2.0) erm hh. i'm not a native speaker (.) my
          students do well @@@@@@
4. I: i don't know you've learnt it from a young age=
5. T8:   =yeah but still it doesn't class me as native does it
6. I: does it <u>not</u>
7. T8:   <u>i</u> don't <u>know</u> people do say i'm a native speaker
          but i think i've still i've got a
8.   <u>twang</u> of indian °in there somewhere°
9. I: yeah but i think you can have a twang of an indian
          accent and still be a native

10.   speaker can't you
11.   T8:   or a welsh accent @@@
12.   I: @@@ a bit of welsh (1.8) bit of welsh indian twang
(22.11.12)

T8 suggests that other people have positioned her as an English native speaker in l.8, but she does not fully accept this because of her Indian accent or 'twang'. This would imply that there is an association for T8 between an Anglophone accent and being a NES, and because she has an Indian accent this automatically prevents her from being a NES, enacting *erasure* and rendering herself inconsistent with a NES. Even though she learnt English from childhood, she accepts the principle that in order to be a NES it should be the first language that is learnt and dismisses an identity-based understanding of NES. Davies (2003) suggests that this is related to the speakers' own ability to assert a NES identity which is dependent on the acceptance of others, and although in this instance T8 asserts that she has been accepted by some people in l.7, her essentialised perception of an NES, persuades her to reject this positioning. T8 is also perhaps slightly uncomfortable with my questioning, and her own knowledge of what a native speaker is. Her uncertainty becomes noticeable in ll.8-10 when her speech becomes quieter and then she makes a joke about having 'a Welsh accent', having lived in Wales for a period of time.

There is also some ambiguity for those participants who were born in the UK about whether they feel they are NES. This appears to be primarily based on their ethnicity and other people asserting that they are not NES.

1.   T6:   then it kind of gujarati going on you know
             but the majority of times i think i
2.   dream (.) in english to me (0.7) to me i feel like i'm a native speaker
3.   T5:   yeah
4.   T6:   basically and [i think you feel the same T5
5.   I: [you are
6.   T5:   [yeah i think so (1.0) yeah i do
7.   I: well you're all native speakers [aren't you
8.   T6:   [yes (0.7) yes   (05.12.12)

When attempting to define a native speaker, the participants suggest that one aspect to define one is the language that they dream in. This leads T6 in l.2 to assert that she 'feels like a native speaker,' rather than saying she *is* a native speaker. Also, T5 in l.6, states she thinks she is, before affirming that she is native speaker. Both of these participants were born in the UK, but nevertheless there appears to be some ambiguity about being NES. For T6 and T5 this is perhaps related to others positioning them as a NNES because of their ethnicity, and perhaps highlights 'tension' between *iconization* and *fractal recursivity* among some participants. They are aware of not being idealised representations of a NES because of their ethnicity, but

they also have self-belief in their own knowledge and ability in the English language. It requires me, as the moderator, to position both of them as NES for them to firmly acknowledge that they are. My positioning of the participants as NES stems partly from my own beliefs about native speakerism, and also as a discourse strategy in the interviews and focus groups to challenge the participants' beliefs and encourage them to elaborate on their beliefs.

The teachers' views of NES are consistent in how they define one and how they associate NES with British English, accent and RP. In doing so, many of the participants disassociate themselves from a NES status, and instead position themselves as NNES. In many respects the participants are asserting an ideology that semantically links NES with countries in Kachru's (1986) inner circle, even though those not born in the UK are clearly inner circle speakers as well, having "functional nativeness" (Kachru 2004). Although Kachru did not explicitly make a connection between inner circle speakers and NES in his original conception of the concentric circles, there is an implied link. Kachru's (2004) more recent interpretation suggests that it possible to be an inner circle speaker but not be a NES.

In the attitudes and beliefs about NES and NNES the teachers enact language ideologies related to native speakerism. They identify specific NES from certain countries and certain social groups within those countries as being *iconic* representations on NES. They also enact *erasure* by positioning themselves as NNES, and outside of the 'NES community.' And finally, they enact *fractal recursivity* by equating the NES with British English and asserting that this is 'good' English, and also that they are 'better' or 'closer' to a representation of NES than students.

3.2 Circumventing Native Speaker Essentialism

Instead of claiming status as NES to gain 'authenticity' as English speakers and English language teachers, the participants are more inclined to highlight other aspects of their linguistic identity such as their multilingualism, and also how they are able to overcome the students' prejudice who perceive them as NNES or as inauthentic NES.

In the following extract, T9 asserts pride in her multilingualism rather than her ability to speak English to a native speaker standard.

1.	I:	i'll come back to teaching in a bit I wa- i was going
		to ask about languages=
2.	T9:	=aha i speak six languages
3.	I:	<u>six</u> languages
4.	T9:	yes (.) yes
5.	I:	blimey
6.	T9:	i speak err i can speak hindi gujarati urdu (.) err
		hindi gujarati urdu (.) english

7.   (.) <u>swa</u>hili (0.5) one more is remaining (2.0)
what did I say punjabi yeah

8.   Punjabi […]i've got this language skills
you know we are assessing here if a

9.   swahili person comes i can communicate in my class
i can communicate and i

10.   like i i enjoy learning languages i know a lot of er
basic polish language basic

11.   slovakian language because i have a lot
of pre-entry students and i have to

12.   communicate with them sometimes and (.)
there is no- not always translation

13.   so little little things like you know
the signature and write and read i i try and

14.   mention those and they enjoy

15.   I: yeah that you can say a few words in=

16.   T9:   =they just you know really enjoy because they think I'm relating

17.   I: yeah yeah yeah

18.   T9:   to their origin and and and you know
i'm not like a a so-called english teacher

19.   who doesn't know no other language
you know i'm i'm a multi-language

20.   speaker and i think it's a err
it's a very good talent to have   (07.03.12)

T9 is very quick to pre-empt a question by mentioning how many languages she speaks and then proceeds to list them all. T9 is very proud of the number of languages that she speaks and is enthusiastic talking about her languages and with whom she uses them and also her level of ability with each of the different languages. The other participants in the study also talk in detail about their languages. Although she demarcates the languages into bounded systems, when I ask her how she ranks them in terms of her first language and second language etc., she finds it difficult to consider language in this way and perceives them more as a collection of languages she knows. However, the necessity of language discourses requires the categorisation of languages into bounded units. She also shows pride in her multilingualism and knowing other languages that her students speak such as Polish and Slovakian. Her ability enables her to relate to her students and, according to her, they appreciate it. She also dismisses the ideological construct that the ideal English teacher is a monolingual NES.

The importance that the participants give to their multilingualism is evident not only among first generation migrants, but also among second generation. For example, T3, a second generation migrant, emphasises her bilingualism rather than being a NES, and visualise these as two separate identities. Even though she could be both

a NES and bilingual, she feels that bilingualism is a more important identity than
being a NES.

1.   T3:   but you see i was but i don't consider native to
             do i consider myself a native
2.   speaker i think i make a lot of errors still
             but i don't know whether that's down
3.   to whether i just can't speak
             English properly or @@@@@@ actually I
4.   wouldn't consid- i'm not a native i'm
             bilingual I'm not a second language
5.   speaker i would consider myself bilingual   (06.12.12)

T3 considers the question of whether she is a native speaker, verbalising her thoughts
in l.1-3, and makes a joke about not 'speaking English properly'. It would seem that
she associates the NES with an idealized notion of a NES. To reconcile her belief
that she might not be a NES, because her language does not meet her expectation of
a NES, which is perhaps related to 'British Standard English', she decides on a
linguistic identity of being bilingual.

   Many of the participants utilize their multilingualism in class to assist students
with their English learning; despite prevailing attitudes within English language
teaching that other languages should be avoided in the English language classroom.
This is evident in l.8, when T9 was told off for using Gujarati.

1.   T5:   i erm teach this group and they're asians you know
             or hindu people (.) and
2.   initially when i went to teach them first i said
             you know oh we don't speak any
3.   english in the class i mean we don't speak
             any gujarati in the class we speak
4.   only english (.) this was 2 years ago i'm now
             teaching them this is my third
5.   year and now i find i'm speaking more and more (.)
             gujarati with them to
6.   explain to them things (.) but they are learning (.)
             they are learning because i
7.   can (1.0)
8.   T9:   i was told off once for using gujarati @@@@
9.   […]
10.   T2:   i i i (5.0) there is something to be said for that rule
             which doesn't click (.) to be
11.   explained in the mother tongue once you've done
             your bit in english and you
12.   explain the word in english you explain
             the rule in english (.) and it still

13.	doesn't click the mother tongue comes in its
	re- reassuring for the people who
14.	have got the <u>rule</u> and it's <u>clarify</u> for the people
	who haven't <u>got</u> the rule and
15.	what's wrong with that (05.12.12)

In l.2-4 T3 states that she attempted to impose an 'English only' rule in the class-room, which is the expectation of the college and also emphasised in teacher train-ing and ESL methodology books. However, this approach is not necessarily working for T3 and she is now using more Gujarati, reacting against the rules by utilizing her multilingual abilities. Critiquing teachers' practices aims to regulate their practices and attitudes. Within the college and within English language teaching more gener-ally, other languages are considered an obstruction to learning within the classroom. However, T5 uses Gujarati in the classroom to help her learners, and finds it benefi-cial, which the other participants agree with. The reaction against using other lan-guages in the classroom is evident when T9 interjects to note that she was told off for using Gujarati. What is evident is that these teachers believe that being multilin-gual is perhaps a more beneficial attribute in the classroom than being a NES. Several of the participants emphasise the benefits that using other languages in the ESOL classroom can bring, using micro language management (Lo Bianco 2010) to do so. This could involve the extent and use of L1 by the learners and the teacher, deci-sions about when and whether to correct learners' English and decisions on the students' suitability for formal assessment.

Doerr's (2009) theoretical framework is evident in relation to the participants' assertions of multilingualism, and by doing so they circumvent native speakerism. They position themselves as *iconic* representations of a bilingual or multilingual speaker which they assert is beneficial in the English language classroom. They reverse the effects of *erasure* by rendering themselves visible as bi/multilinguals, and also enact *fractal recursivity* by asserting a high level of competence in lan-guages other than English.

3.3   Practices

Many of the participants spoke about the prejudice that they had experienced while growing up or when they arrived in the UK, which has continued into their working environment. T10, for example, states that she has experienced student prejudice during initial assessment. T10 notes that some students have a preference for white teachers believing that their English will be more 'proper'.

1.	T10:	a lot of <u>times</u> especially from eastern european you know well me being asian
2.		i've yo- you do feel like they would have preferred a na- °native speaker°
3.	I:	well you are a native speaker aren't you (.) you are well you are a native
4.		speaker
5.	T10:	well (.) a white person i'll put it that way @@@@
6.	I:	right
7.	T10:	not being racist or what
8.	I:	right okay so they they sort of equate [native speaker
9.	T10:	[that that is
10.	I:	with whiteness students do or
11.	T10:	i (.) i i don't know i've noticed this this is my experience being in esol erm (.)
12.		whenever you do an assessment or something this is from years i've noticed
13.		you'd get learners asking you ↑who who is the teacher (.) is he white (.) yeah
14.		so or if they know the name you know oh that's alright because that person is
15.		white yeah and it makes me think hang on i'm (1.0) i do the same thing as that
16.		person but then gradually i think (.) erm things change and then you (0.5) it
17.		that would be the initial sort of thought and then they change afterwards

(21.12.12)

Prejudice from students is a common experience among Asian teachers who are classified as NNES on the basis of their ethnicity. T10 positions herself as being a NNES in l.1-3 because she is Asian and associates white with NES, and also becomes noticeably quieter. She does not reject my positioning of her as a NES, and instead reframes her opinion that students would prefer a white teacher. She is slightly hesitant in expressing herself in ll.11-17, and appears to not want to explicitly state that she believes students equate whiteness with NES. In l.5, T10 claims that students would prefer a white teacher who they semantically relate with a NES. T10 also states that at initial assessment the students check the names of their teachers to determine the ethnicity of the teacher. Names can inform students of the teachers' ethnic origin and there is an automatic assumption that if they have a non-Anglo name then they are NNES. T10 is quick to highlight her belief that the students' opinion is not related to racism, and maybe the reason is related to accent as another participant asserts that some students believe they would not be able to understand a NNES teacher. T10 shows that she is unhappy and to a certain extent quite offended about this situation, stating that 'she does the same thing', referring to her doing the

same job as white teachers in l.15. However, she also notes that the students appear to change their minds after experiencing being taught by a South Asian teacher in ll.16-17. This is what she appears to achieve without recourse to positioning herself as a NES. Other studies have also observed that students' attitudes towards NNES teachers or non-white English teachers become more positive following their experience in the classroom (Amin 2004; Moussu 2002, 2006, cited in Braine 2010).

Although the participants state that students were negatively disposed towards being taught by a British-Asian teacher, when we discussed which accents they had heard students had problems with, only French, Scottish and local accents are mentioned. None of the teachers suggest that they were aware of Indian accents being a problem for students after they joined a class. This does seem to imply that British-Asian teachers are able to overcome this prejudice and leave students with the impression that other accents are more difficult to understand.

The teachers presented overcoming student's preconceptions as a 'battle' to prove their worthiness as teachers and "authentic" English speakers. However, in doing so they do not position themselves as NES in order to justify their position as teachers, instead they presented stories of overcoming prejudice through teaching practice. For example, T11 accepts that she is a NES, even though the students do not see her as one, and argues that students have to be in class with her to overcome their prejudice towards non-white teachers and their accent.

1. T11: and in the same way that i i think (2.0)
             a good teacher (1.5) should be able to
2.   overcome those prejudices with w- we still
             get it from the students obviously
3.   from all cultures
4. I: what kind of thing
5. T11: yeah things like they would like (.)
             they want a proper you've heard er er a
6.   proper english teacher yeah you know
             what i mean yes but sometimes you tell
7.   them yeah b- b- but i accept that's part of er the language learning
8. I: but surely i mean your English is is i mean
             if i if i was speaking (.) er to you i
9.   would assume you were a native speaker and you are really
10. T11: yeah but you see what the student first of all
             need to:: be: in the class with me
11. I: hm::::
12. T11: yes
13. I: right okay
14. T11: before they for a while before they:::: they::: (.)
             they get the feel that i'm
15.   comfortable with english language
16. I: right okay do they test you or
17. T11: yes efl students used to

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18   I:     really
19.  T11:   yes but you see i i did o levels
            which was studying macbeth you know and you
20.         know and all this and all this literary
            and that's what o levels was in those days
21.         so I'm quite well read and knowledgeable
            about what's going on so I think
22.         the ESL students did used test
            they're a different breed those students
```
(09.05.12)

Unlike T10, who mentions specific national groups, T11 claims in l.3 that these are students from "all cultures." T11 mentions that she has experienced prejudice with students in the classroom because they want a "proper English teacher," with the implication that this is a white English teacher. She also mentions that "we still get it from students" in l.2, including herself in a broad grouping of non-white teachers and suggesting that this is an on-going situation since she started teaching. There is also acceptance and expectation of this prejudice from some students towards non-white teachers in ll.7-8 as this being part of the students' learning process. Therefore, T11 considers that learning English also involves understanding other cultures and overcoming prejudice. This impacts on T11's classroom practices and there is a need for her to assert herself and prove her ability to teach English and know English. While this is true of all teachers to a certain extent, her ethnicity undoubtedly creates an additional complication to overcome. T11, in ll.11-17, suggests that once the students have been in the classroom, and she is able to demonstrate her ability of using English, she appears to be accepted as an authentic English speaker, despite being positioned as a NNES.

In addition to discussing their practices, and how students become comfortable with their knowledge and ability as English language teacher, T7 discusses her own life with the students. T7 chooses to give more information about herself and her problems, than perhaps other teachers tend to do. T7's ethnicity, being positioned as a NNES, and her teaching practice of devolving information about her life allow the students to identify with her in a way that perhaps white NESs cannot, because they may appear more distant to the students.

```
1.   T7:    well i had tutorial with one of the learners
            a couple of weeks ago and he
2.          said erm (.) he and I had had arguments in class
            and he apologised to me and
3.          he says you're the only only tutor
            who has made us feel (2.0) proud the way
4.          we are it's just they make you when you talk
            about the fire and you say oh
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5.	she's normal you have fires @@@ in the house	
	as well yeah or have problem	
6.	with my daughter or something it's like oh	
	she's normal you know she talks	
7.	about and makes us feel comfortable makes us	
	feel like coming to class that	
8.	we are (.) it's the everyday things that	
	we are learning as part and parcel of	
9.	life it's not only that we have to learn the (1.0) addings	
	at the end or there are	
10.	other things that makes us feel important	(06.03.13)

Although T7 has a disagreement with a student, he apologises and goes further to assert that T7 makes them feel 'proud of the way they are' in ll.3-4. T7 also suggests that she makes them feel this way because she talks about her own problems and students relate this to their own life and the problems they have. This approach is T7's strength and makes the students feel that she is one of them and not a 'superior' NES and distant from the students. While she agrees that grammar is important, there are other relevant aspects of language learning which she gives to the students, and this gives her authenticity as a teacher in the classroom.

4   Conclusion

The multilingual teachers in this study, in their attitudes, enact an essentialised native speaker ideology, by prescribing to the idealised notion of a NES related to birth, nation and ethnicity. Many of them believe in the traditional view of a NES as white, from Anglophone countries and speak a particular variety of English. Those born outside the UK do not necessarily want to be considered NES or 'pass' as NES, and appear content to be accepted as NNES. However, inevitably, this partly derives from western language ideologies that position them as NNES. Butler (1997) argues that individuals are dependent on their status of being dominated for their existence, because being subjugated becomes an important part of their self-identity. And therefore, individuals have to perform their identities in a specific way in order to be recognised by others within society (ibid).

However, in other ways, the teachers reacted against some aspects of native speakerism and how this transfers into the philosophy of English language teaching. For example, some of the teachers, like T10, were annoyed that white teachers are afforded higher status by the students. They also opposed the idea that an English language teacher should be a NES. One reason for this, is that many of them do not believe they are NES, but are English language teachers. Some also resisted the philosophy that the target language should be the only one used in the classroom, and several stated the benefits of utilizing their multilingualism to enable learning.

As some of my participants make clear, they appear content with the label NNES, but they are dissatisfied with the associations of NNES which positions them as lower than NES. Although it has been observed that these prejudices could have a detrimental effect on the self-image of NNES teachers (Amin 2004; Lowe and Pinner 2016), this was not evident among the participants in this study, who tend to 'brush-off' these challenges to their authenticity as teachers. I would suggest that one of the reasons for this, is that these teachers have significant teaching experience and feel secure in their own professional identity. Moreover, the participants could also be emboldened by the multiculturalism in the city and the college, where South-Asian ethnicity is a sizeable minority, and within the ESOL department, where, at around 40%, English teachers of South Asian heritage are the largest ethnic group. In their teaching context essentialised notions of NES and NNES dichotomy have not become unimportant, but through their multilingualism and teaching practices the teachers in this study seek to make these preconceived identities irrelevant.

In some ways academics, myself included, help to perpetuate the NES/NNES dichotomy in attempting to undermine it. The dichotomy, based on place of birth and first language, is easily contested, wholly unsupported and is undermined by individuals who do not easily reside in either of these two categories. And yet it remains an irresistible concept to those who are perhaps less aware or concerned about the power dynamics which reside behind the dichotomy. And therefore, this disjuncture provides unending debate which to certain extent serves the interests of those who would wish to maintain the dichotomy. The ideological construct of the native speaker is present and accepted in many societies which raises the question of whether the problem of native speaker essentialism is more specifically related to the English language, and whether English should still be considered a language in the same way as other languages.

Appendix: Transcription Conventions

(@@@@)	Laughter: The length of the @ indicates the length of the laughter
[	Left sided bracket indicate where overlapping speech occurs
°	Indicates talk which is noticeably quieter than the surrounding talk
(1.5)	Numbers in parentheses indicate the periods of silence in tenths of second
(.)	Indicates a pause in talk of less than 0.2 s
Becas-	A hyphen indicates words which are incomplete because of abrupt cut off or self-interruption
He says	Underlined words indicate stress or emphasis
=	Equal signs indicate latching with no noticeable silence between the talk of different people
:::	Colons indicate the sound was prolonged
[…]	Parentheses with three dots indicate that there is a gap between the sections of the transcription which were not included

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"I Speak How I Speak:" A Discussion of Accent and Identity Within Teachers of ELT

Alex Baratta

Abstract This discussion approaches the subject of English language teaching (ELT) from a linguistic point of view, asking the question 'what kind of *accent(s)* is privileged within the field of ELT?' Arguably, British and American accents have historically been the 'norm,' and represented mostly by Received Pronunciation and General American within the field of ELT. Where do native speakers of English fit, however, if normally speaking with less common accents (from the ELT perspective), such as those deriving from New York City or Glasgow? The need to be fully understood by one's students is not being ignored, and it is conceded that some accents can be harder to understand than others (even amongst native speakers of English). Nonetheless, the linguistic reality for English language learners is that there are a multitude of accents to contend with amongst native speakers of English, and very often they do not conform to the suggested 'one size fits all' approach that is sometimes displayed within English language teachers' accents, based on the relevant literature, personal anecdotes and the experiences of an English as a second language (ESL) teacher with an accent deemed 'inappropriate' for her profession. While we would hope for more inclusivity amongst modern English language teachers in terms of race, sex and 'NEST' vs. 'NNEST', what might the linguistic reality be for ELT in terms of teachers' accents?

1 Introduction

In terms of the ESL profession, much literature suggests that students prefer teachers who are native speakers of English (Beinhoff 2013; Jenkins 2006; Kaur 2014; Kelch and Santana-Williamson 2002; Sung 2016). There is arguably a perception that native speakers are somehow more 'authentic.' A recent law passed in Arizona in fact states that to be an English teacher in the public schools, teachers must be

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'fluent' in the English language. This is hardly controversial, yet it has led to NNESTs fearing for their employment, as a by-product of the legislation, according to its interpretation, is that teachers with noticeable foreign accents are perceived as less qualified. Ballard (2013) discusses this in terms of employment discrimination, advocating the need instead to expose students to a variety of Englishes, which would include a variety of accents. Moussu (2010) in fact argues that the linguistic background of teachers is but one variable amongst many others, and the binary opposition of NEST vs. NNEST should be avoided. This is a debate that will likely continue, and the heated feelings on both sides have indeed been witnessed with the Arizona legislation, which has also served to fuel the linguistic fire.

Despite the importance of this particular subject, this paper approaches the language of ESL teachers from a relatively under-researched perspective. While NESTs have historically been perceived as more qualified to teach ESL, there is a lack of information regarding which specific accents of NESTs are preferred. Thus, while NESTs have perhaps enjoyed more privilege, what are the implications for specific *accents* amongst NESTs that are more privileged than others? In other words, rather than suppose that a high status as a NEST is automatically assumed, part of the *native speaker fallacy* (Phillipson 1992), we should instead look to particular accents of NESTs in order to shed light on those which might, despite belonging to native speakers, be stigmatized and thus, less acceptable. While RP and General American have historically been the norm for ESL teaching materials, if not teachers, there are many other accents to be heard amongst NESTs; where do they fit, however? I begin this discussion by first considering the implications for those who seek to modify their accents, precisely because, even as native speakers, there are accents deemed, or believed to be, less prestigious.

From the moment we speak, we reveal a part of who we are, whether consciously or not, as our personal identity, and sense of self, are arguably forged through the language we use. While this can be at the level of language per se (e.g., Korean, Turkish, Swahili, and so on), this paper is focused on accent, and more specifically, the accents used by native speakers of English. For teachers, whose speaking voice is a fundamental part of their career, accent is perhaps something that is indeed focused on, by the teachers themselves and their students alike. This is especially true for ESL teachers, who must ensure that their oral delivery is clearly understood by their students, perhaps even having to make adjustments at times to aid their students' understanding. Such adjustments need not always involve speaking more slowly; sometimes, there might be a need, perceived though it may be on the teacher's part, for teachers to adjust their accent.

What might the implications be for personal identity when we consciously modify our accent, however? This is not to say that an American ESL teacher changes his/her accent wholesale to a British accent, or that a Californian suddenly becomes a New Yorker in the classroom and upon leaving to go home, reverts back to sounding more like his place of birth. Rather, people may indeed make the choice to modify their accent in certain ways, but still be identified (at least by native speakers of English) as being from their region of origin. In other words, if a Londoner still

sounds like a Londoner in and out of the classroom – likewise for all accent varieties – then what's the problem?

First, we need to consider the pride that many display in their otherwise unmodified accents. It can be regarded as a marker of personal identity by virtue of the fact it clearly reveals one's country of origin and on a more narrow level, one's region. Therefore, an individual who is proud of being a Mancunian (from the city of Manchester, England) would probably be proud of his/her Mancunian accent – a dead giveaway (certainly in England), if you like, as to where the individual is from. Going further, the positive connotations and associations (some obvious, some less so) regarding England's third biggest city – industry, a thriving music scene, major regeneration – could be inspired by, and attributed to, the accent itself, as well as connotations of being from the north of England in general, such as being friendly and open. Essentially, then, accents can create perceived associations, and pride in one's place of birth can equate to pride in one's accent, as a symbol of one's regional origins. Therefore, the decision to modify one's accent can be regarded by some speakers as problematic, along the lines of 'Well, this is how I speak and it's who I am! Why change?'

Second, associations made with certain accents are not always positive, thus tying in with the question posed above. This can lead to interlocutors ascribing negative values to specific accents that they hear and in doing so, this reveals how others also ascribe linguistic identities to speakers. Accent and identity, therefore, is a two-way street. The speaker's evaluation of his/her accent might be along the lines of 'it makes me sound genuine'; the interlocutor's evaluation, however, might be 'this guy sounds aggressive!' While speakers may indeed be proud (or certainly not ashamed) of their accent, they are often aware of the negative connotations that others may ascribe to them within a broad socio-cultural context, and accents can lead to negative associations being made, not just with the accent itself, but the speaker also. Unfair though this is, and often unfounded, it is nonetheless a reality.

For example, within the USA, the accent centered in New York City can be, to the ears of those outside of the city (say, from the west coast), unpleasant. Negative judgements of the accent can lead to labels being attached to the speakers themselves, leading to negative imagery (often exacerbated by the media) involving rudeness and aggression. Do people who make such negative judgements honestly believe these labels (i.e. before they've gotten to truly know the speaker)? Probably not. Likewise, can such negative judgements be tied to specific phonological qualities in the interlocutor's mind (e.g., not pronouncing one's 'Rs' equates to sounding aggressive)? Not always. The truth is that, whether we find accents 'sexy' or 'comforting' or 'harsh' or 'ugly', we may not always be able to pinpoint exactly what we find so positive or negative about the accent per se, phonologically speaking. Even if people can offer what seems like logical answers for their accent prejudice ('well, everyone who speaks like the Queen is obviously educated, well-bred and has good manners'), the truth of the matter is quite ironic regarding accent and identity: while people's accents can contribute strongly to their personal identity and the identity ascribed to them by others, accent can never really say much about people's character – their 'true' identity perhaps – deep down inside.

However, when people hear an accent, say as part of a call center, or in any situation in which they know nothing about the person, people often make snap judgements about the person, based, partly at least, on his/her accent. This is indeed a prejudice, no different in principle to judging people based on race or sex, and essentially ascribing blanket judgements to an unknown individual, along the lines of *all women are…/all white people are…/all Russians are…*, and so on. In other words, it is often the case that we let a person's accent define the person to whom the accent belongs, and can use this, among other things, as a means to reach a decision about someone we do not really know in the first instance. For example, Lippi-Green (1997) points out that "language ideology becomes a double-edged sword" (p. 192), which can refer to a desire on the speaker's part to retain what he/she regards as an otherwise 'natural' accent, which can lead to negative connotations in some cases being made by interlocutors. Subsequently, a change in accent to appease others can lead to a perception of fraudulence on the speaker's part. As Penrose (1993) succinctly puts it, this can involve "multiple or divided loyalties" (p. 34). Nonetheless, given that "language variation carries social meanings and so can bring very different attitudinal reactions, or even social disadvantage" (Garrett 2010, p. 2), it may mean that for some ESL teachers, there is a linguistic tug of war between speaking 'naturally' and adopting a 'teacher voice'.

Below is a table that offers some popular perceptions about various native speaker accents, both positive and negative; the third column is deliberately left blank regarding the personality and character of the individuals who speak with such accents – how do we know anything in this regard until we truly get to know them? (Table 1)

Evaluating accents is in the ear of the 'beholder', as it were. Moreover, the value judgements can vary widely depending on who is doing the listening. For example, an individual with a strong Liverpool accent who visits the USA may find that his/her accent, while perhaps hard to understand for many Americans, might nonetheless find favor, given that the speaker is labelled with a broad identity of 'English' and this can be the source of many positive associations (e.g., cultured, polite, 'our cousins from across the pond', etc.). However, the same speaker, upon returning to England, might suddenly find – or perceive there to be – genuine prejudice from other English people who are from outside Liverpool, with the negativity toward the accent (and people) being particularly nasty at times, with associations made of

Table 1 Perceptions of accents

Accent	Positive	Negative	Individual traits
Received Pronunciation (RP)	Honest, intelligent, well mannered (Coupland and Bishop 2007)	Arrogant, aloof, cold (Hughes et al. 2012)	
Liverpool	Down to earth (Garrett 2010)	Aggressive, thief (Honeybone 2001)	
New York City	'Real'/genuine (Becker 2009)	Loud mouthed, rude (Cohen 2004)	

thievery, stupidity and a tendency toward violence (Coupland and Bishop 2007; Honeybone 2001).

However, if the interlocutors share the same accent as the speaker, then in such instances we may indeed have a case of 'linguistic harmony', in which all speakers can just 'be themselves' and not have to worry about any negative associations being made, reflective of covert prestige. Indeed, amongst themselves, Liverpudlians may celebrate their accent, referenced by Belchem (2000), as representative of "truculent defiance, collective solidarity, scallywaggery and fatalist humour which sets Liverpool and its inhabitants apart" (p. 33), thus positive associations made perhaps by many Liverpudlians. Again, perceptions – positive and negative – are a key factor in how we judge accents and in turn, the speakers, and this of course is largely dependent on the accents used by both the speakers and the interlocutors.

While it is the case that some individuals may seek out accent reduction classes, both native speakers of English and speakers of English as a second language, the discussion thus far otherwise points to two basic issues. People often take pride in their accent, but are aware that others might not. Second, if the potential is there for negative associations to be made regarding their accent, then any modification on the speaker's part may indeed be met with resentment. In other words, the question asked could be *'why should I have to modify my accent just because someone else doesn't like it?'* If that 'someone' wields a degree of power over the speaker, however, such as a job interviewer – the speaker may feel he/she has no real choice. If the decision to modify one's accent is taken purely to be understood better by one's ESL students, we might suggest that modification is merely a practical issue, to facilitate communication in the classroom, and it is conceded that even amongst native speakers of English, accents different from our own can be hard to understand sometimes. From my own experience as a Californian, I once had extreme difficulty in understanding driving directions given to me by a Philadelphian; and when I asked for 'Tom' [tɑm] during a phone call to an individual from the north of England, the respondent explained that he knew nobody by the name of *Tam* [tam].

If we look to ESL teaching from a historic perspective, it is arguably the case that the listening materials, if not the teachers themselves, were reflective of General American, General Canadian (these two accents are quite similar, but not the same) and RP, a point made earlier. I am sure that many ESL teachers can readily produce exceptions to this of course, but I do not offer it as a 'rule' in the first instance – merely a generalization. I have come across listening materials from a well-regarded ESL textbook, *Headway*, in which I heard in just one listening exercise alone a variety of accents of native English speakers, such as Scottish, New York, New Zealand and Australian. Likewise, in a recent teaching assignment in South Korea in the summer of 2012, there was a South African teacher and a teacher from New Zealand also (with the majority of the teachers speaking General American, however). Moreover, the TOEFL IBT test also prepares ESL students' listening skills by exposing them to a range of accents as part of their listening materials. But here is a question to consider: Do ESL teachers today feel completely at ease using what they perceive to be an unmodified accent in the classroom? That is, outside of the occa-

sional need perhaps to repeat certain words or slow down their speech, do all ESL teachers believe that they have an equal shot at getting the job, or do some believe that their accent is a hindrance?

Consider that while I was teaching in South Korea (from 1997–1998), the teachers were all American or Canadian. One day an individual from New Zealand came to apply for a teaching position but, as explained by the interviewer (our supervisor), he did not get the job because of his accent. The fear was that the students would not understand him. Though anecdotal, this raises two issues. First, as mentioned, how might teachers with accents that are comparatively less common within ESL instruction regard their accent in the context of their chosen field? If they are as qualified as the next teacher, but exhibit a major difference in accent only, would this even *make* a difference to their chances of getting hired? In the case of the teacher from New Zealand, it clearly made all the difference to him; he did not get the job. Of course, if ESL students go overseas to study English, then their teachers' accents will, in the main, be representative of the country in which they reside, so that the Kiwi accent will be the main one heard if, say, a Taiwanese student resides in Auckland for a year of study. The point here, however, is what the potential implications might be for ESL teachers who go abroad to teach (or choose to teach at home), if they have accents that are not perhaps deemed the 'norm' for the ESL profession.

Second, the classroom is a safe, controlled environment. The real world, however, is not. In order to truly prepare ESL students for the world of English, their exposure to it should reflect, as much as possible, the real world of English. Hearing the same kinds of accents on a daily basis with their ESL teacher(s) will only give the false impression of a one size fits all English, perhaps what might be termed 'ESL English.' This suggested term is not necessarily overly broad, as from my repeated experience teaching Chinese and Korean students at least, their collective response has consistently been that their exposure to English in the classroom since childhood has been American English, including the listening materials. However, if such students come to Manchester, England (where I now reside and teach), they are confronted with a very different accent that they are unfamiliar with and the linguistic reality of the language that they have been studying for several years is now suddenly different.

Ultimately, for ESL teachers who decide to teach abroad, or remain at home, there should be no reason for them to fear any issues regarding their accent. Job advertisements for current ESL teaching positions often specify a need for native speakers of English in broad terms, be they Irish, Australian and so on. The dominant factor here appears to be a need to simply be from a country in which English is the native, or official, language. While this can of course leave NNESTs feeling disenfranchised, the issue of one's accent, even for native English speakers, can still present a problem which is, in principle, very similar. What is the (perceived) reality on the ground for the ESL teachers themselves? Are all accents created equal in the world of ESL teaching, or do some teachers believe that having a 'less common' accent puts them at a disadvantage? If they merely perceive this to be so, it could be argued that perception is not the basis for reality. But from where do such perceptions arise? Edwards (2011) argues that "perceptions are, in fact, social reality" and

this is strongly suggested to be the case with perceptions of accents (p. 12), and, at times, the subsequent perception of the speaker.

On the other hand, if teachers have been told, by mentors or interviewers alike, that their accent is somehow not 'right' and they need to modify it (e.g., as part of teacher training), then how might this be taken by the teacher? For some, it might not be perceived one way or the other, an otherwise largely pragmatic response. But for some, comments made about their accent, no matter how tactfully they are delivered, can be a source of embarrassment or anger for teachers, especially for someone who is fully qualified to teach. For some, the mindset could be 'mess with my accent and you're messing with me'.

In summary, certain accents carry with them specific connotations, both positive and negative, and within the world of teaching, ESL more so perhaps, there may indeed be the perception, if not a belief, that a 'better' accent equates to a 'better' teacher. While there is much research on the topic of value judgements regarding accent (Baratta 2016; Coupland 1988; Coupland and Bishop 2007; Garrett 2010; Trudgill 2001), there is very little applied within the context of ESL teaching. While Alford and Strother (1990) investigated perceptions of native speaker accents by ESL students, largely in terms of students being able to distinguish different accents, this paper takes a different approach by focusing more broadly on the value judgements made for and against the accents of NESTs.

I suggest that accent can serve as linguistic symbolism, in which the values attached to the accent per se are subsequently attached to the speaker. With accents such as RP (historically) regarded positively, then the RP speaker may find him/herself in the position as being regarded broadly as 'posh' and 'educated', and by ESL students as 'speaking proper' and being 'royal'; this can leave equally qualified teachers, but with less socially desirable accents, as feeling disenfranchised. Thus, the concepts of privilege and marginalization can apply on a purely linguistic (here, accent) level, and lead to teachers perceiving themselves, and being perceived, as lesser in some way, in this case NESTs. Ironically, it is not necessarily the students who will feel this way, certainly if they are unable to distinguish native accents of English; instead, the focus is at the job interview itself, when negative perceptions of the speaker may lead to the teacher feeling potentially left out of his/her chosen profession (as was the case with the teacher from New Zealand).

2   Accent and Identity

Our accent is a contributor to our sense of self and personal identity by virtue of the fact that, as already mentioned, it reveals where we are from. Perhaps the main factor, then, is that a large part of our overall personal identity is based on our home-town/region of origin (e.g., *I'm a Cockney, I'm a New Yorker*), with accent functioning as a linguistic symbol of our regional origins. After all, how can we be certain of someone's region of origin until they open their mouths? If in doubt, we then seek to clarify (e.g., *where is your accent from?*). This personal (linguistic)

identity is one described by Joseph (2004) as being made up of "that deeper, intangible something that constitutes who one really is" (p. 1). Very often, such personal identities are associated with race (*I am black*); ethnicity (*I am Hispanic*); gender (*I am a woman*); and sexual orientation (*I am straight*); this in turn suggests possible multiple identities in various social settings.

In terms of a linguistic identity, language use is defined as "a series of acts of identity" by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985, p. 181), a reference to the idea that such a specific identity is pluralistic. This plurality can be seen in the ways we use language differently in our different roles in society, such as father, teacher and husband. Within this constructivist approach, a 'true' self does not really exist. However, I would argue the opposite, in that individuals can perhaps experience a sense of the 'real me' when, ironically, they are not seeking to modify their accent, and by extension, impress someone in some way – in other words, in the absence of a perceived need to modify one's accent to avoid negative perceptions or fit in, the accent that is derived from this situation is arguably one particular 'true' (linguistic) self.

Overall, I argue that there are *real me's*, multiple identities forged through our language use that are perceived as 'real' and 'true' largely because they are chosen by the speaker and are not a product of someone else's standards for how people 'should' speak. The resulting identity created as a result of someone else's directive, implied though it may be, can be regarded as an "ought to identity" (Taylor 2013), which can differ considerably from a "want to" identity which is regarded as more authentic.

Furthermore, linguistic identity is also forged based on group membership, in that a sense of belonging to a group based on a shared use of language can define someone by virtue of belonging to a larger group with shared features – here, a shared accent. This can be seen with the use of creaky voice used by Valley Girls; the broad vowels of Yorkshire, with *go* realized as [goː]; or the glottal stop in Cockney English, as realized in words such as *water* [woʊʔə]. Perhaps the acid test for this personal identity as realized through group membership can be seen if we are overseas, or merely in a new part of our home country, and suddenly hear an accent that we ourselves use – a case of hearing someone who is from 'home', whether home is the USA while we are visiting Chile, or whether home means Los Angeles while we are visiting Houston. We hear someone who is deemed to be 'one of us', again a case of ascribing qualities to a stranger based, partly at least, on his/her accent. Therefore, one's accent can demonstrate allegiance to a given sociocultural group and inherent identification with the group (Becker 2009; Foulkes and Docherty 1999; Trudgill 1986). Indeed, Mugglestone (2003) states that accent acts "as a marker of group membership and as a signal of solidarity," which could be enacted based on the values associated with the group, if not perhaps emotional significance, akin to displaying the colors of one's favorite sports team (p. 43).

Furthermore, accent plays a "fundamental role" (Joseph 2004, p. 3) in terms of how we construct the identity of others, essentially relating to initial perceptions we make of people often when we only have an accent to judge them by (e.g., employees at a call center). This specific identity is referred to by Hecht et al. (2001) as the enacted identity, based on our use of language and communication. However, this enacted identity is not always clear-cut in the sense that others may ascribe identities

to individuals independent of the individual attempting to be identified in a specific way. For example, an individual attempting to sound less regional in order to present an identity to others of being 'educated' does not mean that he/she will be perceived as desired; likewise, the enacted identity is one that can be ascribed regardless as to whether or not the individual is seeking to have a specific identity ascribed by others.

Kinzler et al. (2009) further state that "language may provide an…important, social category that guides inferences about individuals from infancy throughout adulthood" (p. 624). This is telling as it emphasizes that perceptions are made of individuals based solely on their accent. Should our accent be perceived negatively, this can lead to accent modification, as a means to avoid perceived discrimination. Hudson (1980) succinctly illustrates this, saying that within societies "people are credited with different amounts of intelligence, friendliness and other such virtues according to the way they speak" (p. 193).

The point to be made is simply that our accent is a part of us. It represents who we are, how we are perceived by others (both good and bad) and serves as a symbol of where we are from. These are important considerations. Therefore, if we make the choice to consciously modify our accent, then who are we exactly? If we know we are not being linguistically true to ourselves, then who are we when we make a linguistic change? This is part of accommodation (Bell 1984; Eckert and Rickford 2001; Garrett 2010; Giles 1973; Labov 1966), in which we modify our speech (which could include more than just accent of course) to suit the context of communication. Sometimes, this may involve attempting to sound more like those with whom we are conversing and very often, this can involve upward convergence (Giles 1973) in which we seek to modify our accent to a variety held in higher regard in society. In Britain, this does not necessarily mean throwing the baby out with the linguistic bath water and changing from Liverpudlian to RP; rather, it might simply mean trying to sound less regional (e.g., avoiding glottal stops).

It is acknowledged that linguistic modification is often below the level of consciousness, and people might well modify their accent automatically without giving it much thought at all, as they negotiate various identities throughout their day via their use of language. This could include speaking slowly and carefully, as part of 'parentese' when speaking with one's toddler, to using taboo language when having a drink 'with the boys'. Indeed, language change need not always involve accent change, but can include much more, such as our choice of words and voice tone. Nonetheless, individuals can also make a conscious choice to modify their accent and if doing so, especially as a means to avoid the perceived negative perceptions of others, then how might this impact on one's sense of self? Considering the potential for individuals to have pride, or certainly a lack of shame, regarding their accent, then modifying it to appease others (or at least feeling that this is the reality, such as at job interviews), can lead to a sense of linguistic selling out (Baratta 2016). For others, it may not so much as raise an eyebrow, and some may regard accent modification as a means to create a better impression as no different than putting on a suit and tie if the situation demands – it is all part of the overall package and we do what we have to do.

However, if people are told that a change in accent is necessary, certainly for employment purposes, then this adds another dimension perhaps. Now, accent modification is not so much a reaction, or strategy, to perceived prejudice. It is instead a response to someone's suggestion at least, or at worst, a response to someone else's directive. Whether this reveals linguistic prejudice per se is perhaps up for debate; however, if being told that a modified accent is in keeping with the situation, notably in work-based contexts, then there is the potential for offense to be caused, especially if the ESL teacher in question has just aced his/her teacher training.

3   Teacher Identity and Accent

It is clear of course that ESL teachers need to be understood, as they are teaching in the very language that their students are trying to master. Ballard (2013) reports that "familiarity with an accent correlate(s) with comprehensibility and acceptability as a teacher;" (p. 47) again, this is a valid point. Nonetheless, she also argues that "students should be exposed to a range of different accents" (ibid, p. 47). This demonstrates that while ESL students might find accents outside of their personal experience difficult at first to comprehend, with increased exposure they can become proficient in understanding L1 English accents that go beyond the textbook. I state again that teachers might nonetheless feel the need to modify their accent, even if they speak with an accent deemed more common to the ESL profession. I remember teaching children in Korea and often pronouncing my Ts as opposed to using the American flap, so that words such as *writing* were realized as [ɹaɪtɪŋ] and not my usual [ɹaɪɾɪŋ]. This caused me to question the practice in the context of an advanced group of adult students, one of whom then questioned me as to why I sounded 'British'. The point here, however, is whether or not ESL teachers with less common accents (for lack of a better term) feel pressure to modify their accent even more so, or in fact have been told to do so.

Blum and Johnson (2012) further argue that ESL teachers should not necessarily be primarily L1 English speakers, and there should be more representation from those who are non-native speakers (but have native fluency) (p. 175); this would certainly add even more linguistic diversity to the profession, which can only be a positive move given the diversity of accents of both L1 and L2 English speakers around the world. Retention of primarily L1 English speakers creates a situation referred to as "linguistic sterilization" (p. 175); this term might also be applied, however, to avoidance of less common accents for those that, historically at least, tend to be favored. Hughes et al. (2012), for example, refer to RP in the context of ESL teaching as being regarded (or having been regarded) as "the 'best', most 'correct' accent," which would imply that regional British accents, unless perhaps heavily modified, are not 'correct' (p. 4). Such value judgements may still be the reality for some in British society, but they are not reflective of the linguistic reality in Britain, in which only a small minority speak RP, leaving the majority to speak, by

definition, with a regional accent (with RP being a class-based accent, and not tied to a specific region per se).

Thus, while ESL teachers with a variety of accents might regard accent-switching neutrally, and merely a response to the immediate context (e.g., the proficiency level of their students), the situation is quite different if someone else is telling us how to use our language. This goes beyond personal choice. A teacher may speak differently in the classroom, as opposed to the staff room or when talking to students' parents, and this represents a more natural fluidity to one's overall 'teacher voice'. However, if we feel we lack choice in the matter, then choice is removed and the identity created is someone else's, not the teacher's.

4   The Experiences of Mary[1]

Mary is one of five teachers who responded to a questionnaire as part of a previous study I conducted in 2014, out of a total of 92 individuals across Britain. While the study was focused on accent and identity amongst British people, and the implications for identity when choosing to modify one's accent, I focus entirely on the responses of Mary in this paper as the only teacher with experience in ESL.

Mary is from Rochdale in Greater Manchester, in the north of England, but resides in the south. As with all participants in the study, she was asked three central questions:

1. How does your accent contribute to personal identity?
2. Do you ever choose to modify your accent? If so, how and why?
3. How does accent modification affect your sense of self and personal identity?

Taking each question in turn, Mary explained that she "strongly identifies with being a 'Northerner'" and cited the positive characteristics that she attributes to people from the north of England: "straightforwardness, left leaning politics, cosmopolitan and inclusive cities…and friendliness." While her response is implicit regarding the connection between her accent and identity, the connection is nonetheless clearly explained. Mary suggests that her accent serves, for her personally, to signal the positive characteristics applied to the north, albeit more so perhaps by fellow northerners; as mentioned previously, accents can serve as social symbols in this regard. When we hear an accent and identify its region of origin, it is arguably common to then ascribe qualities associated with that region to the accent, and in turn, to the speaker – this is Mary's self-perception based on her accent.

However, accent as a social symbol can mean different things to different people, notably in terms of the potential for a discrepancy between self-evaluation (e.g., "my accent marks me as a northerner, and northerners are straightforward"), compared with the evaluations of others. Mary addresses this in her response to choosing to modify her accent. Specifically, Mary explained that her ESL students "are

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[1] Mary is an anonymised name.

used to Cambridge (Cambridge University Press) material with RP accents" and hence, they are unaccustomed to her accent. While Mary does not give specific phonological examples of how she modifies her accent, she suggests she simply tries to make it sound less regional and explained that she blends her accent "to fit those around me." In terms of the 'why', however, the answer points to difficulty being understood by ESL students.

As mentioned, it is perhaps a fair comment to acknowledge that some accents of English may indeed be more difficult to understand than others; however, I do not believe that there are any accents that are inherently difficult to comprehend. Rather, it is a matter of which accents we are normally accustomed to hearing. Furthermore, for ESL students, more so those who reside in England (or any English-speaking country), they will be exposed to a variety of accents in their personal lives; therefore, they need to be exposed to a variety of accents inside the classroom. How can a classroom truly prepare them for daily communication if the listening materials, let alone the teachers, display accents which do not reflect the linguistic diversity on the outside? This is especially true in England, in which there is a multitude of accents to be heard across relatively short distances. Moreover, as Ballard (2013) points out, "in the case that a teacher, or speaker, has a strong accent, it does not necessarily mean that the speaker is incomprehensible" (p. 50).

Mary referenced her job interview specifically, as an example of the issue that this paper seeks to discuss. Her comment that she modifies her accent to fit those around her, notably those from the south, was further addressed with a comment that she was not very successful in this regard (though she did not identify the source). In the interview, she was told that she sounded "too Northern" to teach ESL and that this would present the "wrong impression." She did not mention the accents of the interviewers, but presumably they were from the south. This, of course, does not identify their accent, but the relevant factor is how *Mary's* accent was judged. Without further information as to why the interviewers commented the way they did about Mary's (northern) accent, we cannot be precise in our interpretation. However, there is much that can be speculated.

First, are the interviewers displaying overt linguistic prejudice, a case of accentism? This is difficult to say. On the one hand, there was no mention of more 'obvious' prejudice, such as "your northern accent is unattractive" or "your accent makes you sound unintelligent." Such beliefs are often attributed to certain accents, and one of the negative stereotypes of northerners is that they are 'thick' (slow, stupid). This is a blanket stereotype in that, regional northern stereotypes aside, northerners *in general* are often described in this way by southerners. Nonetheless, if someone were told in an interview for a teaching position the following, how would it probably be taken?

- "Your **race** will give the wrong impression"
- "Your **age** will give the wrong impression"
- "Your **religion** will give the wrong impression"

It is hard to imagine a context in which comments such as those above, or even the mere implication of such sentiments, would be acceptable. It appears, however, that

accent can be discussed in negative terms in a work context – to an extent. I again concede that the clarity of a teacher's voice is paramount to the job, but any initial difficulties understanding a more regional accent will be overcome only by exposure to the accent(s) in question. While IELTS examination materials may indeed still rely on RP to a large extent, ESL students are also being prepared for their daily lives, and not just their academic lives. Therefore, a focus on general English skills, a staple of ESL provision of course, needs to include a variety of authentic accents and not just with the listening materials, but from the teachers themselves.

Perhaps an even greater issue is the possibility that the interviewers believed that they were perfectly fair to mention Mary's accent as a liability, though perhaps not in those words. Is this honestly a case of 'good' advice, however? The interviewers may have been mindful of the prevalence of RP accents within listening materials, as Mary herself referred to. Perhaps their reference to her accent being "too north-ern" was an indirect reference to her accent being potentially hard to (initially) understand. In their view, must regionally-accented teachers, who form the vast majority in England, modify their accents to be understood, whereas RP speakers can afford to speak with an 'undiluted' accent? However, the comment of Mary's accent creating the "wrong impression" appears particularly harsh. Even without knowledge of what preceded and followed these words, it is still fair to determine this to be a clearly negative comment. What impression do we, as ESL teachers, wish to make to our students? Clearly, being passionate to teach, helpful, knowl-edgeable and patient are key qualities in the teaching profession overall, but what is the *linguistic impression* that we must create for our students, as the interviewers seemed to focus on this in particular. If RP, or simply an accent more familiar to ESL students, is deemed the norm and the unmarked form for teaching, then this will exclude the majority of teachers, certainly within the UK, or at least England. Perhaps the "wrong impression" was a blunt way to explain that students would simply not understand Mary but ironically, accents judged more 'fitting' for ESL teaching, such as RP, would themselves give the wrong impression, given that RP is an accent used by only 3% of the population (in England) (Trudgill 2001).

It is important to also note that RP is not, contrary to popular opinion, a "south-ern accent." While RP had its phonological roots in the southeast, it is a class-based accent (Hughes et al. 2012) and is not, therefore, tied to a specific region within England. As a result, northerners and southerners alike can speak RP, if of a higher class level. Ultimately, ESL teachers need to prepare their students for the kind of English that lurks beyond the confines of the classroom. More than teaching useful everyday phrases, important though these are, we must help students to become accustomed to the kinds of accents, and even dialects, that are used outside in the real world, not just the educational world. While ESL students may not choose to use dialect themselves (examples in England being *it were lovely; am you alright?; I loves her*), they nonetheless need to recognize such language in order to under-stand it and then, know how to respond appropriately to their interlocutor.

Mary addressed the final question, centered on the effects of accent modification on her personal identity, by citing the prejudice felt toward northerners by southerners. She explained that southerners attributed "negative characteristics" to

northerners, such as "stupidity, class…inferiority. I feel it affects my personality in that I cannot be 'me' if I want to earn an income or fit in." Trudgill (1976) has reported on this linguistic north-south divide, and clearly, the need Mary feels to modify her accent (but not "to the point of decimation", as she put it) is a reflection of the negativity sometimes felt towards northerners (by southerners) and of course attributed to her by means of her accent clearly marking her as a northerner, modified though it might be. This negativity may have been behind the comments made by the interviewers and it is ironic that the students' views regarding her accent are not perhaps the driving force behind Mary's linguistic change; it is the views of her 'fellow' countrymen (and women). Mary went on to explain that other northerners who had resided in the south had returned home to the north, "worn down by the constant battle to assert your intelligence and ability in the face of negative stereotyping," an example of what Mary terms "northern bashing." From comments such as these, it is perhaps unsurprising that such sentiments would make their way into the world of work, in this case an ESL teaching position in the south.

Mary's feelings of linguistic fraudulence were implied to impact on her teaching and teacher identity, given that she explained that "I can't be me" if she wishes to earn an income. While this might be regarded as somewhat hyperbolic, it is clear that in Mary's case, she feels disadvantaged unless she modifies her accent. As she states, she does not do this to the "point of decimation," and is thus still identifiable as a northerner; however, her pragmatic response to earning a living is regarded as more important than a more personal response to her otherwise unmodified accent. Here, then, the head (a need to earn a living) perhaps wins over the heart (a desire to, linguistically speaking, 'keep it real'). As a teacher, while she reported no impact on this particular social identity, she nonetheless made it clear that she resents the practice of modification and clearly wishes to be herself, a self in which she can do her job without resorting to this practice. I suggest that her teacher self is somewhat 'diluted', then, based on the need to appease others (those who hired her), but not herself. Though being a native speaker of English from England, Mary, as with the individual from New Zealand referenced earlier, is viewed to be speaking with an accent judged somewhat inappropriate for the school, if not the ESL profession. If the norms of the school are toward less regional-sounding accents, then perhaps this is a linguistic trend that the school seeks to continue, as was the case in my experience teaching in South Korea, in which a Kiwi accent was deemed inappropriate within a sea of General American/Canadian accents.

Clearly, Mary feels a need to negotiate her northern identity, seen with a corresponding northern accent, whilst living in the south. This essentially rests on speaking with an accent perceived to be less 'broad'. What this means phonologically-speaking is unknown, but based on her wish to avoid negative stereotypes outside the classroom, and appease the directives of superiors inside the classroom, the issue of an enforced identity is clear. Identity negotiation is a misnomer if indeed there is no negotiation to be had in the first instance, as Mary strongly implies based on her experiences at her job interview.

5 Conclusion

From the limited results pertaining to just one ESL teacher, this paper cannot, of course, even begin to generalize. However, the importance of a perspicacious case, hopefully represented here, is set against a backdrop of issues which are generalizable: the prevalence of specific accents historically deemed most 'appropriate' for ESL teaching; the negative stereotypes applied to specific accents; and, combining these two points together, there exists the potential for ESL teachers whose accents are perhaps not as common as others, to feel the need to modify them, if not risk being told to do so by those in power, such as interviewers or mentors. An occasional request by our students to speak more slowly should not be met with annoyance; but a suggestion, if not a directive, by other native speakers of English to modify our accent, especially those from the same country, can undoubtedly be met with resentment and the perception that one is not being true to him/herself. The decision to modify one's accent, when essentially decided for the speaker, and done in order to appease people *other* than the speaker, can lead to fraudulence, as we have seen here. Ultimately, if two ESL teachers both share the same qualifications and experience, but one has an accent deemed 'uncommon' and the other does not, who would get the job? Would it come down to accent in the end? Until we can answer both questions with certainty, then more research is needed on this subject.

Ideally, a study conducted with ESL teachers, both those teaching at home and abroad, and representing a wide variety of accents from throughout the English-speaking world, would be the logical place to start. If they have been on the receiving end of negative comments regarding their accent, we need to know. If this has not been the case, but they nonetheless merely *feel* uncomfortable about their accent, we need to know why. In a world that is seeking to recognize diversity, if not celebrate it, and placing this within the context of equality, it is time that all accents, certainly within the context of ESL teaching, are given an equal voice.

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Speakerhood as Segregation: The Construction and Consequence of Divisive Discourse in TESOL

Check for updates

Damian J. Rivers

Abstract This chapter revisits the issue of status drawn from categorization as either a native-speaker teacher of English or as a non-native-speaker teacher of English in TESOL. It remains that despite various discussions being heard (see Aneja GA, TESOL Q 50: 572–596, 2016a; Aneja GA, Crit Inq Lang Stud 13: 351–379, 2016b; Aslan E, Thompson AS, TESOL J 8: 277–294, 2016; Cook V, TESOL Q 50: 186–189, 2016; Ellis E, TESOL Q 50: 597–631, 2016; Faez F, J Lang, Identity Edu 10: 231–249, 2011; Swan A, Aboshiha P, Holliday A (eds), (En)countering native-speakerism: global perspectives. Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, 2015), nothing seems to change. Language teachers, researchers and academics appear content performing discursive routines which produce outcomes so predictable it is as if those discussions never actually took place (see Kandiah T, Epiphanies of the deathless native user's manifold avatars: a post-colonial perspective on the native speaker. In: Singh R (ed) The native speaker: multilingual perspectives. Sage, New Delhi, pp 79–110, 1998). Our profession persists in orienting itself toward upholding the division of teaching professionals primarily upon status criteria derived from the idea of the native speaker as the authentic language user and proprietor (see Houghton, Rivers and Hashimoto 2018). Discontent with the current situation, the circular discourse it encourages and the endless stimulation of guilt and shame it provokes, this chapter outlines how individuals on *both sides* of the fracture attain status privilege *and* suffer status marginalization through the strategic positioning of their fabricated counterpart. It suggests that the dynamics responsible follow a pendulum-like motion whereby for one group to attain a higher status (privilege) the other group must, as a consequence, be portrayed in a manner that inflicts upon them a lower status (marginalization).

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1   Introduction

This chapter revisits a long-standing area of contention within the domain of TESOL – the issue of status drawn from categorization as either a native-speaker teacher of English or as a non-native-speaker teacher of English. It remains that despite various discussions and debates surrounding this dichotomy being heard within the mainstream literature (see Aneja 2016a, b; Aslan and Thompson 2016; Cook 2016; Ellis 2016; Faez 2011; Swan et al. 2015), nothing seems to change. Language teachers, researchers and academics appear content performing discursive routines which produce outcomes and observations so predictable it is as if those discussions and debates never actually took place (see Kandiah 1998).

Our profession persists in orienting toward upholding the division of teaching professionals primarily upon status criteria derived from the idea of the native speaker as the authentic language user and proprietor (see Houghton, Rivers and Hashimoto 2018). The normative discursive condition therefore remains one in which native-speaker English teaching professionals are fixed as exclusive high-status benefactors of categorizations made on the basis of native language, while non-native-speaker English teaching professionals are counter-fixed as the exclusive low-status victims of the same such categorizations. This guarantees that colleagues within the profession are drawn into direct conflict with each other as they scramble for status and professional dignity.

Discontent with the current situation, the circular discourse it encourages and the endless stimulation of guilt and shame it provokes for unearned privilege or privilege denied, this chapter outlines how individuals and institutions on *both sides* of the fracture attain status privilege *and* suffer status marginalization through the strategic positioning a fabricated counterpart. It suggests that the dynamics responsible follow a pendulum-like motion whereby for one group to attain a higher status (privilege) the other group must be portrayed in a manner that inflicts upon them a lower status (marginalization).

2   Declaration and Preamble

Given the subjective nature of my involvement in the discussion, it seems appropriate to begin with a personal declaration. Having been born to monolingual English-speaking parents within the U.K and having completed all of my formal schooling in English, I represent what might be termed as the prototypical native speaker of English. Despite being defined on appearance as a native speaker of English, I have never chosen to define myself in this way within the professional arena. While some might call this *privileged denial* or the *luxury of choice*, I have chosen not to do so on the basis that the categorization is irrelevant if language teaching is a professional activity. I therefore characterize my efforts to resist categorization as a native speaker of English, and my reluctance to acknowledge others on the basis of a supposed

native language, as an effort to frame language teaching as a professional activity requiring formal qualifications, experience and a plethora of competencies.

Placing these views in context, in 1999 I moved to Japan on the Japan Exchange Teaching (JET) Programme (see McConnell 2000) which at the time required candidates to be native speakers of English. From the start of my own language-teaching experience I was therefore complicit in that which I now oppose, gaining status and privilege while contributing to the marginalization of those not categorized as native speakers of English. After going through various cycles of term-limited employment in Japan, the idea of the native speaker has revealed itself as more complex than the literature portrays.

Faced with the choice of either applying for positions demanding native-speaker status or otherwise being unemployed, feelings of shame and guilt have been constant. Yet, the benefits of being hired as a native-speaker teacher have been limited to having access to employment. Once employed, institutional status, salary, teaching load, collegial integration, contract duration and role assignment have consistently been less desirable than language-teaching colleagues defined as non-native-speaker English teachers. It is important to note that this population of non-native-speaker English teachers has been almost exclusively comprised of Japanese nationals. This means that categorization as a dominant in-group member (i.e. Japanese) facilitates access to employment in a way that non-native-speaker English teachers who are not Japanese nationals have been denied.

After almost two-decades as a native-speaker teacher within Japan, the challenge of navigating the various manifestations, conflations and complexities of the native-speaker status remains constant. Central to my own experience has been a struggle for professional recognition and identity given that "once categorized as a 'native speaker' of English, freedom to determine the properties and parameters of one's identities becomes encroached upon by a *fixed* framework established and sanctioned by the sociocultural majority" (Rivers 2013a, p. 38). Frequent questions have been raised concerning my professional identity and institutional purpose including a reluctance of colleagues to identify with me as a scholar on the basis of academic records and earned qualifications, rather than as a native speaker of English on the basis of appearance. Outlined below is a recent example of the frictions created surrounding language and professional identity.

Anecdotal Example 1: Within a recent committee meeting in a public university, the Japanese committee chair asked for suggestions concerning how best to improve the English language abilities of non-language major students during their final year of undergraduate study. It was suggested that the students were required to "think about the international situation" after graduation and that an important part of this was for them to be able to communicate in English at "international conferences". As the university did not provide any formal taught English language classes, it was therefore unclear who was supposedly responsible for improving the English language abilities of the students. As the discussion developed it became clear that for the Japanese chair and my Japanese colleagues at the meeting, it was the non-Japanese English-speaking staff who should address this problem (none of whom were employed to teach English as a Foreign Language). After the English-speaking Japanese teachers of other specialties (i.e. those who directly supervised students in their final year of study) declined to act as role models and communicate more proactively with their students in English, the solution put forward was for the non-Japanese

teachers to volunteer to sit in on graduation student presentations in order to ask students questions in English. It was believed that the mere physical presence of a non-Japanese person, whether it be an international student or an English-speaking teacher (both tokens of the international), would be sufficient to force the students to speak in English.

While the above situation does not directly address the idea of the native speaker, it serves as an example, perhaps replicated within institutions nationwide, where institutional ideals encounter internal resistance when regressions are made toward categorizations which conflate nationality, language, role and purpose. It is imperative that such experiences be documented and openly discussed rather than silenced through self-censorship (Bueno and Caesar 2003), through authoritarian working conditions that contractually demand that language teachers faithfully follow the orders of their superiors, or through academic freedom infringements via the incitement of fear and anxiety (see Rivers 2013b). The dynamics of privilege and marginalization experienced within the workplace have also been experienced beyond the workplace albeit with subtle variations. On several occasions, I have observed that those colleagues most insistent upon defining people such as myself as native-speaker teachers are the same colleagues most committed to self-definition and professional validation as a non-native-speaker teacher. Davies (2003) touches upon this curious phenomena noting how the boundaries between the native speaker and non-native speaker are "as much created by non-native speakers as by native speakers themselves" (p. 9). Aneja (2013) also asks why emerging non-native-speaker teachers tend to attribute their classroom learning curve to their non-native-speaker status as opposed to their status as teachers in training.

From the practices outlined derives an insistence that teachers such as myself stand as a comparative model of status and privilege in order to legitimize non-native-speaker teacher claims of marginalization and prejudice. This act has solidified in my own estimation that many self-defining non-native-speaker teachers have a limited interest in ending distinctions drawn on the basis of native language. Situating the native-speaker teacher within the carefree context of an exclusive retreat or "club" (see Ruecker 2011), non-native-speaker teachers commonly promote native-speaker guilt. From experience, it seems that for many self-defining non-native-speaker teachers, the mere suggestion of taking away this status label, even in the pursuit of equity within the wider profession, is one to be resisted. It stands aspeculiar that certain language-teaching professionals build their professional identities around a form of categorization that supposedly restricts opportunity and promotes marginalization.

Anecdotal Example 2: In 2009 I gave a presentation on linguistic imperialism within the international university context. This presentation was made at an intercultural education conference in China to an audience of mainly Chinese participants. The presentation argued for the end of categorizations on the basis of native-speaker status as the consequences often included the marginalization of those colleagues deemed to be non-native speakers of English (i.e. the majority of the audience). It was argued that this need was especially pressing when universities wished to present themselves as international and therefore required the images and sounds of the authentic foreigner. The presentation ended and the follow up discussion proceeded smoothly. I then returned to my seat in the audience to await the next presentation. The subsequent presenter (a Chinese English teacher) began their presentation with remarks specifically directed at myself (now sitting in the audience and silenced without a microphone). The presenter suggested that people

like myself were in no position to talk about imperialism or prejudice related to language issues because I was a native speaker from an inner-circle country and was therefore responsible for the problems discussed. At no point in my presentation did I identify myself as a native speaker of English neither did I reveal my country of birth. Also significant was the fact that my presentation was focused on the Japanese university context where policy and recruitment decisions are primarily made by Japanese faculty (i.e. non-native speakers of English). As I felt ambushed by this approach, I attempted to speak directly to the presenter after their talk had finished, but before I could speak to the lady she angrily stated that she had nothing to say to people like myself before abruptly walking away.

Contestations of legitimacy in claiming victim or marginalized status and the identification of a single perpetrator as being responsible for limiting one's professional status and opportunity sidesteps professional responsibility for language proficiency, educational achievement and teaching certification. My own subjective experiences have indicated that many teachers who self-define as non-native speakers are more interested in attributing their own professional frustrations, lack of proficiency and/ or lack of qualification to the supposed oppressive influence of the native speaker collective. This generic population, perhaps imagined as the kind who Singh (1998) bemoans, "claim copyright to communicative competence and mock others who are generally viewed as mere deviant performers" (p. 15), are configured as ideologically privileged and therefore excluded from being considered as potential victims of language-related prejudice, discrimination and/or institutional marginalization. It is from here, along the contested borderlands of privilege and marginalization in relation to native language status where this chapter takes up the discussion.

3   Known Terrain

The most familiar terrain mapped within the literature concerning the fracture between native and non-native-speaker teaching professionals suggests that when teachers are categorized on the basis of a supposed language nativity, it is the native-speaker teaching professional who is able to assume a privileged professional status. As a direct consequence of the privilege bestowed upon the native speaker, it is also generally accepted that those categorized as non-native speakers are therefore marginalized within the profession. The specifics surrounding these dynamics have been documented in relation to employment opportunities and student appraisals of teachers.

3.1   Access to Employment Opportunities

Status attained or denied on the basis of native language categorization has been documented in relation to greater access to employment opportunities within both Anglophone and non-Anglophone contexts (see Clark and Paran 2007; Mahboob and Golden 2013; Ruecker and Ives 2015). Such studies often base assessments of teacher preference and status distribution on the discourse contained within employment advertisements, notably on whether the employment advertisement requests

that potential applicants be native speakers. The data gathered within such studies has proven to be consistent with many employers requesting that teachers be native speakers of the language to be taught. These studies are then able to claim that because non-native-speaker teachers are being denied access to employment, they are being discriminated against and are therefore the victims of prejudice.

As this prejudicial treatment stands in contrast to the employment opportunities afforded to native speakers of the language to be taught, it is easy to see why non-native-speaker teachers may develop feelings of hostility toward their native-speaker teacher colleagues (as in anecdotal example 2). This is despite the fact that in non-Anglophone contexts their native-speaker teacher colleagues are usually not responsible for implementing this practice. One can suggest that these hostile and antagonistic emotions have been further stimulated through the introduction of the term "native speakerism" (Holliday 2005; Houghton and Rivers 2013), a term which solidifies the idea that the native speaker, condemned through ideological condemnations of the English-speaking West, is responsible for the prejudicial treatment encountered by non-native-speaker teachers when seeking employment.

A recent study within this genre examined the discursive content of 292 employment advertisements recruiting language teachers within Japanese higher education across an 18-month period (see Rivers 2016). The data indicated that the request for a native-speaker applicant was made, in various discursive forms, in 184 of the 292 advertisements. In the study, the specific discursive request for a native speaker was most frequently made through "native speaker of English" (note the absence of the word "teacher") and this particular configuration featured on 58 individual occasions. Such a restricted form, devoid of clarification or explanation, bluntly highlights how those categorized as native speakers of a particular language are afforded opportunities to employment denied to those who fall outside of such simplistic groupings. The study reports that the "simplified discursive reference implies that the native-speaker criterion requires no additional description, definition or clarification, thus working to domesticate a profoundly illegitimate point of linguistic reference" (Rivers 2016, p. 87).

It remains the case that many institutions are "unable or unwilling to define the parameters of the 'native-speaker' label despite making it a central criterion for employment" (Rivers 2013b, p. 89). Motivated to address this situation, as part of an ongoing project, Rivers (2014–2018) emailed the named contact for those positions demanding that candidates be native speakers to inquire how the term native speaker was defined by the institution. These institutions were also asked how the native-speaker criterion was believed to function as a qualification for employment (i.e. what aspects of the role made it imperative that the candidate be a native speaker). The majority of institutions contacted did not reply despite using native-speaker status as a primary condition for access to employment and despite listing an institutional contact point for questions and inquiries related to the position. The few institutions that provided a response were inconsistent in defining the term native speaker, hence highlighting how the term is susceptible to case-by-case manipulation. Such ambiguity permits the institution to make definitions in accordance with their own internal standards rather than being required to adhere to a universal or professional standard in which greater transparency would be required.

A small selection of the emails received from the various universities in Japan are shown below:

- "We call native English speakers the people who were born and raised in countries where English is their official language".
- "The term 'Native Speaker' is defined as a speaker whose mother tongue is English…Potential applicants' native speaker status is assessed by the staff".
- "We feel that a 'native speaker of English' is, of and by itself, self-explanatory. The committee, comprised of both native and non-native speakers of English, will review all applicants and will jointly determine who we feel to be the candidate who best meets all of our stated needs".
- "We have no formal definition of 'native English speaker competence', although, in effect, it means ネーティブの先生 [native teacher]. In other words, a teacher who comes from anywhere except Japan".

From the above, all professionals should be mindful of Douglas' (1986) observation that "when the institutions make classifications for us, we seem to lose some independence that we might conceivably have otherwise had" (p. 91). In addition to providing evidence of conflations between nationality and language, and raising questions in relation to the limits of language as a bounded construct (i.e. a native speaker of what exactly), these examples indicate how "despite their rather neutral and safe surface appearances in popular discourse, there is a hidden and dangerous level to the terms native speaker and non-native speaker" (Holliday 2008, p. 121). While there can be no contestation of this assertion, Holliday's original observation continues to add, "…at which non-native speaker teachers of English are being actively discriminated against in the workplace" (p. 121). From the evidence presented here and in the various studies cited, Holliday's assertion that the context for discrimination against non-native-speaker teachers is "in the workplace" is incorrect. Rather discrimination against non-native-speaker teachers in many contexts occurs at the point of application where they are denied access to employment opportunities when native-speaker status is used as a gatekeeping qualification . As this discrimination occurs prior to contact between an employer and employee (i.e. at the pre-recruitment stage) it tends to remain unchallenged and more importantly evades legal legislation intended to protect employees from workplace discrimination.

3.2   Student Appraisals

A second area in which those categorized as native-speaker teachers are attributed a higher status than their non-native-speaker teacher colleagues is in the attitudes and appraisals of students (see Kubota and Lin 2009). In an experimental study with Japanese nationality undergraduates intended to assess the implicit influence of race in documentations of English language teacher desirability, Rivers and Ross (2013a) found that across all conditions, English language teachers of Black and Asian
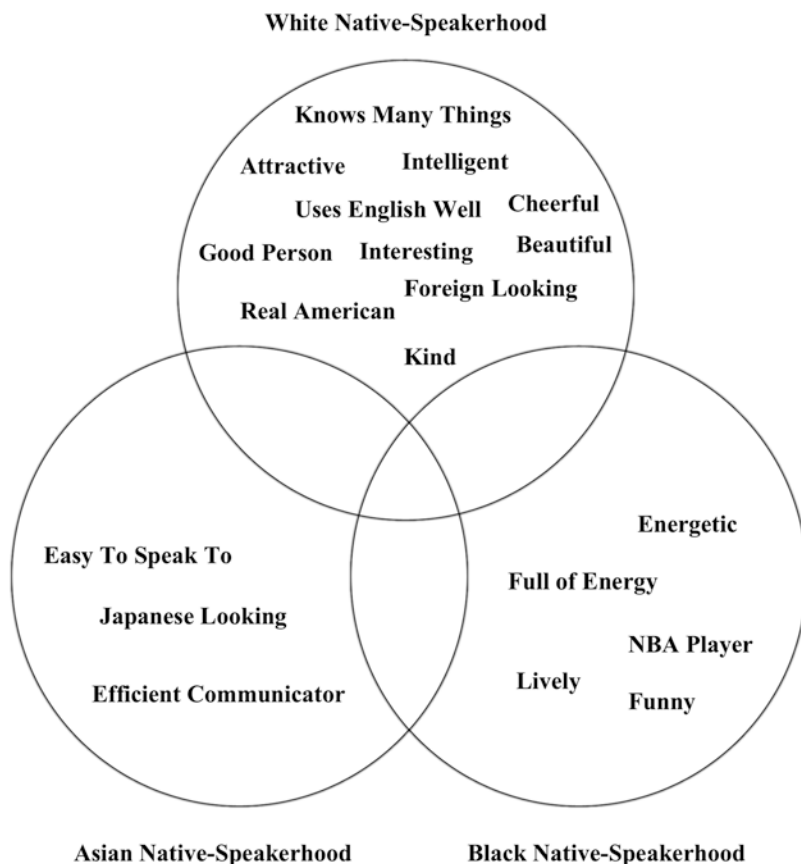
Fig. 1 The positive descriptors used by 80 Japanese university students when the racial profile of the native-speaker teacher was manipulated (Adapted from Rivers and Ross 2013b)

descent were consistently ranked as less desirable than White teachers. One of the most interesting findings was that the native-speaker criterion was more frequently used as the superordinate appraisal criterion than race. In other words, when the Black and Asian teachers were presented to students as native speakers of English they were more positively appraised than when described as non-native speakers of English. This finding indicates the significance given to the native-speaker criterion among students and how it differs when combined with other appraisal variables such as race, age, gender and country of origin.

Although the evidence indicates that native-speaker teachers are often seen as more desirable than non-native-speaker teachers (see Arva and Medgyes 2000; Diaz 2015; Walkinshaw and Oanh 2014; Watson-Todd and Pojanapuya 2009), the foundations of this desire should be approached with caution. In a later study, Rivers and Ross (2013b) demonstrated how racial associations significantly impact upon student appraisals of teachers even when all teachers are presented as native speakers (see Fig. 1). One might further suggest that in denying access to

employment opportunities to those categorized as non-native-speaker teachers, and potentially adopting a narrow view of the idealized native-speaker teacher in terms of racial profile and associated characteristics, institutions are further promoting to students the idea that some teachers (and some races) are more valuable and desirable than others, even when assessed on non-performance or competency related criteria.

4   Unknown Terrain

 The following sections address that which is generally seen as unfamiliar, or more accurately, that which is often positioned as being beyond discussion. Shown are some of the ways in which those teachers categorized as non-native speakers are able to assume privilege at the expense of the native-speaker teacher who must be marginalized for this privilege to be seen as legitimate. Although these dynamics appear to represent 'the other side of the coin' there are subtle differences in how privilege is attained and how marginalization is pursued. These differences primarily originate from ideological subscription or a belief in the rights of certain groups in context to assume the status of victim while denouncing certain other groups as the perpetrators of prejudice, discrimination and inequity. While it may seem convoluted to suggest that privilege can be attained while simultaneously embracing the status of the victim, it is known that "victim and perpetrator are often fluid categories" (Jacoby 2015, p. 515). Having one's claim to victim status acknowledged by significant others facilitates a particular brand of discourse shrouded in moral righteousness and the noble struggle against adversity.

4.1   Permissible Claims

As the known dynamics between native-speaker teachers and non-native-speaker teachers have been documented in the favour of those categorized as native-speaker teachers, many non-native-speaker teachers have sought to challenge the criteria upon which such dynamics might be based. Consistent throughout much of this discourse, however, persists an intentional othering of the native-speaker teacher which provides the foundation for the advancement of one's own agenda and respective claims. For example, Thomas (1999) suggests that on account of being a non-native-speaker teacher, "we are role models; we are success stories; we are real images of what students can aspire to be" (p. 12), while Zhan (2002) claims that, "like most NNESTs, I encountered more problems and had to make more efforts than my native English-speaking colleagues did to become a qualified English teacher and researcher" (p. 8).

Such views are mirrored in the Japanese context, where Mizuno (2004) reasons that, "compared with well-trained native English-speaking teachers, Japanese

English teachers are more advanced in their knowledge and understanding of Japanese language and culture…this enables them to connect with their students better, since they are Japanese" (p. 182). As previously mentioned, it is interesting to note how nationality is used as the superordinate referent for positively framed categorization as opposed to the term 'non-native-speaker teacher of English' which holds pejorative connotations for those who embrace and uphold nativist views on language. Further advantages over the native-speaker teacher, drawn from divisive discourse fixing native-speaker teachers and non-native-speaker teachers as homogenous collectives, have been claimed by Medgyes (1992) who asserts that non-native-speaker teachers are able to:

> (1) provide a better learner model, (2) teach language-learning strategies more effectively, (3) supply more information about the English language, (4) better anticipate and prevent language difficulties, (5) be more sensitive to their students, and (6) benefit from their ability to use the students' mother tongue. (p. 463)

In addition to the promotion of otherness, such discourse contains several contentious statements related to applicability and a questionable lack of evidence. Similarly, and despite claiming to be interested in the creation of "a nondiscriminatory professional environment for all TESOL members regardless of native language and place of birth" (Braine 2010, p. 4), the founder of the non-native-speaker teacher movement more recently describes how:

> NNS teachers apply their experience in learning English as a second language when they teach English (a characteristic which no NS teacher can claim)…The ability to relate L2 learning theories to their own learning of English. Teachers' experiences inform their beliefs and in turn influence their teaching. Thus, when theories they encounter in teacher training reflect their own experiences as language learners, the two blend smoothly in their classroom practices. This ability, to place theory within the context of one's own learning, is not available to NS English teachers. (Braine 2012, p. 24)

At this point, readers might be losing patience with the argument being presented and there is good reason why such views often draw contempt. The reason why critiquing the above may provoke a negative reaction is the same reason why such claims are permissible and are not held to a greater degree of scrutiny, ridicule or challenge. Enns (2012) has outlined how "calling attention to the agency of the victim is considered wrong, a betrayal of the victim's status as victim" (p. 27). Therefore, one of the many privileges of having an identity as a victim acknowledged is that one is awarded greater freedom to make claims, statements, accusations and assertions without fear of professional critique and ridicule. While the othering of the native-speaker teacher is accepted, questioning why it is accepted has become a breach of professional etiquette.

Readers are asked to recall when was the last time they encountered a native-speaker teacher make equivalent claims of superiority. I suspect that most readers have never encountered a native-speaker teaching professional ('professional' being the key term) draw from these criteria as a means of claiming superiority over their non-native-speaker colleagues. The extract shown below, published within a journal

demanding 'outstanding scholarship' demonstrates the protected privilege afforded to non-native-speaker teachers and researchers.

> The 'ideal teacher' thus seems a category reserved only for nonnative teachers as only non-native teachers can experience, or have already experienced, the reality of English for people learning it…we [non-native teachers] should rightfully claim the status of the only ideal teachers of English to our students. (Yoo 2014, pp. 85–86)

The discourse of non-native-speaker activism has universally failed to call for an end to categorizations based upon native language status. This is a curious phenomena as the point of categorization promoting supposed prejudice and inequity is actively embraced rather than rejected or undermined. It can be suggested that the identity of many non-native-speaker teachers is embedded in a discourse of righteous victimhood making them unable to reconcile demands for professional responsibility and accountability. This is also likely a reflection of the times in which we live.

> Once upon a time it was considered morally desirable to be a person who took responsibility for your own actions. This was before we reached a cultural awareness of how prejudices, roles and external structures affect the lives of different groups of people. Once we gained insight into the ubiquity of these external structures, and how we are all influenced by them in different ways, we seemed to forget the concept of personal accountability. (Billing 2009, p. 1)

In other words, those non-native-speaker teacher claimants shown are working to "confirm rather than transform the binary worldview that rendered them less human…they remain locked in the worldview of the victim, no less dangerous than that of the perpetrator, for it is a worldview bound by the same terms" (Enns 2012, p. 38). Moreover, the acceptance of group-based victimhood or collective discourses of oppression should be challenged as they represent a fundamental threat to society given that "group victimhood is not compatible with our heritage of liberal democracy in three particular ways: it is inconsistent with the moral equality that underpins liberalism; it weakens our democratic culture; and it undermines legal equality" (Green 2006, p. 1).

4.2   Legitimizing Parallels

A further trend observable within the discourse of non-native-speaker teachers is the drawing of parallels with other more established forms of oppression and discrimination. For example, through appeals made via the apparent struggles of women in society.

> …feminism seeks to reconsider the role of men in society in order to recognize women's right to access all social spaces. Similarly, NNSs have now finally gathered the strength to voice their concerns and claim their right to be heard in the language teaching and research community. (Llurda 2009, p. 47)

The attempt to compare the noble struggles of non-native-speaker teachers to feminist struggles against societal imbalances between men and women is intentionally misleading. While such discourse is intended to elicit a sympathetic response, it fails to report how in the infancy of the feminist movement various victim mythologies were embraced as the complexity of the social dynamics between males and females were underestimated. For instance, one can point toward "the idea that men practice violence and women are victims seems at one time to have underlaid feminist theory" (Orr 2001, p. 179). It is here, along the lines of myth and misconception that the true analogy with the non-native-speaker movement should be made. The current status of non-native-speaker movement discourse remains in an infantile state of evolution whereby the native speaker remains the only group deemed capable of violence. Being cast as the exclusive perpetrator of violence, grants others extended freedoms to offer their morally righteous condemnations.

Indeed, during the mid 1980s, native-speaker-teaching professionals were required to tolerate mainstream publications characterized by openly aggressive rhetoric. Titles including "May I kill the native speaker?" (Paikeday 1985a) and "The native speaker is dead!" (Paikeday 1985b) seem inconceivable if directed in the other direction (i.e. toward the non-native speaker). Over two-decades later this trend continues with native-speaker teaching professionals expected to accept their colleagues being invited to "rejoice in the fall of the NS" (Llurda 2009, p. 47) or celebrate that "the native speaker is under attack" (p. 48). This discourse is embraced and encouraged by the non-native-speaker movement who publish articles with antagonistic titles such as, 'NEST trainers training NNESTS: Do we really need them?' (Öztürk 2017). Conceptualizing the native-speaker teacher as a human being with rights, an equal status colleague and a professional partner in the battle for equality, rather than as a figurehead for blame, shame and destruction remains conspicuously absent.

Readers are invited to consider additional factors involved in the quest for legitimacy as a professional underclass. For instance, one can look to the decision of the "NNEST of the Month Blog's" (2011, July) (proudly "endorsed by the TESOL NNEST Interest Section!") to award the "NNEST of the Month" to Jennifer Jenkins. Given that Professor Jenkins is a native speaker of English educated and based in the U.K, the motive behind this award should be questioned as should the motive for acceptance. This decision demonstrates how legitimacy is sought through status association even in instances where the status gains are derived from a member of a group "under attack" (Llurda 2009, p. 48). It also demonstrates how the collective shame and guilt experienced by many native-speaker teaching professionals compels them to sympathetically engage with those who ultimately seek to "rejoice in the fall of the NS" (Llurda 2009, p. 47).

In a follow-up interview Jenkins assumes the role of grateful recipient through a narrative that mirrors the views of the non-native-speaker movement. Jenkins states that "native speakerism is disgraceful and I do believe that we should all, NNES and NES, do all we can to draw attention to it, ridicule it where this is feasible, and contribute to its demise" (Jenkins cited on the "NNEST of the Month Blog" (2011, July)). Among many of the ironies observable here is that dependent on how

native-speakerism is being defined, the act of selecting Jenkins to be the "NNEST of the Month" actually serves as an example of native-speakerism in action. From this it can be shown again how the non-native-speaker movement is complicit in their own marginalization. Parallels can be drawn with the practice of awarding Japanese nationals within Apartheid South Africa the special status of "honorary whites" -- a status which many Japanese nationals resented -- in order to satisfy South African economic interests (see Kawasaki 2001).

If parallels are being sought then perhaps a more accurate parallel should be drawn with events in American mainstream politics in relation to the Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 2009. Among other things, the legislation created a federal law that criminalized instances when "the crime was committed because of the actual or perceived race, color, religion, national origin" (Department of Justice 2015). On being questioned as to the exact parameters of the legislation by the Senate Judiciary Committee SD-226, serving Attorney General Eric Holder admitted that certain acts of hate were not covered by the legislation on the basis of who the perpetrators and victims were. In other words, certain groups under law were deemed more worthy of protection than certain other groups despite hate being the constant motive across all conditions. Attorney General Eric Holder stated that whether hate had an "historic basis" was the deciding factor in assessing which groups were and were not protected under the legislation. The non-native-speaker movement and associated advocacy motions such as the TESOL Inc. (2006) "Position Statement Against Discrimination of Nonnative Speakers of English in the Field of TESOL" would be less complicit in perpetuating prejudice and discrimination against their native-speaker colleagues if their efforts were directed toward ending categorizations on the basis of native language. Professional organizations, scholars, activists and publications have all contributed to the systematic betrayal of the native-speaker teaching professional (see Rivers 2017) through promoting a "warped sense of equality" (Garry 2006, p. 9), one incompatible with the principles of liberal democracy.

4.3   Internal Institutional Positioning

A probable consequence of institutions granting access to employment opportunities to native-speaker teachers, as a somewhat generic collective, has been that once hired they are susceptible to marginalized treatment at the hands of native speakers of the dominant language in context. When recruitment decisions are made in relation to idealized visions of the native-speaker teacher of English inclusive of elements related to race and physical appearance, such otherness holds the capacity to create divisive internal systems and workplace structures. Table 1 shows internal data distributed within a departmental of culture and language at a Japanese national university. It shows the official placement of 183 individual teachers according to their employment status and rank. Once the data is subject to categorization upon the basis of an employee's native language the extent of conditional privilege and marginalization is fully revealed.

Table 1 The institutional positioning and employment status and rank of 183 teachers employed within a single department of culture and language at a national university in Japan

Status	Employment rank	Japanese native speaker	Non-Japanese native speaker	n
Regular	Professor	**62**	2	64
	Associate Professor	**64**	3	67
	Lecturer	**10**	0	10
	Assistant Professor	**4**	0	4
Irregular	Specially Appointed Associate Professor	0	**27**	27
	Specially Appointed Associate Lecturer	0	**7**	7
	Foreign Lecturer	0	**4**	4
		140	43	183

Source: Rivers (2017)

Note. Data obtained through emailed internal documentation during previous employment at the institution. All employees positioned in irregular positions were native-speakers of the language they were employed to teach and limited in terms of faculty involvement, workplace duties and employment duration

The institutional support and promotion of divisive workplace relations drawn upon the basis of native language can be configured as evidence of ethnic-nepotism within places like Japan where larger social memberships draw from ethnic rather than civic criteria. The impact upon interpersonal relationships between colleagues of different ethnic and language backgrounds can be severe. The anecdotal example outlined below illustrates this point.

Anecdotal Example 3: At the start of the new academic year incoming freshman classes were assigned two members of faculty as their "homeroom" teacher. These teachers were responsible for potential problems which the students might encounter in their first year of university. On this occasion I was partnered with a Japanese professor (a normal occurrence). The first duty for these homeroom teachers was to meet with all the students individually after their first month of study in order to check on their progress. It was to my great surprise that I found out from my assigned group of students during a regular lesson that my Japanese colleague had already met with them having organized his schedule, contacted each student individually, held the meetings and submitted the required paperwork to the office without any form of consultation. I questioned him in Japanese as to why I was excluded from his planning which was certainly not the official procedure. He replied that because the reports were required to be submitted in Japanese and because the students would be speaking in Japanese, there was no need for me to be involved in the process. My status as a non-Japanese national directly led to my marginalization within the workplace. This situation would not have been repeated if I were of Japanese ethnicity because assumptions concerning language ability and cultural knowledge would have been different.

Examples such as those provided within this section are rarely heard because they are dependent on teachers being willing to document their personal experiences in the workplace. Within this era of neoliberal university internationalization, the institution must carefully manage potential accusations of discriminatory practice

Table 2 Reformation of role representation (process of internal moral order concealment) at a Japanese national university

Internal moral order revealed		Internal moral order concealed
Official terminology (internal discourse)	Unofficial terminology (literal translation)	Official terminology (altered translation)
1. 外国人教師	1. Foreign Teacher	1. Visiting Lecturer
2. 外国人招へい教員	2. Invited Foreign Staff	2. Visiting Instructor
3. 外国人研究員	3. Foreign Research Staff	3. Visiting Research Scholar
4. 外国人研究者	4. Foreign Researcher	4. Visiting Scholar
5. 外国人招へい研究員	5. Foreign Invited Research Staff	5. Research Fellow
Intended only for domestic audiences who approve of the established internal moral order. Role assignments are explicitly made on the basis of the occupant's status as non-Japanese.	Friction emerges between the official Japanese terminology and the access granted to differentiations on the basis of foreignness to international audiences in English. Therefore a literal translation cannot be permitted.	Intended only for international audiences or guests who are exposed to the differentiated internal moral order. Role assignments on the basis of the occupant's status as non-Japanese are no longer apparent.

Note. 外国人 (*gaikokujin*) literally means "outside country person, alien, foreigner". Data obtained through emailed internal documentation during previous employment at the institution

on the basis of language, race, ethnicity and/or nationality. One means of doing this is through differentiated internal and external systems of representation. Shown in Table 2 are several terms used at a Japanese national university to demarcate employment role/status. The terminology of the internal moral order demarcates the role upon the basis of the occupant's nationality being non-Japanese (i.e. an external guest) as opposed to any formal qualification, ability or experience. Roles such these therefore come with implicit assumptions about the cognitive position that the occupant should assume. No matter how hospitable the university might be when dealing with such guests the "very structural position of being the guest, or the stranger, the one who receives hospitality, allows an act of inclusion to maintain the form of exclusion" (Ahmed 2012, p. 43).

In addition to conflicts arising from the promotion of differentiated institutional norms through English (the chosen language of internationalization), one can observe how an internal moral order that promotes nationality-based employment cannot be revealed to an international audience through fear of negative appraisal and ridicule. Therefore, a process of internal moral order concealment must be undertaken. Luhmann's (1977) sociological theory of differentiation illustrates how within differentiated systems (in this case on the basis of nationality) "we will find two kinds of environment: the outer environment common to all subsystems and the special internal environment for each subsystem" (p. 31). While the dynamics in other contexts may be different, until individual teachers take action to document and disseminate their experiences much will remain unknown and therefore unchanged.

5 Reflection

Maher (1997) observes how "locked in the notion of native speaker is both a bless-ing and a curse…its identity remains ambiguous, tantalizingly beyond grasp" (p. 650). A case can also be made that the professional existence of non-native-speaker teachers reflects a combination of advantage and disadvantage. As shown, those categorized as native-speaker teachers are frequently advantaged in their access to employment opportunities, yet once hired, their institutional positioning can often be categorized as marginal, certainly in non-Anglophone contexts such as Japan. Moreover, on account of this situation, native-speaker teachers must also contend with feelings of guilt and shame under the logic that being a native-speaker teacher has contributed to the existence of a professional underclass. On the other hand, non-native-speaker teachers face significant obstacles in being considered as potential candidates for many language-teaching positions. This is unacceptable. However, dependent on a variety of other variables including context, race, ethnicity and country of origin, non-native-speaker teachers may be more readily domesticated into normal institutional life than the native-speaker teacher. Other legitimate differences in treatment have also been shown in relation to student appraisals and the impact of racial preference.

The current landscape is one in which greater efforts are being made in the dash to claim status as a more deserving victim of prejudice and discrimination, a race already won and celebrated by non-native-speaker teachers and their advocacy groups. The exclusivity of their status as victim has been acknowledged and approved by those TESOL organizations that host non-native-speaker movements and special interest groups. Nonetheless, the non-native-speaker teacher collective remains marginalized within the overall power structure of the organization as the dominant host cannot permit those who assume the role of customer (i.e. (S)peakers of (O)ther (L)anguages) an equal stake. So while the non-native-speaker teacher might describe such movements as empowering and promoting a positive professional identity, the structural inequalities believed to have created an underclass in the first instance are maintained and further strengthened. Harmony is therefore achieved through compensatory measures from the oppressor to the oppressed such as the offer of special financial awards for presentations and papers on non-native-speaker issues etc. For some reason, this is not deemed to be prejudicial to the regular membership who are not given such special awards. The fact that many non-native-speaker movements remain complicit in their own oppression provides an accurate measure of the lack of desire to accept responsibility for a professional existence beyond the security provided by an ultimate oppressor.

Crucially, and what remains problematic, is that all language-teaching profes-sionals must collectively move beyond forms of categorization which promote dif-ferential treatments, including being hosted as sub-domain of TESOL. Teaching professionals as a unified collective must acknowledge that all teachers can be potential victims and perpetrators of prejudice and discrimination when categorizing on the basis of native language status. The question of who suffers more at the hands

of such categorization should be a moot point unless accepting that some forms of discrimination are more deserving of protection than others (see the previous reference the Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 2009). Be warned though, accepting this proposition represents a broader threat to the tradition of liberal democracy and therefore should be resisted.

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"Legitimate" Concerns: A Duoethnography of Becoming ELT Professionals

Amber N. Warren and Jaehan Park

Abstract This chapter reports findings from a duoethnography of two developing ELT professionals from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, exploring themes of marginality and acceptance in the experience of developing professional identities. Through this process, the authors seek to construct what it means to be "legitimate" ELT professionals. The authors (one a Korean citizen working at a university in the US, the other a US citizen completing a doctoral degree in the US after significant international experience) juxtapose their narratives to explore themes of marginality and acceptance in the experience of developing professional identities. Duoethnography is founded on a dialogic approach (Bakhtin, The dialogic imagination: four essays (C. Emerson & M. Holquist, Trans.). University of Texas Press, Austin, 1981) where collaborators explore a concept or shared experience with the goal of creating new understandings or promoting change. Thus, it is a particularly appropriate choice for exploring the divergences and similarities between two individuals' experiences in the shadow of historical and frequently narrow conceptualizations of a native/non-native dichotomy. Sharing stories of critically constructing and reconstructing our legitimacy as ELT professionals revealed different but similar processes and developed new understandings of the contexts each of us were familiar with. We share these findings and consider how they can serve to further cultivate new understandings of professional identity in local and global contexts.

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1 Introduction

The study of what teacher educators need to know, and how they learn it, is a growing research topic (Bates et al. 2011; Dengerink et al. 2015). A major focus of this research has been professional identity development. Studies have shown that "one's professional identity as a teacher educator is constructed over time" (Dinkelman et al. 2006, p. 6), and is fraught with identity challenges and tensions (Viczko and Wright 2010). We posit that these challenges and tensions are further confounded by local and global constructions of what it means to be a "legitimate" ELT professional, including persistent and often idealized notions of native/non-native speaker as professional.

In this chapter, we use duoethnographic methods (Norris 2008; Norris et al. 2012) to explore our personal experiences as two developing ELT professionals from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. The process of sharing our stories of critically constructing and reconstructing ourselves as ELT professionals, revealed different but similar processes and developed new understandings of the contexts with which each of us were familiar. We use these narratives to engage in a process of *storying* – of making meaning from and through our life experiences (Brock 2011; Salmon and Riessman 2008). Through this process, we recognized both divergences and similarities between our experiences as developing ELT professionals. Through sharing our stories in this duoethnographic framework we aim to contribute to literature which argues against historical and frequently narrow conceptualizations of a native/non-native dichotomy, and explore how duoethnographic methods can serve to further cultivate new understandings of ELT professional identity in local and global contexts.

2 Background

2.1 Conceptualizing Language Teacher Professional Identity

Reflecting an expanded understanding of teacher development in teacher education research (Clandinin and Connelly 1987; Lave and Wenger 1991), the field of TESOL has moved from focusing on teacher learning and cognition to filling the gap in understanding teacher professional identity development (De Costa and Norton, 2017; Kanno and Stuart 2011; Varghese et al. 2005, 2016) through narrative inquiry (Barkhuizen 2011; Tsui 2007) and autoethnography (Canagarajah 2012a). In this move, themes like agency, marginality, and acceptance have emerged as particularly significant points in understanding teacher professional identity development. Tsui (2007) reported a process of Minfang's struggle with multiple identities and his personal reconstruction of his identities as an EFL teacher. In an autoethnographic study on his own teacher identity development in globalized TESOL, Canagarajah (2012a) shared how he, as an English teacher from the periphery, developed his own

TESOL professional identity through realization of his marginality, acceptance of his membership in multiple professional communities around the globe, and leveraging this multi-membership in brokering (Wenger 1998) and negotiating in multiple professional communities. We see our use of duoethnography to explore the juxtaposed identity development of two language teaching professionals as a continuation of this movement toward the personal in understanding TESOL teacher identity development.

2.2 The NEST/NNEST Dichotomy in Language Teacher Education

As many scholars have identified, a perceived dichotomy between Native English Speaking Teachers (NESTs) and Non-Native English Speaking Teachers (NNESTs) has been maintained in TESOL for some time (Creese et al. 2014; Lazaraton 2003; Menard-Warwick 2008; Pavlenko 2003). Furthermore, there has been a persistent propensity in published studies to treat these groups as homogenous constructions (Doerr 2009) in which native speaker teachers represent the linguistic ideal and non-native speaker teachers possess attributes and experiences that allow them to better relate to their students (Kubota 2009). This binary view remains a prevalent form of theorizing teacher identity even today (Creese et al. 2014; Menard-Warwick 2008). However, the binary view on ELT professionalism has also received much criticism in the scholarly literature (Cenoz and Gorter 2011; Cook 1999, 2007; Holliday 2006; Kubota 2009; Rudolph et al. 2015). For several decades, there have been calls for the profession to move beyond this dichotomy from scholars drawing on multilingual (Martin-Jones et al. 2012; May 2014), translingual (Canagarajah 2012b) postcolonial (Canagarajah 1999, 2007), postmodern, and poststructuralist theories of identity (Norton and Morgan 2012; Rudolph et al. 2015). Scholars from these perspectives argue that identities are "multiple, fluid, always developing, shaped by a broad range of sociocultural power relationships, strongly influenced by any number of relevant contexts, and relational" (Dinkelman 2011, p. 309).

Furthermore, Kramsch (1998) proposed that we interpret the notions of authenticity and legitimacy from a poststructural perspective, "in which the certain divides between authentic and inauthentic, and legitimate and illegitimate, may no longer hold" (Creese et al. 2014, p. 940). Following this, we conceptualize the tensions of developing ELT professionals in the same way: native/non-native, authentic/inauthentic legitimate/illegitimate, marginality/acceptance. Thus, by understanding not just our own identity construction as dialogic, but also interpreting the tensions that shape this construction as themselves dialogic, we are able to emphasize the ongoing *relationship* of these forces rather than risk fixing them as binary, and thereby to consider how we come to understand our practice as ELT professionals wholly dialogically.

3 Methodology and Methods

This chapter uses duoethnography (Norris 2008; Norris et al. 2012), a collaborative research methodology, to articulate the experience of two developing ELT professionals from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Duoethnography is founded on a dialogic approach (Bakhtin 1981) where collaborators explore a concept or shared experience with the goal of creating new understandings or promoting change. Thus, we understand the dialogic underpinnings of duoethnography as particularly appropriate to exploring the dialogic construction of identities and themes in the field of ELT teaching.

In particular, we were drawn to Pinar's concept of *currere* (Norris 2008; Pinar 1975) in constructing this duoethnography. As Pinar described it, the method of *currere* relies on engaging with four stages of regression, progression, analysis, and synthesis. In these stages, authors develop a "multidimensional biography" by "outlining the past, present and future" (Pinar 1975, in abstract). Sawyer and Liggett (2012) reconceptualize these stages as dialectically in relation to one another: regressive/progressive and analytic/synthetic, emphasizing how each individual's lived experience is an intertwined past and present, deconstructed and reconceptualized with each telling. We found this conceptualization of *currere* especially helpful in that it allowed us to focus on the dialogic process of our telling, rather than attempting to present our explorations as a "polished, monolithic finished product" (McClellan and Sader 2012, p. 139).

In particular, duoethnography (like its more well-known counterpart, autoethnography) encourages recognition of the connectivity between oneself and others in context. Thus, the very act of researching can create shifts in meaning and understanding (Norris et al. 2012). As Norris (2008) observed, "stories beget stories [and] enable the research-writing partners to recall other past events that they might not have remembered on their own" (p. 234). By reexamining our professional identities in dialogue, we also became attuned to the commonalities in our individual experiences. Focusing our analytical attention on the duoethnographic tenet of *currere* allowed us to develop understanding of our professional identities in concert, as over and again a story by one author sparked the narrative of another. The dialogic process we engaged in through the series of meetings further aided us in reinterpreting our professional identities in conversation with our present selves and imagining possible futures.

4 The Dialogic Process

In keeping with the dialogism central to duoethnography, we took a collaborative and iterative approach to constructing both the individual narratives we contributed and our analytical deliberations on these narratives described in each epilogue below. Over a period of 6 months, we met once or twice monthly to read drafts, talk

about progress, react to each other's texts and clarify our understandings. With each 1–1.5 h meeting, new topics and issues that were brought up became topics for further exploration, which contributed to the cyclical construction of this dialogue.

We undertook, as our initial exploration, the broad topic of our development as ELT professionals. Having been in a doctoral program together and having worked together on projects before, we were somewhat familiar with each other's backgrounds. However, we found through the process of writing and sharing that we also discovered new things about one another and came to understand more about issues central to the other as early career scholars and educators.

Prior to our first meeting, each author constructed a personal narrative on the topic of belonging. We were drawn to the topic of belonging as a point of departure for this project as a result of conversations we have had with each other and with other colleagues regarding the process of professionalization and induction into the field of ELT. Knowing that each author had experienced moments of feeling "illegitimate," we wanted to explore the topic of belonging to understand more about these experiences. We considered this first narrative as a jumping off point: an opportunity to begin exploration which we hoped would lead us to deeper understanding of one another and the development of a professional self. Following this initial writing, we read each other's narratives, commenting and reacting to elements of the story. Next, we met to talk about this initial topic, sharing ideas and elaborating on our initial reactions. We continued in this process, eventually identifying emergent themes (e.g., tensions shaping our identity, feelings of acceptance and marginality, and the cultural politics of native-speakerism) which we used for later exploration and to ground our experiences in the literature. In particular, as we mused on the issues brought forward in our narratives, we were struck by the theme of marginality/acceptance that arose in our writing as central to the question of belonging in ELT.

From there, we elected to explore this theme of marginality/acceptance through storying our early teaching, our current teaching, and our future selves. To do this, we followed the process set up through our first exploration. With each narrative, we began with writing individually in separate documents before sharing the documents with one another. Next, each author read and left notes for the other by way of providing comments and reactions to the narratives we shared. We used these notes as starting places for our meetings, discussing comments, questions, and continuing to identify themes. The results of these discussions then became longer responses, interwoven into the original author's narrative. In this way, the entirety of this duoethnography was a dialogic undertaking.

We, further, understand this emphasis on the process as both applicable to our individual stories, as well as to the process of writing and co-constructing together. Thus, while giving space for each author's personal journey in this chapter, we also attend to our responses to one another's narratives as this was part of our process of making sense of the dialectical relationship between marginality and acceptance.

5 "Findings": A Narrative Conversation on Becoming

In this section, we present a conversation between ourselves as the culmination of the process described above. The conversations have been organized into a loose "story." We begin with a prologue designed to invite readers into our stories by relaying how this particular telling began. The conversation we present throughout is a culmination of successive iterations of conversation and writing and has been edited through successive iteration and reflection. Throughout, where relevant, we tie the themes we identified to the ELT literature. Following the narrative, we present our discussion as an "epilogue," reflecting on the process of engaging in this duoethnography and on the potential that duoethnographic research has for ELT. Through presenting our narratives in conversation with one another, we author meaning in collaboration with one another, and invite the reader as a collaborator through reading to join in critical conversation with our dialogue and examine for themselves the themes under investigation in this chapter.

5.1 Prologue

Amber What eventually would become this duoethnography began, for me, I think, with inviting you to talk to my class. I was teaching a course on Multilingual Education in the US at the university where we were both PhD students and associate instructors. I had taken over the course from another associate instructor, who suggested to me that it would be a great idea to invite guest speakers to address some of the topics in the course. In response to some impetus that I can no longer quite recall, I decided to ask if you would to come speak to my class during the time we would cover bilingualism and biliteracy in international contexts. I was extremely fortunate that you agreed. While interested to hear from a "NNEST," I am not quite sure now what I expected.

Jaehan Now I see why you invited me to start our duoethnography. I remember that you asked me to speak to your classes twice over the period of 1 year. When you invited me as a guest speaker, I was not sure whether my stories would be interesting because I do not know much about bilingualism in the United States. Instead, I thought I could tell them about how I grew up to become a bilingual speaker of English and Korean. I still remember that the class had engaging conversation following my short presentations.

Amber The discussion following your presentations is what stands out most for me, too. Part of my logic in asking you to speak was that I thought perhaps inviting someone to speak and share what bilingualism and language education was like outside the U.S. could expand the thinking of the class. From my own time teaching in Korea, I knew that there was a

heavy emphasis on English education. I thought that someone who had experienced this emphasis on English education first-hand might offer some thoughts, some insights, which I could not. I guess in a way I was hoping that you could give perspective to my students – a group of mostly female, mostly White students – which I could not. From my perspective, your guest lecture was a great success. That is why I invited you back the next semester I taught the course.

There is one thing I really remember about that day as I think about it now. What stood out to me then, and what I still remember, is your willingness to be open and to critically engage my students in examining issues related to the teaching of English in international settings. You did not just offer generalities about "cultural differences," reducing a complex topic into an oversimplified "food, fairs, and folklore" (Kramsch 1991, p. 229). Neither did I get the sense that English learning had been, for you, unproblematic. By sharing your personal journey to English language teaching, including embarrassing moments of confusion for you, you led your listeners through your journey with you. In particular, sharing your own conflicted feelings about English in Korea was educational for me. To illustrate this claim, it might be best if I first begin with a story – an urban legend, really – that I heard when I was working in Korea. It goes roughly like this:

> Some newly constructed apartment complexes in Seoul, as a result of wanting to appear high status, adopted English, rather than Korean names, even going so far as to use the English (roman) script on the buildings, rather than a Korean translation. Because of this, there were some people (in the story, they were always older women) who, after recently relocating to one of these buildings, left to go shopping and *would not be able to find their building upon return*. This was supposedly due to the fact that the English name was the only indicator of where their apartment was, *yet they could not read English*.

Although I was skeptical about the factuality of this story, for me it still somehow offered a model of English linguistic hegemony. For me, hearing how you have wrestled with these concerns shifted the abstract scholarly concept of the hegemony of English into concrete, critical reality.

Jaehan   I wouldn't be surprised even if the apartment story actually happened. I heard that elderly people have a hard time locating their friends' apartments because of English names. They just cannot pronounce the names, and have a hard time finding help in locating their friends' residences. This trend of using English names for apartment names began about 15 years ago when luxury apartments were named Tower Palace, Hyperion, and Acrohills, clearly showing a model of English linguistic hegemony.

I remember now that at that time you invited me as a guest speaker, I was influenced by my graduate education and particularly by Johnston's (1999) work reflecting on the place of critical pedagogy in ELT. I was undergoing a process of critical reflection of my own experiences of learning and teaching English as well as my home country's over-investment on English language teaching. As for the latter, I had a

growing concern about Korea's zeal for English that resulted in significant spending in English education and sudden switch to English-medium instruction in university education (Park and Pawan 2016). In particular, I was deeply troubled by suicide of several university students and faculty at a university well-known for teaching most of their courses in English to mostly Korean students.

One interesting thing I realized while preparing for the guest presentation was that, as I shared with your students, I had an ambivalent attitude toward English. While I was increasingly critical about sociopolitical problems related to English language teaching and learning, because I had made significant investment in learning English and also being trained to teach English, I found myself supporting people's continued interest and investment in learning English.

Amber	The content of your talk was interesting, but it was your willingness to engage so candidly in sharing your critical reflections with my students that "stuck with me." Seeing your openness and how the students responded to it has affected how I approach my own teaching. For instance, I am much more willing to share my personal experiences as a beginning teacher. It is funny because while I have readily been willing to recognize the importance of personal experiences with learning and teaching that my own students bring to my courses, it has taken me longer to recognize that sharing my own early experiences could be of value, too.
Jaehan	What strikes me in this prologue is how in understanding bilingual speakers of English, one cannot ignore the global power of English (Pennycook 1999). We cannot remain naïve about this significant influence that English language has exercised. Both of us experienced such influence from our own experiences of teaching English in Korea. The invitation to speak to your class allowed me to share my story of becoming bilingual with critical awareness of the global power of English. The discussion that followed my talk, I hope, allowed your class to think about teaching English while resisting linguistic imperialism (Canagarajah 1999).
Amber	I would agree. We know that a number of scholars have noted the lack of equal exchange across cultures within the global spread of English (Block and Cameron 2002; Canagarajah 1999, 2002; Pennycook 1994, 2008; Tsui and Tollefson 2007). From my standpoint now, I too have grown more critical of my own role in the global spread of English and think often on what I could have done differently (better!) during my time overseas.

5.2 Beginnings

Amber	One of the first narratives you shared during this process was how you felt beginning your new faculty position. Your story made me think about my own experiences as a beginning teacher – not at the higher education

level, but my very first experiences with teaching. When I began working as an English language teacher it was possible to be hired in a number of countries with nothing more than a bachelor's degree, and almost any bachelor's degree would be accepted. When I began teaching, that is exactly what I had: a bachelor's degree in English literature. As I reflect on this beginning now, I realize that my story is all-too-familiar to both the numbers of Anglophone speakers who have done this, and to the numbers of students who have been the inculpable recipients of such supply teaching. Therefore, I share this story here not because it is unique, but because it is both widely familiar and, inescapably, a part of my *currere* – the curriculum of my lived experience.

After completing an undergraduate degree and procuring an office job post-graduation, I began by searching for an occupation that would be more meaningful to me. Somehow I ended up agreeing to a 2-month volunteership as an English language teacher on a tiny island in the Gulf of Thailand. I left for the position in June of 2004 and after 30-plus hours of travel, landed just after dawn at a tropical airport on the north end of the island. After a few days' adjustment, I, along with two other 'voluntourists,' began "training" which included an overview of the basics of grammar and a general lesson outline of "I do/we do/you do." Thus, the social fashioning of my teacher self (Miller Marsh 2002) began over a weekend of training in which I received instruction in the natural approach (Krashen and Terrell 1983) and continued through what might be considered an immersion approach to language teaching.

I can remember standing in front of a small, portable dry-erase board as 30–40 children sat in chairs placed in a semicircle in their open-air library. I can remember struggling with how to fill the time over those first weeks of teaching. With 5 min or 8 min left at the end of class, asking myself: What do I do? Maybe we can sing a song? Can I get away with another round of bingo? These are the moments I have largely put behind me at this point in my career.

Jaehan   While reading this section, I told myself, "Amber, I never knew you were feeling that way." I have known you as a competent teacher who had a variety of international and domestic experiences. Now, I see that you are embracing all of your stories as a whole, since they are all an important part of who you are. I guess we develop ourselves by embracing wholly whatever our past may have been.

One of my first responses to your story is that "Yes, you got the teaching position because of your native-speakerness." This response came from my knowledge of how brutally competitive it is for a Korean pre-service teacher of English with appropriate training to get a teaching position in a school.

Then, I looked back on my own experience of starting my teaching career and realized that I, too, was hired to teach English for my advanced proficiency in English despite a lack of training in teaching English. I also remembered that my first school was K-9 school and my work involved teaching kindergarten students English for 10 min every day. Teaching English to very young children requires

specific ability and training, and, due to my lack of training, I found it particularly challenging. I often tell others to this day, "It was the longest 10 min of my life." Although struggling quite a bit, just like you, I realized how much I enjoy teaching English, that the ability to speak the language does not guarantee successful teaching of it, and teaching specific age group requires important knowledge and skills for it. They all were directing me to the need for my own professional development in TESOL, which ultimately led me to pursue my graduate training in ESL teacher education.

Amber Thank you. You know, it was difficult for me to share this part of my narrative. As someone who has sought additional education since that time, I am somewhat ashamed to admit that I started with so little. But it was also the time when I learned that I love teaching. If I could admit one thing further, during those first few months, I felt almost as if I had a secret. I recognized that I was not prepared well enough to do the job that I had been given, and yet I knew implicitly that I was expected to be competent. I recognized that I had been hired by virtue of my "native-speakerism" and even at that time I was troubled by it, although I do not think I had the words to express these thoughts then. Now, I share this story more reflexively. I can see in my own story echoes of what I have come to understand as the cultural politics of native-speakerism (Holliday 2005, 2006; Medgyes 1994; Pennycook 1994). This experience was the beginning of my search for more knowledge, which led me, ultimately, to pursue a PhD in literacy and language education.

5.3   Transitions

Jaehan For my part, my decision to pursue graduate education came after some teaching experience in Korea. I came to the realization that I needed advanced training in TESOL, so I decided to get graduate teacher training in the U.S.

Amber   It seems like both of us were drawing to pursuing a PhD due to our formative experiences as English language teachers. For my own part, my decision to pursue further education began with seeking a Master's degree and was stimulated by a similar logic.

In my second place of employment, an after-school academy (*hagwon*) in a wealthy area of Seoul, South Korea, I remember spending a lot of time working on my lesson plans and really concerning myself with these lessons. I carefully prepared lessons using the textbooks and spent my planning time and even my evenings at home looking for additional ideas and strategies to make the lessons more interesting and effective. However, I had one particular student who often showed reluctance to participate, and who often talked out of turn, made jokes, or otherwise disrupted the class time, too. I remember that 1 day I was so distraught by his behavior, because I

was spending a lot of time planning and preparing lessons and yet my students – at least this student – could not see that.

Although I had been teaching for 3 years at that point, ultimately, I came to realize that I did not have enough pedagogical knowledge. Thus, although I had developed some practical understanding of teaching through these experiences, I recognized that it was not enough. Furthermore, I had started to realize that being a native speaker really should not be enough to qualify me to teach. Although it was possible to be hired just by virtue of this coincidence, that by participating I was complicit in an Anglophone-centric view of language teaching that I was increasingly uncomfortable with. Oddly, it was my assumed legitimacy based on my linguistic background that led to my eventual realization that I was not.

Jaehan   For me, a significant experience during this period we are calling "transitional," comes from not long after I started my graduate study at a university in the Midwest. After beginning coursework, I realized that, despite our large number, international students studying in the department, including myself, were frequently silenced in classrooms. Very often a small number of domestic students dominated class discussions. Materials professors chose to require students to read for class discussion further exacerbated the situation. Unless professors had significant international experience or were interested in international research, most of the required readings were related to the U.S. contexts, and those readings were difficult for international students to understand and relate to. Moreover, many international students from Asia did not seem to know how to get what they wanted. Often times, international students did not find opportunities for research, teaching, and funding when American students seem to know how to ask for such opportunities.

Such experiences of marginality, led to the organization of a group for international students in the department. A small group of students started to have bi-weekly meetings to choose journal articles that most of us were interested in, and we had enough time for us to talk about them while not worrying about being dominated by the American students. We began reading each other's papers and conference proposals so that we will have better chances for conference presentations. In the beginning, the group members often complained about their experiences of disadvantage and marginalization, but the group soon matured into a solidarity group for supporting each other's academic and professional success. The group grew as a solid support group for international students and we felt good about it, but I never imagined that I would be asked to talk about the group during a job interview for a faculty position. To my surprise, my experience with the international student group was well received by a search committee of the college where I eventually accepted a position.

Amber   When you first shared your graduate school experience with me, I think your international student support group was just in its nascence. Hearing that the group not only served you well in graduate school, but also has

been significant in shaping where you are today makes me at once glad that you were able to form these connections and sorry to think that I might have been any part of what cause you all to feel marginalized in class or among the graduate students in the department. I know that it is not your intention to make me feel guilty or apologize. Just that, these issues are so sensitive. I think whenever we disclose information, it is the reaction of those who have not had the same experience to feel like we should say or do something.

5.4   Present and Future Selves

Jaehan   As I start working for an American college, I am realizing how little I knew about working in an organization in the United States. While some of the things I learned from graduate school may be transferred into my professional contexts, there are much more to learn to be able to function as a professional in this new environment such as making requests in a way that allows people to make excuses. Well-written, long emails with great details often make me wonder whether I will be successful as a non-native speaker of English who came from a foreign country. While this kind of imposter syndrome may be experienced by many beginning professionals, I seemed to have more reasons to believe that I am incompetent for the work I am hired for. It took me some time, but I decided to believe that I was here for who I am. It was obvious that I cannot copy other people's voices, and moreover, even if I copied them, I would be an inferior copy of other voices. Instead, in doing my work, I realized that not many people have first-hand experience of studying in a second language as an international student.

This acceptance of my "marginal" status then allowed me to realize my role as an advocate for students. As a coordinator of academic integration program for multi-lingual students, in addition to teaching students, my responsibility includes supporting faculty members in their teaching non-native English-speaking students. For that responsibility, I often sit down with a faculty member to have a conversation about how to teach their recent immigrant students and international students. During a conversation with a writing instructor with significant experience as a writer and composition teacher, the instructor shared her assessment philosophy by telling me that she cannot give second language writers who write with errors the same grade as their native counterparts whose essays show relatively less grammatical errors. Especially, as a teacher of business writing where inaccuracy of information is directly related to success and failure as business communication, she cannot tolerate inaccurate language in her teaching of business writing.

While agreeing to the points about the importance of accuracy in business writing she was making, I thought about my own writing and said to myself "Even with

a doctoral degree, I still write with errors. I still have to find others to read my writing and often pay editors to improve my writing.… My other international scholars also pay a significant amount of money to get editorial help for their professional writing." Then I could not stop responding to her comments by sharing my own experiences and perspective. I said to her, "I agree with your points about accuracy, but looking at my own development as a second language writer of English, I feel troubled due to the fact that my efforts alone did not achieve the kind of accuracy expected in business writing. It takes time to learn to write accurately without many errors."

To be honest, I do not know whether sharing my own perspective may change anyone's perspective. It is just my honest response. Having been living a life of a second language writer of English, I have the first-hand experience of long-term, gradual development of grammatical competence. My hope was that if she had a heart for second language writers of English, my story might help her perceive this issue from the perspective of long-term gradual acquisition of professional variety of English language.

Soon after the incident, I read a piece written by Matsuda (2012), about university writing program administration. In the article, he shares his own story of meeting with an experienced writing instructor who failed her multilingual students for their grammatical errors although the overall quality of their essays was good. Later he adds that, as a director of university writing program, he had such experiences virtually every semester. Matsuda's story helped me with my work with instructors who did not receive ESL teacher training but who teach multilingual student writers in their classrooms. In the article, he also argued that development of second language grammatical competence is a slow and incremental process. As a former international student who managed to acquire advanced academic literacy in English through several years' intensive academic training, I realize that my experience afforded me understanding that academic literacy acquisition is a gradual and incremental process that may take years for a second language writer to achieve. The experience also afforded me empathy in what I see as my advocacy work for my students as well as in the support work I do with my colleagues.

Amber   Thank you for sharing this with me. Your story makes me think more deeply about how much is involved in living and working in another country. It takes a lot more effort beyond just convincing someone that you are capable of doing the work. Although I know something of this from my own time working in contexts outside my country of origin, it is also something I have not had to think about for some time. My own feelings of illegitimacy, somewhat ironically, stemmed from benefitting from assumptions that I was qualified to teach based solely on my "native speaker" status. It was this assumption, and the uncomfortable realization that my language was not actually enough, that led me to seek further qualifications. This reminds me that Britzman (2003) has argued that teacher identity is shaped by tensions between such notions as theory/practice, knowledge/experience, and thought/action. Crucially, however,

she interprets these tensions not as dichotomous, but as dialogic, "shaped as they shape each other in the process of coming to know" (p. 26). Hearing you talk about your current work also helps me to see the ways that we are both still constructing ourselves as "legitimate" academics, each in our own way.

For example, in my own current teaching as instructor of an "English in Global Contexts" course, I find myself (re)considering many of very topics under discussion in this chapter from yet another perspective. Topics of native/non-native, "inner"-/"outer" circle, "standard"/"non-standard" – dichotomies endemic to language teaching – permeate the course readings, my students' words, and sometimes my own. As I seek to familiarize my students – future educators – to the historical construction of these terms and also to their sociocultural, critical ramifications, I find myself engaging with their implications again myself. So often, the language that we use to describe and label groups of learners, teachers of learners, and sites of learning engages us in what Crumpler et al. (2011) called the "discursive production of difference" (p. 82). Despite a growing body of literature which challenges this view, so many terms still in common use in our field work to hierarchize, order, or otherwise privilege English over other languages. One of my challenges is to engage my students in discussion that critically examines these constructs in ways that will be engaging and instructive – and in so doing I am brought to reflection on my own experiences and ways of talking. When have I been guilty of Anglophone-centric, or linguistic deficit models of talking about the students I have known? How can I work with the future teachers I teach, now and going forward, to healthily engage in "postglobal" thinking to challenge the rigidity of the borders we think we know, and which we ourselves have constructed, between cultures, languages, people?

Jaehan   For me, it has been helpful to adopt an "in both" conceptualization as a possibility for moving beyond deficit thinking. This conceptualization of marginality has actually been around for some time. In his book on marginality, as a Korean American, Jung Young Lee (1995) refuses a more traditional but negative definition of marginality which is focused on not belonging to any side. According to him, such an understanding of marginality is a product of centrality because the central groups perceive marginality as an in-between paradigm. Instead, Lee proposes a new definition of marginality which recognizes "in both" paradigm, meaning that new marginality belongs to both worlds. This helped me accept my previous international student experiences and current situation not as something I have to grow out of but as something I belong to. As a former international student and a current instructor and program coordinator for international and immigrant students, according to this new definition of marginality, I belong to both worlds of international students and faculty. I can even add the identity of an immigrant since I live and work in this foreign land. This new conceptualization of marginality and my identities puts me in what Lee (1995) calls "creative core in new marginality" (p. 61) empowering me to be an agent of advocacy and service.

5.5 *Epilogue*

We would suggest that any duoethnographic journey is an ongoing process. Engaging in this process allowed us to recognize the convergences and divergences in our trajectories as ELT professionals. Although our stories are each our own, we were struck in particular by the deeply personal-yet-familiar nature of each other's experiences. Further, we began to understand marginality and acceptance as "two sides of a coin." While the denotation of marginality is the "outsider" status, being outside or peripheral, we also began to notice that for each of us, the experiences of marginality were also stories of acceptance or belonging. Thus, we examined the experiences shared here not as representative examples of either marginality or acceptance – belonging or not belonging – but interrogated them for how these themes dialogically engaged with one another within each experience and how we, in turn, were dialogically engaged in becoming ELT professionals with and through our interactions. As Canagarajah (2009) described:

> We should consider dialogue as a collective achievement, enabling both parties to help each other progress further in their thinking and values. Besides, it is not just "ideas and views" that we are concerned about, in a product-oriented sense. The dialogue should enrich participants in a holistic manner, not just contribute to exchanging ideas. We should accommodate changes in one's orientation to self, relationships, feelings, and values. We should therefore consider moving from conciliatory dialogue, and exploratory dialogue, to transformative dialogue to accommodate such possibilities. The latter term conveys the need for both parties to contribute to each other's transformation as persons, in a rounded and holistic manner. (p. 76)

For us, the significance of this quote from Canagarajah is the emphasis on the potential that dialogue has to transform the individuals who are engaged in the process. Duoethnography, we posit, has the potential to facilitate such transformative dialogue, by its natural focus on collaboration and emphasis on the processes involved in dialoguing. In keeping with Lee's (1995) "in both" conceptualization and Kramsch's (1998) observation that the division between notions in ELT such as authentic/inauthentic, legitimate/illegitimate no longer hold, we further suggest that adopting a phraseology of marginality/acceptance better encompasses the dialectical nature of the experiences involved in becoming "legitimate" ELT professionals. We have found it helpful to consider the ways in which, although each of our individual experiences within moments of marginality/acceptance were interpretable through particular socio-historical trajectories associated with being a "native" or "non-native" speaker, we also found that each could see themselves in the experience of the other.

Further, by beginning with experiences, not concepts, we were able to name our own experiences and through sharing this process, we hope that we will encourage others to similarly engage in examining and naming their own experiences. As Byram (1997) observed, ELT professionals' lived experiences involve developing intercultural (and here we would add transcultural) competencies, enabling those professionals to see issues from multiple perspectives, and who can, at the same time, demonstrate "a metacognitive awareness of their competence" (p. 20). As a part of this, engaging in reflexive methodologies designed to examine our lived experiences, we posit, can be an invaluable practice. In duoethnography, researchers

become the research site. "They use themselves to assist themselves and others in better understanding the phenomenon under investigation" (Norris and Sawyer 2012, p. 13). Using the notion of *currere* as a duoethnographic tenet, we explored notions of marginality/acceptance at three moments of our lived experiences.

What we have discussed in this chapter itself forms an argument that it is not only reasonable, but perhaps more appropriate to move beyond a NEST/NNEST dichotomy and to make sense of each other not through proscribed identities, but through the stories we tell. As exemplified in our duoethnography, particular characteristics and experiences which can describe native/non-native do not necessarily belong exclusively to those groups of people. Instead, our stories and dialogues show that our transnational experiences complicate how we understand ourselves and other professionals in ELT. For that matter, the dichotomous NEST/NNEST perspective is not the best way to view ourselves. Rather, critical and transnational perspectives help us better in our making sense of who we are and who we have become.

Moreover, in our research, our data is best placed to understand the concepts of marginality and acceptance through a lens suited to recognize the variability in everyone's experience. Therefore, we suggest that it is better to approach these concepts from a lens more suited to interpreting concepts like marginality and acceptance as non-oppositional or fluid. This can help us, as ELT professionals, to understand not only ourselves, but also our students, and other teachers better. Furthermore, we suggest that approaches which interpret concepts like marginality/ acceptance fluidly can be of use to others interested in moving the field of ELT beyond a priori assumptions regarding cultural, linguistic, or experiential dichotomies between native/non-native teachers.

6   Final Thoughts

As Barad (2007) recognizes, "existence is not an individual affair" (p. ix). Through this dialogical considering of ourselves in relation to our own experiences and to one another, we offer this dialogue up for consideration regarding how it may serve to further cultivate new approaches to professional becoming in ELT. Through examining "difference" from different perspectives, "duoethnographies [...] move research to a place of ambiguity in which multiple meanings can be celebrated for their unique contribution in understanding and improving the human condition" where readers may "choose from a polyphony and cacophony of ideas, including their own, and con/spire to breathe/with (Barone 1990) the insights of their own choosing" (Norris 2012, p. 178). Thus, what we hope is that through this exploration – this speaking from where we live – we might, as a profession, begin to draw from the polyphony of new possibilities for ELT professionals. We ask: What have we learned from this duoethnographic process? How can considering our own experiences, in dialogue, push us to query dichotomized notions of NS/NNS, possibly moving us, dialectically, toward something more? And what might it be like to begin a career without the specter of the NS/NNS dichotomy in which our own beginnings were rooted?

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Significant Encounters and Consequential Eventualities: A Joint Narrative of Collegiality Marked by Struggles Against Reductionism, Essentialism and Exclusion in ELT

Masaki Oda and Glenn Toh

Abstract The combined narrative of our struggle against the anomalies of inclusion and exclusion, diversity and essentialism, hybridity and monolithism, agency and cooptation, collusion and marginalization begins with a 'chance' encounter at a conference in Hong Kong. Pooling together five decades of teaching experience, our critical historical narrative probes at the inner workings of cultural-political ideologies bearing on our professional practice and ontology as English teachers as well as their deleterious effects on institutional behaviors, human intransigence, and (counter)educational outcomes. Specifically, we capture the nature of ongoing contestations and contradictions faced by English teachers in the quest for more humanizing pedagogies and discursive spaces. We argue that the accompanying struggles stem from powerful cultural-political discourses in ELT that legitimate a status quo of inertia, while perpetuating inequalities of access and asymmetries in power relations among learners, teachers and vested stakeholders. We conclude that the work of uncovering dissimulated ideologies in the struggle between monolithism and diversity, structure and agency, oppression and transformation will benefit not only the silenced and disenfranchised, but even the vocal, oppressive and self-unseeing, to boot.

1   Introduction

We are colleagues at the Tamagawa University Center for English as a Lingua Franca (CELF). This combined narrative of our struggle against the inequities and anomalies of inclusion and exclusion, diversity and essentialism, hybridity and monolithism, agency and co-optation, collusion and marginalization, begins with a

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'chance' encounter at the Language Rights Conference at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University in 1996. In this chapter, we will trace the ideological significance and ramifications of important work-related encounters spanning the 20 years of our professional association dating back to our 'chance' meeting. Pooling together our five decades of teaching experience, our critical historical narrative probes at the inner workings cultural-political ideologies bearing on our professional practice and ontology as English teachers as well as their deleterious effects on institutional behaviors, human intransigence, and (counter)educational outcomes.

Specifically, we aim to capture the nature of ongoing contestations, contradictions, inconsistencies and disjunctions faced by English teachers in the quest for more humanizing and transformative pedagogies and discursive spaces. In the course of our discussion, we will argue that much of the accompanying struggles can be attributed to the involvement of powerful cultural-political discourses in ELT that legitimate and sustain a status quo of inertia, while perpetuating inequalities of access and asymmetries in power relations among learners, teachers and vested stakeholders. We begin with an overview of the literature relating to the role of the narrative in human and professional praxis, as well as advocacy for change (Goosseff 2014) before providing a critical account of relevant power- and ideology-laden issues of concern.

2 Professional Praxis

Narrative research has gained recognition in various disciplines including applied linguistics. Reflecting on personal stories through narratives has also been effective in teacher education (Barkhuizen 2011). In terms of approach, our joint narrative follows other scholarly works that: (1) feature the autoethnographic writings of teachers as a basis for a deeper understanding of ideological issues that bear heavily on teaching and learning (Barkhuizen 2011; Giri and Foo 2014; Kubota and Fujimoto 2013; Murphey 2004; Pavlenko 2007; Rivers 2013; Toh 2017); (2) treat the professional praxis of teachers as ways to understand empirically the divergent specificities and epistemologies of localized teaching situations (Chowdhury and Phan 2014; Murphey 2004; Toh 2014); and (3) examine the role of teacher agency, action and reflection in social-historical space against institutional discourses of intransigence and oppression (Alderson 2009; Cheng 2008; Chowdhury and Phan 2014; Dale and Hyslop-Margison 2010; Freire 2000).

With particular regard to the matter of (teacher) agency, we take advantage of an understanding of agency that recognizes not only its "literal sense of what someone says they were able to do," but more so, agency "as a performance that [at the same time] is a chosen way of telling" (Coffey 2011, p. 177). The benefit of viewing "telling" and agency in this way is that such an understanding recognizes, facilitates and promotes "the [very] act of telling," in other words, the very work of "'representing' at a particular occasion in the form of a particular story" (Bamberg 1997, p. 335). From such an understanding of agency, we are strongly vindicated, not only in

(re)presenting our lived experiences as an act of creative performance, but also in relishing the opportunity to draw on this agentive space to instantiate, reconstitute and give meaning to these experiences (Bamberg 1997). In so doing, we further avail ourselves of the opportunity to engage our audience in what Bamberg (1997) and Coffey (2011) regard as a form of co-constructed performance, where the potential for readers to become collaborators in a dialogic co-creation of creative and transformative meanings, is thereby given impetus. In sharing our lived experiences, we engage, therefore, in part of what Gray (2002) describes as a "double move between an ontological register, a way of being in the world based on experience, and an epistemological register through which that being/experience can become a way of knowing" (p. 114).

Ultimately, it remains our conviction that the matter of teacher professional subjectivity is one that can be formed, informed and reformed by way of the praxis and negotiation that must necessarily mediate a piece of writing like this one, which in turn legitimates the process of writing itself as a performative act of agency, subjectivity form(ul)ation and identity assertion. The influence of the narrative lies veritably in its accommodation of reflexivity (Goosseff 2014) and its inherent acceptance of the malleable and emergent nature of human subjectivity.

3   The Role of the Vignette in Professional Praxis

The vignette and its significance in qualitative inquiry are highlighted in Dörnyei (2007), who notes that the vignette, rather similar to the analytic memo, can be used as an exploratory and analytical tool to draw attention to significant experiences. As a short narrative that "provide[s] focused descriptions of events or participant experiences," the vignette is used in research as a way to 'grow the ideas' and to see these ideas develop into themes and patterns for deeper investigation (Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 254–255). While evincing and enacting what critical educator Paulo Freire regards as an inherent incompleteness in human experience (Freire 2000), the unfolding, recreated yet contextually grounded nature of vignettes affirm their localization in time, context and harsher (in this case professional) realities, an attribute which Alderson (2009) recognizes as important for investigating (and interrogating) the often unpublished accounts of professional inner workings: "We hear and read more about the positive, the exemplary, the success stories, than about the negative, the normal, the failures ... Our 'professional' literature prefers not to deal with the 'unprofessional', other than implicitly, by contrast" (Alderson, 2009, p. 11). In similar vein, Alderson (2009) draws attention to the existence of a research gap in the stark reality of the:

> many 'normal' institutions, with their weaknesses and foibles, their sins and their 'dirty linen'. Yet again, we rarely read about such institutions in the literature. We do not read about unprofessional or dubious behaviour, unscrupulous practices, ruthless treatment of rivals, competitors or clients. Yet they surely exist. (Alderson 2009, p. 11)

As in Alderson (2009), the vignette, in this present instance, strategically facilitates the surfacing of (officially) blindsided accounts of bona fide professional realities,

while providing interested researchers a means to recognize and investigate their subtle inner workings. Recalling earlier discussion, the inherently interrogative and reflexive nature of such inquiry resonates with the dialogic co-construction of meaning that agentive and purposefully recreated narratives offer to both researchers and readers alike, while readily "granting … centrality to the [narrator's] active engagement in the construction process of narratives" (Bamberg 1997, p. 341). In this recognition of the centrality and active engagement of the narrator in the construction and recreation process of narratives, we find support, not only for the admission our own agency in the composition of our vignettes, but also for our earnest desire to engage our readers through the same.

With regard to the published literature, the vignette has been seen in works involving the (often collaborative, like ours here) critical praxis of English teachers and educators (Chowdhury and Phan 2014; Giri and Foo 2014; Kubota and Fujimoto 2013) as a means of highlighting inequalities of access and power relations among those marginalized by dominant discourses legitimated by the native speaking domains of ELT. As will be seen in our case, our vignettes and their themes, patterns and interactions reflecting ideology, power, privilege, inclusion and exclusion have had a tendency to emerge through a confluence of different circumstances in our professional journey. As is characteristic of workplace encounters which are often-times characterized by asymmetrical power relations (Drew and Heritage 1992), key incidents and key people became part of a concatenation and reticulation of events that enact and capture the throes of professional struggle. Where the issues that emerge carry overtones of racialization or racism, our vignettes will demonstrate the elements of a critical race methodology and counter storytelling as tools to expose and resist power asymmetries attributable to racism (Dixon and Rousseau 2005; Kubota and Lin 2009; Solorzano and Yosso 2002). The largely situated and localized texture our joint narrative is, furthermore, in keeping with the spatialized, contextualized, performative and social-historical nature of larger struggles against oppression and dehumanization in educational contexts (Freire 2000).

In the next section, we provide a series of vignettes recreating important events – veritable encounters in time and space, which helpfully serve 'in narrated worlds' as 'ordering mechanisms' of recreated experience (Coffey 2011, p. 193). The combinatorial confluences of recreated experience implicating time, space, human agency, human participation and "motivation to act" (Coffey 2011, p. 193), have, in turn, been crucial in helping us derive our professional convictions about the importance of equality, hope, transformation and humanization in our practice of ELT.

4 Important Background (I)

Given the hindsight we now have, the 1996 Language Rights Conference was a watershed in our professional development. Recollecting the time, Robert Phillipson's epoch-making book, *Linguistic Imperialism*, was making its

provocative presence felt in East and Southeast Asia where we were based. Various quarters of the (assumedly) stable and respectable ELT profession were trying to come to terms with its candid and uncomplimentary revelations. English teachers from native English speaking countries teaching speakers-of-other-languages were no longer the benign agencies of civilization and empowerment, or still less, the beacons of hope for many a learner seeking existential dignity through the learning of an ennobling language of civility and opportunity like English.

Phillipson had, in his frank expose, riled the establishment by saying that ELT was instrumental in accentuating a Center-Periphery divide, while perpetuating a deep-seated form of linguicism and culturism. By maintaining "a structural favouring of English" alongside the stigmatizing of local languages, linguicism as manifested in ELT was responsible for "the Periphery look[ing] to the Centre for professional guidance, instead of being self-reliant" (Phillipson 1992, p. 261). Ironically, as was argued, much of the so-called Center expertise was "of dubious relevance to multilingual countries because of its linguistic, pedagogic, and cultural inappropriacy" (Phillipson 1992, p. 261). The significance of Phillipson's observations will become clearer in subsequent discussion.

Two years later, Pennycook's (1994) *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language* problematized previously 'unproblematic' learner subjectivities. The subaltern and subjugated positioning of learners of English as speakers of *other* languages was exposed in Pennycook (1994), and subjected to serious query and feelings of opprobrium by decent minded educators. ELT was singled out for being presumptuous, colonizing and exploitative, begging the question of how ELT as both profession and enterprise would then cope with the infamy and outrage that came with its image as oppressor and exploiter. Both of us cut our teeth in ELT when the profession was fast losing its façade of innocence.

5   A Compilation of Vignettes

In the mid-1990s, Masaki was working as an assistant professor at his alma mater, Tamagawa University, after finishing his doctorate at Georgetown University. Glenn, then based in Singapore, was beginning his doctoral studies on English textbooks and ideology under Professor Andy Kirkpatrick at Curtin University in Perth, while working full-time for a non-governmental organization specializing in applied linguistics and English teaching in Southeast Asia.

Extending Goosseff's (2014) argument that the narrative (more so than detached academic writing) provides more objective and empirically truthful renditions of reality, we have deliberately chosen to let the first person narrative be the dominant mode of our discussion. Our discussion is divided into three chronological periods (periods I, II and III) corresponding approximately (and respectively) to: (I) 1996 to 2003; (II) 2003 to 2010; (III) 2010 to 2015.

5.1 Masaki's (I)

After our meeting in Hong Kong, I became interested in Glenn's work, particularly his concerns about the cultural relevance of ELT materials used in Southeast Asia (Toh and Raja 1997). Not long after, my book chapter in Braine (1999), which dissected NES-NNES issues in a language teachers' organization, was published (Oda 1999). Borne of my own involvement this particular TESOL affiliate organization, I problematized the matter of language choice in the organization, arguing that the English was wielded as a tool for gatekeeping and for monolingual native English speakers to maintain 'power'. As TESOL's national affiliate representing Japan, it was understandable that TESOL international relied heavily on its feeds on ELT in Japan, which were invariably filtered through the organization's Executive Board constituted predominantly of monolingual NESs with little track record in Japanese public education. The chapter received mixed reactions. There was, however, a review which accused me of being racist, while defensively justifying the English centrism of the organization under scrutiny (Jannuzi 1999). The reviewer, nevertheless, admitted that he had not had access to the chapter in question. Looking back, it was a time when space for such an ill-considered response still existed, if it concerned anything that questioned a native speaker's advantaged position.

At work, I was appointed assistant to the Dean of student affairs while I continued to teach English. I advised students with problems concerning their studies. One incident took place in 1997–1998 involving a student studying abroad in the UK. In one class, this student had to respond to a text concerning college life in Japan (Oda 2000). Unfortunately, one portion of the text was about the claim that Japanese students did not study once they entered university. When our student disagreed with this claim in one of the true-or-false items, she was not given any room for further discussion. Instead, she was put on probation for offensive behavior. As a student advisor, I felt powerless. Since the issue was also a matter of textbook material and ideology, I cited literature like Colebrook (1996) and Toh and Raja (1997) to support the student. Senior members of my university did not take my argument seriously. The general attitude was that the student should have obeyed the instructor.

During this period, ELT in Japan was dominated by the discourses of what Holliday later described as the "TESOL world" from the "English-speaking West" (Holliday 2005, p. 3). To my mind, ELT in Japan was entrapped within a TESOL paradigm (Holliday 2005), with little inkling that much of the professional beliefs was actually filtered through TESOL-blinkered lenses shadowing the framework defined by the so-called 'English-speaking' world typified (predominantly and reductively) by its native speakers (Holliday 1994, 2005; van Dijk 1996; Oda 2007; Pennycook 1994).

5.2   Glenn's (I)

By the time I had learnt about Masaki's interest in language and ideology, I had already faced my fair share of chafing experiences with regard not just to NES-NNS stereotypes but also concerning the status of nonnative Englishes. My workplace had received a request for an in-country training course in spoken and written English for some officials in Thailand, with funding provided by another agency based in the host country. The director of the NGO I worked for duly responded to the request and forwarded our syllabus document to the counterpart agency. The syllabus and other costing arrangements were deemed acceptable and preparations were made for me to make the journey to Thailand. Just as a memorandum of under-standing was about to be signed, the Thai counterpart came back with a request that another trainer be sent in my place. Apparently, there was an expectation that the trainer had to be a 'native speaker', and as an Asian teacher of English, I somehow failed to fit the bill.

The above encounter came on top of a previous encounter at one of urban Bangkok's premier universities where I was sent for a conference. At the same con-ference were speakers from the United Kingdom and other NES countries as well as from Thailand. I spoke on English's plural identities based on the notion that English had taken on different identities as a medium of multiple canons (Kachru 1995). The response from a noted corpus specialist from a British university was one of crass outrage (much in defense of his area of specialization). The venerable gentle-man' denigrating comments came across to the effect that I was being shallow and short-sighted in speaking about what a plurality of Englishes meant for target mod-els for English teaching. That English teaching should be founded and grounded on (native speaker) corpora, was his grouse. This sentiment was duly echoed by the Thai hosts. Their reason was that Thailand was an 'FL' or 'Expanding Circle' coun-try with very few speakers of English. The only way to learn English was to refer (or defer) to the way native speakers handled their *own* language. The above reac-tion from the British corpora specialist, was reminiscent of an equally cynical com-ment from a noted ELT specialist, hailing this time from New Zealand. When asked his view about English's plurality of canons (Kachru 1995), his answer came liter-ally with a 'so-what' attitude. His response to Kachru's arguments was, "So what? So what does World Englishes mean for teaching English and textbook writing? Very little, I'd say."

It was not until summer 1996 that I finally attended a conference featuring speak-ers who looked more astutely at the spread of English, through the lenses of colo-nialism, imperialism, neoliberalism or the fact ELT was not free from the politics of vested interests and exploitation of the cultural Other. Working for an NGO meant that I was privy to the way donor monies were apportioned and firsthand witness to the way applied linguistics and ELT experts were flown in from the native speaking centers as consultants or advisors to local staff. There were CALL (Computer-

Assisted Language Learning) and curriculum specialists, language teaching methodologists and distance education experts who supervised the preparation of manuals and audited the learning outcomes. Practically no similar opportunities were given to academics from the East or Southeast Asian Periphery, who would have been more familiar with the local realities where the training was being conducted. What I saw was too reminiscent of Phillipson's (1992) observations about the ideological reification of Center expertise. What became etched in my memory was the way these consultants, who were given return air tickets and nice air conditioned offices, regarded their privileged positions almost as if it was their providential right as native speakers. Not a few abused the hospitality given them, drinking and/or boasting excessively at colonial expatriate clubs, failing to turn up for classes on time, being tardy in grading student assignments, or in one peculiar case, using his well-furbished office as a place to dry his (and his wife's) laundry.

Year after year, the same people were invited back: a classic case of "accumulation of technical expertise in the Centre … mediated by a monolingual doctrine" keeping "the Periphery in a dependent role" (Phillipson 1992, p. 260). Their glib, braggadocious, haughty or other off-color behaviors were either overlooked or tolerated, principally because they were the so-called experts with their record of plenaries and publications in their areas of expertise. Some aspiring local academics who were thirsty for the same fame and favors chose (compromisingly) to ingratiate themselves to these experts in the hope of traveling and/or publishing with them. The implicit meaning behind such compromising behavior was that one had to ride on the same bandwagon as these consultants in order to be coopted into the big league of 'experts.'

6 Important Background (II)

Between 1996 and 2003, we corresponded regularly and met each other in Japan and Singapore. The publication of Suresh Canagarajah's (1999) *Resisting Linguistic Imperialism in English Language Teaching* marked an important point in our common search for pathways and strategies for dialogizing dominant ideologies and practices. After the turn of the millennium, we met again at the 2003 International Conference on Language, Education and Diversity at the University of Waikato in New Zealand. By the 2000s, enough time had elapsed for the emergence a body of critical literature contesting imperialist discourses and monolithic conceptualizations of English teaching (Canagarajah 1999; Kumaravadivelu 2003, 2006; Holliday 2005) and circumscribed monologic understandings of language vis-à-vis the construction and representation of meaning (Lea and Street 2000; Lillis and Turner 2001; Lillis 2003). For us, the way we appropriated the above literature appearing around the early- to mid-2000s was to use them as professional sources to explore ways of denaturalizing and resisting regimes of discursive hegemonic control. Such exploration became for us a quest for the discovery and recovery of voice and professional initiative.

6.1   Masaki (II)

After seeing Glenn at the LED conference, I invited him to speak at the Tamagawa InForum 2004, a conference organized by my university. At that time, I belonged to a unit called the Center for Language and Information Research. Each year, we had a budget to invite international scholars to speak at our forum. So I had the opportunity to develop critical awareness of the state of ELT, at least in my own institution. Using this budget, we invited Alastair Pennycook (in 2002) and Jennifer Jenkins (in 2003) to raise awareness of issues in Critical Applied Linguistics and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), as an effort to nudge forward the dialogue on Japanese ELT in my institution. Some scholars in Japan were beginning to recognize English's diverse character with the influence of the World Englishes paradigm (Kachru 1982, 1995). Honna and Takeshita (1999) for example, realized that it was unrealistic to expect Japanese students to mimic native speaker models. My own feeling was that this view was not enough. Debate within Japanese ELT was stagnating around the framework of the 'world' as seen from the perspective of 'native speakers' from the West and focused on whether a geographical variety of English like Singaporean English was acceptable as a teaching model. Meanwhile, Jenkins (2000) was actively exploring the idea of ELF, destined to advance quickly within the span of a decade (Jenkins 2006; Seidlhofer 2011). When I heard from Jenkins' presentation that ELF was not affiliated with any geographical variety, I felt that the idea was liberating and promising. Having Glenn at the next forum with all his classroom experience was my way of grounding and completing this series of forums on critical awareness. In the 2004 forum, I was after Glenn's expertise to help steer the discussion of the previous forums towards the particularities and critical needs of local classrooms, something Glenn was very experienced in, given his teaching in Thai, Laotian, Singaporean, Australian and New Zealand classrooms.

6.2   Glenn (II)

The LED conference was déjà vu for Masaki and I. Many of the speakers who were at the Language Rights Conference in 1996 were also there in Hamilton, including Robert Phillipson, Tove Skuttnab-Kangas, Angel Lin and Alastair Pennycook, along with other scholars keen to tap on the motif of voices from the Periphery, including Ryuko Kubota, Jasmine Luk and the late Peter Martin. I was teaching English for Academic Purposes at the Auckland University of Technology at that time. Angel Lin and Jasmine Luk's presentation – the contents of which can be found in Lin and Luk (2005) – on Bakhtinian dialogization – vividly captured the voices of student dissent in relation to the earthy realities of life in suburban Hong Kong. As in Canagarajah's (1999) earlier account of Sri Lankan students' parodies of curricular content, Lin and Luk argued for the importance of tapping on student voices for a better understanding of students' social realities vis-à-vis their learning of English in school.

The early 2000s was a time when I was increasingly conscious of the significance of locality and the assertion of local spaces in relation to my praxis as an English teacher (Toh 2003a, b). My talk at Tamagawa argued for the importance of engendering student and teacher voices in ELT through a better understanding of locality and local specificities (Toh 2004). Later, I was to discover from reading Widin (2010) that happening around the same time were inclinations to the very opposite. Describing an English teacher training project conducted by an Australian government agency in Japan, Widin (2010) relates the cynical way local spaces and local needs were of scant concern to 'Murray' (pseudonym) the director of the of the of the project agency: "[W]e have this product – this is what we will promote – we will do this in spite of what the [local] teachers say they need" (p. 75). Widin (2010) notes that "the Australian focus was on selling their product – a product that focused on CLT (Communicative Language Teaching) with an oral component, despite contrary needs" (p. 75). Similar behaviors, this time with British projects in the middle east, where local spaces and needs were likewise taken for granted by the providers of training, are captured in Holliday (2005).

The importance of valuing contextual specificities as opposed to the assertion of a contextual and totalizing beliefs and teaching practices would spill over into a subsequent set of challenges Masaki and I would encounter when, as providence would have it, we became colleagues on a university-wide project at Tamagawa.

7   Important Background (III)

The period beginning around 2011 was an interesting one for us. The ELF movement had gained traction (Seidlhofer 2011; Jenkins 2006, 2014). Tamagawa University was about to launch a campus-wide ELF program run by a single university ELF center in place of the many English classes administered by individual colleges. Masaki's earlier efforts at raising critical awareness in ELT at Tamagawa were coming to fruition. He would eventually be appointed Director of CELF. Glenn joined Tamagawa in 2011 after 3 years at another Japanese university where he taught English for Academic Purposes.

With regard to the benefits of adopting an ELF paradigm for its campus-wide English program, the Tamagawa University administration was keen for a brand new start with a fresh paradigm that would be both current and practical. Through Masaki's cogent lobby, the administration became aware of the need for a program that was realistically attentive to the way English was being used for communication among both native and nonnative speakers without necessarily deferring to native speaker 'models' (Jenkins 2014). In terms of its relevance and currency, ELF was seen to be (appropriately) problematizing the taken-for-granted one-size-fits-all mentality that ELT should promote the emulation of native speaker norms, regardless the particularized nature of native speaker idiom and cultural allusion (Seidlhofer

2011), made all the more stilted by the hackneyed exemplar dialogues commonly found in English textbooks (yes, we were still concerned about textbooks after all that time). ELF, in contrast, was more inclusive and accommodative, energized by interactional exigencies arising from contacts between people of different first languages and cultures (Jenkins 2006; Seidlhofer 2011). Thus for Tamagawa, ELF, in a practical sense, was considered more responsive to change, negotiation and accommodation (Jenkins 2006; Seidlhofer 2011), something which the university wanted its students to internalize when using English.

With support from the administration, the CELF expanded quickly from the pilot stage, managing nearly 3000 students by 2015. As the program and Center grew, teacher recruitment became a priority. Masaki as CELF Director and the university administration were in agreement that recruitment of teachers would be based on qualification, expertise and experience rather than on 'speakerhood' per se. Jenkins' (2014) observation concerning the need to distance ELF from any obligation to defer to native speaker "norms" and to explore "ELF communication *in its own right* rather than against some native English yardstick or benchmark" (p. 25, italics original) became all the more relevant as the CELF stepped up on its recruitment activities extending into 2016.

Indeed, retrospectively, by the start of the second decade of the new millennium, the verbose claims made some 15 years earlier that English teaching should be founded on (native speaker) corpora were beginning to appear both unintelligent and presumptuous. Native speaker subjectivities had become the target of repeated questioning and ideological interrogation (Giri and Foo 2014; Kubota and Fujimoto 2013; Rivers 2013; Stewart and Miyahara 2011). The socio-communicative contexts in which ELF was being used for interaction and the language forms used in such interactions were, in the meantime, evolving quickly as "a function of its situation of accelerated language contact" (Jenkins 2014, p. 31). The varied and pluralistic nature of such interactions were carving out for ELF an important role in the constructing and sharing of information on interactive portals and online platforms. ELF's responsiveness to both the performative and contingent nature of communication (Jenkins 2014) meant, moreover, that it was accommodative of the understanding that "knowledge and the value of knowledge [were] rooted in social relations" (Roberts and Peters 2008, p. 127). Likewise and happening simultaneously, the increasingly devolved and hybridized nature of interactions on web platforms meant that new knowledge and ideas were being shared and re-shared at speeds scarcely before imaginable. Peer-to-peer networking was enabling flexibility, autonomy, real-time communication, collaboration and content distribution, with peers being at once "both clients and servers … retrieving and providing resources at the same time" (Peters and Roberts 2012, p. 135). In our final set of vignettes, we relate our experience of these fast-moving changes and the challenges and opportunities that have come with them.

7.1 *Masaki (III)*

My next career challenge was to establish the campus wide ELF program. The administrators were supportive of the notion of ELF. After the 2014 official launch, new teachers were added yearly. The NES-NNES distinction was immediately removed from our advertisements. Expectedly, there was an increase in applicants who were neither NES nor native Japanese speaking teachers. These applicants came from different parts of the world. Many were fluent in three or more languages – English, Japanese and their mother tongue. This diversity of the teachers contributed positively to the students' attitudes towards different varieties of English.

However, older colleagues protested the foundation of the ELF program. Native speakers felt insecure at the prospect of losing what they thought was their ultimate qualification – recognition of (reverence for) their native speaker status. Curiously, even native Japanese teachers believed in targeting 'native like' English proficiency, and English taught by NNESTs was neither 'authentic' nor useful for international communication. No amount of explanation of ELF was enough to overcome their preoccupation with "native-speakerism" (Holliday 2005; Houghton and Rivers 2013).

As these developments were taking place, Glenn and I could not help noticing that teaching practices around us were still trapped in a time warp of textbook exercises, graded readers, book reports and paragraph writing. Glenn was saying that these were largely asocial ways of teaching English, bearing in mind the rootedness of knowledge and communication in social relations (Jenkins 2014; Lillis 2003; Roberts and Peters 2008). In our discussions, detecting the (albeit weak) signals that ELT was slowly being weaned off native speakerism (or that native speakerism had gained sufficient notoriety to be viewed with suspicion) was just one aspect of what we were seeing. What was more strongly entrenched than native speakerism itself (without mitigating its notoriety) were certain deeply-rooted practices gathered invariably around narrow conceptualizations of curriculum (see Glenn's discussion of the four skills below) or outmoded thinking about the need to follow pre-set methodology (Kumaravadivelu 2003, 2006). Where native speakerism was being exposed for its inadequacies and anachronism (Holliday 2005; Houghton and Rivers 2013; Rivers 2013), something else was also surfacing. The neoliberal aspect of ELT was making its mark and money in the way textbooks and graded readers, tests and assessment instruments, curricular and performance targets were being standardized, commodified and sold for wider consumption (Chowdhury and Phan 2014; Kubota 2011; Schmidt et al. 2010). Glenn was convinced that these neoliberal technologies of ELT were actually a newly mutated strain of center dominance (Phillipson 1992) that took advantage of uncritical or outmoded teaching practices as well as teacher intransigence or credulity. Critically minded teachers were not so gullible or readily exploited, we felt.

For me, pioneering and administering an ELF center was proving to be more difficult than imagined not just because of the interfering influences of practices from old world TESOL (again, see Glenn's discussion below), but also from neoliberal

constructions of English "as a commodity … pedagogically reduced to an efficient means of information transfer in this process" even as "institutions of higher education now operate as if they were ordinary businesses competing to sell their products to consumers" (Chowdhury and Phan 2014, p. 67).

7.2 Glenn (III)

By the time I joined Masaki at Tamagawa in 2011, I had already taught 3 years of EAP at another Japanese university. Although my interest in knowledge production and sharing networks as well as the situated, creative and dynamic nature of knowledge actually began earlier – through my reading of academic literacies writings like Lea and Street (2000), Lillis (2003) and Lillis and Turner (2001) – it was when I started work in Japan that I began to realize that many EFL/TESOL professional practices were not responsive to the fast changing nature of knowledge formation and representation.

In my first Japanese university, EAP was reduced by default (inertia or negligence) to the teaching of the four skills which Holliday (2005) criticizes as being a restrictive and essentializing framework or "an icon around which are collected behaviors which continue to maintain a powerful ideological force of staging and control" (Holliday 2005, p. 42). Embodying a deficit notion of learner abilities, learners are put through a standardized faire of the 'four skills' as part of their acquisition of what Street (2003) regards as technical skills in English. Holliday (2005) regards the four skills as a regime of socialization into what he calls an English-speaking Western TESOL (hereafter, Western TESOL) cultural construct. In this regard, Western TESOL and its primal embodiment in the four skills becomes more of a regime of "cultural training at the expense of education" (Holliday 2005, p. 49). Where it concerns the mass-market, the four skills is party to Western TESOL's modernist project that reifies positivist values like performativity, efficiency and economy of planning and implementation (Ball 2010; Holliday 2005), highly coveted if TESOL is to penetrate lucrative markets.

As for me, I was feeling that an EAP curriculum configured around the four skills (and the textbooks thereof) to be categorically restrictive. The four skills gave little room for students and teacher to critically examine the situated and negotiated nature of academic meanings and their representation in language (Lillis 2003; Lillis and Turner 2001). Resulting in narrow routinized forms of lesson delivery, teachers are all but occupied (or distracted) with planning for: (1) listening activities (finding the right conservations, monologues, public announcements, recorded telephone messages); (2) speaking activities (organizing information gap or problem solving tasks for group conversations); (3) reading activities (checking students' reading comprehension, monitoring the reading of graded readers); and (4) writing tasks (finding nice themes, checking drafts, grading and commenting on final products). If indeed points (1)–(4) sound too reductive or technicized, this is precisely the caricaturizing effect that the four skills have on mechanizing (as well as commodifying and parodying) the work of an English teacher like me.

8   Final Commentary

In this section, we dialogize the power-laden ideologies embedded in the above encounters. To use an important notion from Freiran critical pedagogy, the experiences we lived through were instrumental in helping us hone in on our critical consciousness or in Freiran terms, our "conscientization," as educators concerned with matters relating to access, equity, humanization and dignity (Freire 2000). To be sure, the developments around us meant that we were not only experiencing the untidiness of history as it unfurled, but also engaging with the challenges and antagonisms thereof, as they helped to sharpen our sense of what was professionally ethical or unethical, transformative or oppressive, progressive or retrogressive, educational or counter-educational, enabling or disabling, honest or dissembling.

Beginning with Period I, one sole encounter with retrogression like that of the corpus specialist's insistence that English teaching should defer to the auspices of native speaker corpora research was enough of an alert (alarm) to the dangers of tunnel vision. Masaki's early attempt at placing Japanese ELT within a multilingual framework (Jenkins 2006, 2014) received a disappointingly bigoted response (Jannuzi 1999). Not surprisingly, Period I was when we were challenged by the exercise of power from the native speaking Centre (Phillipson 1992), leading to a time of reflection and (what we now know as) praxis. In this way, Period II became a time of discovery or recovery of voice as well as the specificities and uniqueness of our own locality. Both voice and locality gave us respite from the sometimes insurmountable hegemonies of native speaker power and the asymmetries in power relations between Western TESOL (or EFL which was the more common term) and our positioning as Asian teachers of English. As for Period III which we are just now countenancing, the question now is whether it is realistic (in the light of current moves toward hybridity, diversity and pluralism) to let ELT remain within the confines of outmoded polarities like the native speaker versus nonnative speaker binary, or even categorizations like Inner, Outer and Expanding circle domains. As knowledge becomes increasingly recognized as being fluid and ephemeral (Edwards and Usher 2003), so must the way professional vision and ideas be formulated, or more often, re-formulated, whilst bearing in mind that "openness and ephemerality are characteristics which education often finds *difficult* to accept, given the traditional embodiment of knowledge in printed texts characterized by a seeming solidity, permanence, continuity and closure" (Edwards and Usher 2003, p. 120, italics added). We still observe people who are reluctant to relinquish their positions of advantage, finding their security in pre-set binaries, categorizations or conceptual formulations. The elite Thais in Glenn (I) who chose to define the status of English in Thailand (reductively) as an 'FL' in the 'Expanding Circle' did so as a pretext for protecting their advantaged positions. They used its 'FL' status as a stamp of privilege, setting themselves apart from the vulgar masses in the 'Expanding Circle'. These were precisely the people who stood to benefit from existing categorizations to legitimate their elite status.

Concerning categorizations or pre-set formulations as manifestations of reductionism and control, ELT continues, as we write, to struggle with atomized or tunnel vision, even among English teachers. This struggle is not unlike the fable of the visually challenged people who kept insisting that they were right about what an elephant looked like. For ELT in Japan at least, the time-wizened grammar-translator would say that ELT was about teaching gerunds, phrasal verbs and painstaking translation of erudite passages. The TOEIC teacher would imagine that ELT was about TOEIC drills and scores. The CLT apologist would say that ELT was about setting students up for pair work and information gap activities. In this regard, by far the most blatant among these reductionisms have been the attempt to (super)impose the practices and commodified technologies of Western TESOL (Holliday 2005) on ELF, as if ELF was just an allotrope or appendage of Western TESOL. Stanger than fiction, it has been our lot to witness daring attempts to pass ELF off as EAP, EFL or Western TESOL, complete with the selfsame textbooks used to teach the ubiquitous four skills. This would be a cavalier attempt to realign or redefine (defang) ELF, long considered a renegade domain (Jenkins 2014) in a bid to have it coopted into Western TESOL's majoritarian hegemony.

Doubtlessly, the deeper truth is that ELF is a disruption to the steady supply chain of commodified native speaker English, originating in the native speaking Center and sold via the mass export of native speaker teachers and textbooks, to Periphery consumers. Neoliberalism and the commodification of English might, just as well, be native speakerism and linguistic imperialism assuming a different guise. Period III seems to be evolving into a time where the Centre is turning to 'softer' form(ulations) or dissimulations of power in an attempt to burrow its way back into unchallenged dominance.

9   Conclusion

Our professional association has witnessed and weathered the challenges, anomalies, ironies, limit situations and totalizing oversimplifications presented by dominant discourses, partisan interests and fragmenting ideologies. The bright side is that the asymmetries and inequities they reify, are themselves subject to critical resistance and contestation. Through counter-narratives forged in the harsher realities of grounded experience and candid storytelling, both of which support the expression and assertion of human ontology, new perceptions or orders of professional reality can be fashioned. It is our conviction that no amount of positivist research, categorization or quantification can replace the power of storytelling in situ (Goosseff 2014) as a way of reasserting human agency and dignity in the manner that hidden motivations and concealed hypocrisies can be unveiled. The uncovering of dissimulated ideologies and agendas in the struggle between monolithism and diversity, structure and agency, oppression and transformation can, given time, only benefit and liberate not only the silenced and disenfranchised, but even the vocal, oppressive and self-unseeing.

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Exploring Privilege and Marginalization in ELT: A Trioethnography of Three Diverse Educators

Antoinette Gagné, Sreemali Herath, and Marlon Valencia

Abstract This trioethnographic inquiry weaves together the narratives of three researchers and language educators, as they carry out a critical dialogue to reflect on, question and challenge how they negotiate their evolving identities in the field of ELT. Two of the authors are emerging scholars, English language teachers and former doctoral students of the third co-author, an established scholar and professor at the University of Toronto. In this dialogic process, the three researchers bring in their own narratives to critique and deconstruct essentialized narratives and identity categories while questioning the construction, perpetuation and maintenance of privilege and marginalization in ELT. The trioethnography highlights how the countries where the authors have lived and worked – Canada, Colombia, USA and Sri Lanka–, the languages they speak – English, French, Spanish and Sinhalese –, as well as their social class, race and religion, have in turn granted them privilege or led to their marginalization.

1 Introduction: Our Intersections

This trioethnographic inquiry weaves together our narratives as researchers and language educators as we carry out a critical dialogue to reflect on, question and challenge how we negotiate our evolving identities and navigate through the field of

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ELT where privilege and marginalization are constructed, reconstructed, maintained and perpetuated. We begin by discussing how our lives intersect, and continue with an explanation of duoethnography as our methodology. This is followed by a description of *intersectionality*, our conceptual lens. Our three narratives then help to illustrate the fluidity of our negotiation with privilege and marginalization and our three theme-based conversations bore down into how language, race, ethnicity and family situation have impacted our journey to and within ELT. We conclude with our transformed understanding of equity and diversity in ELT.

Antoinette: I first met you as potential supervisees when you were accepted at the University of Toronto. I was excited as you each had, what seemed to me, as such interesting journeys that had led you to OISE (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education). Sreemali, I recall reading your statement of intent included in your application and being intrigued by your interest in peace education which was not a topic I had encountered before in an application to the Language and Literacies Education program. And Marlon, I was struck by the fact that you had completed two master's degrees with theses – one in the US and one in Canada. You were one of the few newly admitted doctoral candidates who took me up on the offer of an orientation conversation and I remember feeling as though I was being interviewed for the role of advisor and potential supervisor in the screenplay of your life. Although your approach surprised me, I was also impressed by what a proactive stance you had and I was thrilled when you decided to accept the offer to study at OISE.

Marlon: Antoinette, I remember how excited I was when I got your 'unofficial' e-mail of acceptance to OISE with an invitation to meet you. When we first met, I recall being adamant about researching the impact of language policy on language teacher education in Colombia. However, you clarified that as my advisor and potential supervisor an important part of your job was to broaden my horizons and stretch my thinking. And over the years you indeed encouraged me to push my boundaries and my imaginaries as an emerging scholar and even as a parent and person. Sreemali and I agree that our doctoral journeys have been greatly enriched by our collaboration with you and the apprenticeship model of Ph.D. training (Donato et al. 2015) that you have embraced as we learn to be scholars by engaging in scholarly work.

Antoinette: My first face-to-face encounter with you Sreemali was within the context of a job interview for an advisor position at the OISE Student Success Centre (OSSC). I was pleasantly surprised to find out that you had worked at York University in a similar role, as I was a bit concerned that, as a recent immigrant to Canada yourself, you might not possess the knowledge and experience required to support students in a writing centre. I was also aware that the variety of English you spoke might be perceived negatively by some of the students coming to the OSSC.

Sreemali: Yes, that is when I met you for the first time. But by the time I met you, I had done quite a bit of research about you and your work. In fact, my potential academic advisor from another doctoral program, recommended that I work with you because of your subject expertise as well as the professional and personal qualities you possessed. Marlon, we were introduced to each other by one of our former professors. Like me, you had several offers for doctoral studies and I was supposed to brief you about the program at OISE as you had also been assigned Antoinette as your academic advisor.

Marlon: Sreemali, as we became friends, I learned that we had much in common. I fondly remember that moment when we realized that our research journeys intersected in so many ways despite the difference in our Latin American and Sri Lankan research sites.

Antoinette: Since these initial encounters, I have been privileged to work with both of you in your multiple roles as graduate students in one or more of my courses, research assistants, teaching assistants, teachers (Marlon has been my Spanish teacher for 3 years), cultural interpreters, graduate researchers and supervisees, co-authors and friends. You have helped me to stretch and move out of my comfort zone. Your enthusiasm about so many aspects of language teacher education helped me to become more confident about the value of the exploratory work I had been doing in the preparation of language teachers. You also created space to discuss our relationship within the academy which allowed me to develop clarity around my approach to teaching and supervision. Our many conversations led me to understand the centrality of intercultural citizenship, community of practice, transformative pedagogy, equity, and most importantly creativity and imagination in my teaching. Marlon, your passion for the concept of imagined identities in your research helped me to understand my main goal as an educator to help my students to imagine their future and chart their course to ensure they arrive at their desired destination.

2   Duo/Trioethnography

We utilized duo/trioethnography as our methodology in this study. Sawyer and Norris (2015) describe their journey as duoethnographers:

> We decided to explore our stories in dialogue. We sought not to use ourselves as the subject but to engage in dialogic imagination and promote heteroglossia – a multivoiced and critical tension (Bakhtin 1981). In short, we sought to turn the inquiry lens on ourselves, not as the topic, but as the site of an archeological examination of the formation of our beliefs, values and ways of knowing (Wilson and Oberg 2002). Drawing from Bakhtin, we sought a destabilizing dialogue in which the act of utterance creates a context where a work "becomes relativized, depriveleged, aware of competing definitions for the same things" (Holquist 1981, p. 427). Drawing from Pinar (1975), we came to view our dialogic research as an informed curriculum or currere… (p. 1).

This new methodology (Sawyer and Norris 2013) has been instrumental in allowing us to dig into our past and identify experiences that have contributed to shaping our values and beliefs as well as our ways of learning and teaching. Our multiple dialogues enabled us to consider our journeys in new ways which sometimes affirmed a belief and other times led to an uncomfortable new understanding our privilege in a particular context.

In the *Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research*, Norris (2008) explains that in duo/trioethnography:

> … we need the other so as to understand the self. Self, then, is defined not as a fixed entity but rather as a fluid one. Readers will witness an emergent and organic progression of meaning-making. Such writing invites readers into the conversation (p. 6).

> In summary, duoethnography is a literary style that provides stories of insights containing theses and antitheses of two or more individuals between which readers can form their own synthesis. It is a dialogic approach to meaning construction. (p. 7)

Our conversations acted as a powerful catalyst in our exploration of ourselves and we were constantly surprised to witness how each conversation was akin to the process of peeling and then chopping an onion as a main ingredient in a dish. Each conversation allowed for new layers to appear and then as time went on we were able to consider our stories together and see more clearly how they intersected to create new understandings.

In exploring privilege and marginalization in ELT, it is relevant to consider aspects of our life history (Table 1):

Although we met three times via *Skype,* and once in person for the specific purpose of our trioethnographic exploration, our article was shaped by 6 years of collaborative work that includes hundreds of hours of conversations. We used *Google Drive* to store our videotaped conversations, as well as to organize the background readings. We created a folder with our drafts and wrote using different colours to highlight our contributions to each draft. After a first in-depth *Skype* conversation, we set off to write an extensive autobiographical narrative. We agreed that this was a cathartic and transformative activity. Before the following meeting, we read each other's narratives and identified four major themes related to our conceptual framework to discuss and write about. By accessing our *Google Doc* draft, we were able to asynchronously access our growing conversations and respond to each other. The early drafts of our four themed conversations included excerpts from our narratives and our *Skype* conversations that helped to delineate our voices as professionals in ELT. After our second *Skype* conversation, we decided to cut one of the dialogues related to socio-economic status as it was not as robust as our conversations related to language, race, ethnicity and family situation.

In the next sections, we provide an overview of our theoretical lens – intersectionality (Hankivsky 2014), short biographies, dialogues related to the most salient aspects of our biographies as they relate to our intersectional lens and a conclusion with our transformed understanding of equity and diversity in ELT.

3   Our Lens: Intersectionality

We have used intersectionality (Hankivsky 2014) as a theoretical framework as it recognizes humans as shaped by interactions of different social locations (such as race, class, geography). Intersectionality recognizes that these interactions occur within contexts of connected systems and power structures (such as policies, various educational or religious institutions etc.). Inequalities are never a result of a distinct isolated factor. Rather, they are a result of interactions of different social milieus, power relations and experiences. Intersectionality is a versatile framework for this study as it highlights that human lives cannot be explained by taking into

Table 1 A Snapshot of Antoinette, Marlon and Sreemali.

	Antoinette	Marlon	Sreemali
Languages	English, French and Spanish	Spanish, English and French	Sinhala and English
Education	Concurrent BEd, McGill University, Canada MEd in Second Language Education McGill University, Canada PhD in Curriculum, University of Toronto, Canada	Licenciatura en Lenguas Modernas (similar to a Concurrent BEd with a language teaching orientation), Universidad del Valle, Colombia MA in Foreign Languages and Cultures, Washington State University, US MA in Applied Linguistics, York University, Canada PhD in Language and Literacies Education, University of Toronto	BA in English Literature, Delhi University, India MA in Applied Linguistics, York University, Canada PhD in Language and Literacies Education, University of Toronto, Canada
Current position	**Professor and Supervisor**, University of Toronto	**Lecturer**, Ryerson University	**Assistant Professor**, Open University of Sri Lanka
Past positions in education	**K-12 ESL teacher,** Montreal & Sherbrooke, Canada **ESL adult educator**, Montreal & Toronto **Teacher educator** in 4 different universities & a number of different programs, McGill University, University of Quebec, York University, Aga Khan University **Director** of Concurrent Teacher Education Program, University of Toronto	**EFL Instructor** at Colombo Americano Binational Center Cali, Colombia **Graduate Assistant,** University of Toronto **Spanish Instructor** at George Brown College, Canada & Spokane Falls Community College & Washington State University **ESL/EFL Instructor** at George Brown College Canada & Universidad del Valle & Universidad de San Buenaventura	**Lecturer**, English language and literature, Sabaragamuwa University of Sri Lanka **Coordinator of the English language program**, University of London degree program, Royal Institute of Colombo **ESL Professor** Centennial College, Toronto **Teacher Education Program Assistant**, OISE, University of Toronto **Instructor**, York University English Language Institute, Toronto
Teaching experience	39 years	19 years	17 years
Pedagogical and scholarly orientation	Liberal, Humanistic, Critical	Liberal, Critical, Humanistic	Liberal, Critical

Fig. 1 Intersectionality adapted from (Simpson 2009, p. 5)

consideration a single category such a race, religion or gender. Instead, lived realities are shaped by multiple factors and social dynamics operating together.

Another feature of intersectionality, is its explicit orientation towards transformation, building coalitions among different groups, and working towards social justice. This dynamic quality of intersectionality allows for multi-level analysis. It allows an understanding of the effects between and across various levels of society, that include macro (global and national level institutions), meso or intermediate (provincial or regional level), and micro level (community, grassroots institutions, the individual and the self) (Hankivsky 2014). Figure 1, illustrates how privilege and marginalization intersect with identitary features (Simpson 2009, p. 5). An intersectionality lens allows us to explore our identities as one of several inter-related dimensions of experience including how various forms of discrimination and societal structures impact our evolving sense of self. The most powerful aspect of Intersectionality as a conceptual framework, is that it allows us to understand our individual identity markers in constant interaction with our experiences navigating our personal and professional landscapes. This results in our fluid positioning in a privilege and marginalization continuum.

This lens allowed us to understand our multiple identities as shaped by the micro and macro contexts in which we grew up and currently live. In addition, Intersectionality helped us to explore how we navigated privilege and marginalization in our journeys to becoming ELT teachers and teacher educators and determine core themes that guided our trioethnography.

Hankivsky (2014) explains, "When analyzing social problems, the importance of any category or structure cannot be predetermined; the categories and their importance must be discovered in the process of investigation" (Hankivsky 2014, p. 3). As a result, the process of narrating our stories allowed us to unearth the identity categories (such as language, race and ethnicity and family) that shaped our ELT lives.

In summary, this is how our methodology, duo/triography, helped us explore our identities and the experiences of privilege and marginalization in our trajectories:

- It allowed us to reflect on our past and consider the experiences that shaped our values and beliefs as well as our ways of learning and teaching.
- The dialogic nature of our interactions allowed the affirmation of certain experiences while leading us at other times to a new and sometimes uncomfortable place of understanding our past.
- New layers of meaning were generated as we considered our stories together which led to the creation of new understandings.
- It highlights the interactions between contexts and power structures, rather than viewing inequality as a result of isolated factors.
- The strengths of Intersectionality that helped us to better understand our lives, are its transformative orientation through the creation of meaningful connections among and between different groups and its focus on achieving social justice.
- The visual representation of Intersectionality as a wheel with various identity markers at the centre allowed us to see how our multiple identities were shaped by the micro and macro contexts in which we were or are immersed. Discussing our multiple identities through this lens led us to determining which themes to focus on in our trioethnography on our live as ELT professionals.

4   Our Narratives

Here we share our narratives built around formative stages and important people in our lives.

Marlon: I was born in Cali, Colombia in the early 80s. My mother was a secondary school dropout because 40 years ago, in Colombia, young women from low socioeconomic status (SES) were commonly expected to raise a family and not pursue higher education or join the workforce. My father passed away when I was only 2 years old and my mother was left with two children and a minimum wage survivor's pension.

My brother and I attended a Catholic private school in the neighborhood, which catered to low SES families. After finishing elementary school, most low SES youths attended vocational secondary schools to develop skills in mechanics, electrical wiring, typing, etc., as employability was the greatest concern. These experiences certainly resonated later in my academic life when I read Bowles and Gintis' (1975) idea that schools reproduce the existing social relations of production, and that learners are assigned their predetermined roles in society through their schooling. Thankfully, I ended up in a special public secondary school that gave me the opportunity to choose between skilled trades, the humanities, and sciences. I initially chose the humanities so I could learn some German, and I ended up graduating with a focus on Chemistry. This certainly gave me a broader perspective of the possibilities.

The 80s and 90s were a time when drug-trafficking started having a major impact on how Colombians saw themselves, and were perceived by others, in the world. Regrettably, these negative perceptions continue to affect my life.

Despite my mother's struggles, she always supported me and encouraged my love for learning English – somehow, she found a way to send me to an English language Saturday school. I started attending this program to learn enough English to continue learning on my own when my mother could no longer afford these classes. Luckily, when that time came, we got cable television and I continued learning English from MTV and rock music. Being so enthusiastic about English and American culture, I wanted to become a teacher to share this passion with others. I wanted to be different from my own high school English teachers and inspire my students by making learning fun.

Because I was already proficient in English, I taught at the English language school where I had studied several years earlier concurrently with my 5-year language teacher education (LTE) program. As I was already an advanced English language learner, I did a placement test when I started my LTE program, and I took English classes with teacher candidates in their fourth year. Thus, I learned to write essays in English, before I was even asked to write similar essays in Spanish. Consequently, my writing in English became much more sophisticated than my writing in Spanish. In fact, I often got harsh criticism from professors because of my 'deficient spelling' in Spanish. This led to some of my peers seeing me as a "phony" because they believed that I was pretending to be something I could never be – a native speaker of American English – which gave me a feeling of inadequacy despite my significant investment in my English language speaker and teacher identity.

Upon graduation, I had the opportunity to teach Spanish at Spokane Falls Community College in Washington State for a year. This experience made me curious about the diverse Spanish-speaking cultures, which led to doing a MA in Foreign Languages and Cultures at Washington State University. During this time, my wife and I applied for immigration to Canada and I also applied to graduate programs in Toronto. I was admitted to the Masters in Applied Linguistic at York University. In this program, I met wonderful scholars like Brian Morgan, who played a key role in my development, as he introduced me to research on how identities and languages intersect in learners' and teachers' lives. This is the road that led me to my PhD studies at the University of Toronto.

Antoinette: I grew up in a predominantly White Montreal of the 1960s and 70s, where social change was common currency. The religious, political and linguistic pendulums were swinging. Although many Québécois still thought of themselves as Catholic, the church and its representative nuns and priests played a decreasing role in our everyday lives. Power was moving from the Anglophone minority back into the hands of the Francophone majority and new institutions and laws appeared to protect the French language from further erosion.

My neighbourhood in Montreal was divided by language, religion and class. I lived in lower Outremont in a three-floor walk-up alongside new Canadians from Greece and Armenia, as well as Hasidic or reformed Jewish families, all of whom sent their children to parochial bilingual Hebrew and English schools or to the

Protestant English schools nearby. My neighbours also included middle class French Canadian families whose children attended French Catholic schools. Most of my neighbours chose to live in silos separated by language as few of them were bilingual in French and English. The French and English speaking upper middle and upper classes lived just a few blocks away in their own multi-floor homes on the edge of Mont-Royal. These families could opt from the several English or French private schools in the neighbourhood or the English or French Catholic or Protestant "public" schools. So, my early experiences involved more than the *Two Solitudes* described by MacLennan's in his famous 1945 novel in which he tried to explain the huge divide between the English and French in Québec. I felt confused because of my hybrid identity in a society divided into categories where I did not neatly fit. I was English and French, Catholic and atheist, I had university educated parents who held good jobs yet, I lived with only my mother in a neighbourhood mainly populated with fathers who went to work and mothers who stayed at home.

Attending elementary and secondary school as well as college in French meant that I experienced "othering" on a daily basis because my peers knew that my home life took place in English and that I was fluent in both French and English. When I attended McGill University, I was also perceived as the "other" because of my French name. By deciding to complete a professional degree in second language education, I became further entrenched in the linguistic duality with practicum experiences in working and middle class French language schools followed by a position that involved teaching immigrant factory workers English. My teaching journey continued in and around Sherbrooke in a region where neighbouring towns were divided by language. During my first graduate degree and then after, within the framework of a 5-year teaching stream contract in the Faculty of Education at McGill University, I had the opportunity to teach intensive courses and give workshops on various aspects of language teaching. My travels from the Gaspé region to James Bay and from Val d'Or to Chibougamau allowed me to discover more linguistic, racial, and socio-economic silos, while cementing my perception that French-English bilingualism was a great asset in spite of some of the pain associated with so frequently being "othered" in the Québec context. Although many of my peers in university were also bilingual, they could not pass as a native speaker of both French and English the way I could. My accent in French and English did not suggest that I spoke another language. When I spoke English, I sounded like any other native speaker of English in Montreal and when I spoke French it was the same.

I experienced significant culture shock when I moved to Ontario to complete a PhD at the University of Toronto. Until then I had not realized just how strong my Québécois identity and how deep my cultural roots were. In my interaction with others I could pass as a native English speaker because I had no discernible French accent while receiving praise for my Frenchness as most people assumed that I was a native French speaker because of my name. However, there were aspects of my teaching style that were misunderstood by my mainly Anglo students who felt that my use of irony with a touch of sarcasm was not appropriate. These characteristics were valued in my previous years teaching in Quebec. In addition, I did not feel

comfortable as I did not feel that I knew enough about Ontario culture. After several years and a personality shift involving the adoption of new mannerisms, voice tones, less sarcasm and intensity, I felt more at home and more accepted in Ontario. I also loved my work that involved preparing teachers to work with diverse learners within the increasingly diverse City of Toronto. In some ways, I could blend in with other immigrants. Although I had only moved from Montreal, it often felt like I had moved to a new country.

After working mainly in teacher education for 15 years, the integration of the Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto (FEUT) and OISE in 1996 led to another period of somewhat painful acculturation. I had become confident in my role as a teacher educator involved in practitioner inquiry and innovative curriculum or program development during this time. The merger with OISE involved adapting to a research culture dominated by world-renowned researchers who perceived the teacher educators from FEUT as bringing unwanted change to OISE. In addition to my practitioner researcher stance, I was unusual because I was the mother of three small children – very few of my new colleagues had children.

Sreemali: I grew up in the multicultural town of Kandy, Sri Lanka in the late 1970s and 80s. Though it was a predominantly Sinhalese Buddhist community, we had Muslim, Tamil and Eurasian neighbors and friends who belonged to different religious groups, speaking different languages. I can recall how we moved in and out of our houses without much thought. Our neighbors sent us food when they celebrated cultural and religious festivals. While our religions, or rather the religious rituals, played a central role in our lives, we never distinguished each other as Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims or Christians. The centrality of religion was evident in the presence of the Buddhist temple, the Hindu *kovil,* the mosque and the church. I remember walking into the Hindu *kovil* with my cousins. We ate the coconuts that were left scattered on the ground after rituals. We put *pottu*, on our foreheads, flowers in our hair and fed the deer and the peacocks. Though I was a Sinhalese Buddhist, I went to a Catholic school where there were children from all ethnic, religious and linguistic groups.

My multicultural identity that was based on acceptance and coexistence with other communities, was shattered with one event in July 1983. Sinhalese mobs went destroying and setting fire to Tamil houses and businesses. This incident changed the Sri Lankan social fabric, and ended my childhood of living with others. When we returned from England after my father's graduate studies, I returned to a different Kandy, a different Sri Lanka. I started schooling in a new school, a Sinhalese Buddhist school. Our new lives had no semblance to pre-1983. The memories of living with others faded.

The unquestioned cultural monotony in my life changed when I went to New Delhi, India for my Bachelor's degree in English Literature. I entered a whole new cultural landscape. Whether in the market, a bus or in the university, several Indian languages were spoken along with English. People crossed linguistic borders with ease. Though I did not speak any local language fluently, the ability to use a few Hindi words and expressions and the English language helped me. In that context of linguistic plurality, knowing or not knowing a local language fluently did not matter so much.

When I returned to Sri Lanka after completing the degree, I started working for a local human rights NGO. I got to know Sri Lankans of other ethnic, linguistic and religious groups. We were united by our common language, English. When Dr. T, our director, who was advocating for a federal solution, was killed by a Tamil suicide bomber on his way to work, right outside of our office, it sank in that the war had spared no one.

My next job was teaching English language and literature in a public university in rural Sri Lanka. Unlike Sri Lankan schools that are stratified along ethnolinguistic groups, public universities are multicultural and attracted students and faculty from all ethnic, linguistic and religious groups from across Sri Lanka. I had the opportunity to work with students from diverse backgrounds and I felt that my students also enjoyed the multicultural diversity. As a young academic, I was privileged to have a full-time job teaching English language and literature in a multicultural university, where a common interest in English united me and my students.

The next turning point in my life was my move to Toronto, Canada, one of the most multicultural cities in the world. When my husband and I moved, we were open to exploring all possibilities. Yet, Toronto proved to be bit of a conundrum. It was very multicultural and people who looked and sounded "different" appeared to be a majority rather than a minority. While this diversity was celebrated, at a professional level, I often felt I did not 'sound Canadian' enough and have certain linguistic mannerisms which created an invisible barrier that did not allow me to move forward as easily as I had hoped. Relocating in Canada was a process of reacquiring capital.

5 Language

Antoinette: In writing my narrative, I was struck by the important role of language on my journey to becoming a language teacher educator – in particular the ways that English and French shaped my identity and led to feelings of alienation across almost all contexts. It is only when I allowed English to become the dominant language in my life and moved to Ontario that some of my discomfort diminished. However, by making the choice to send my three children to a French daycare, and then to a French K-8 school in Toronto, led to a 16-year journey negotiating linguistic and cultural identity issues with my family as there were English dominant, French dominant and unilingual members to deal with.

These tensions were paralleled in my work preparing teachers to work with English language learners in Toronto schools, as well as my teaching of future teachers of French and other international languages. My own experience with shifting linguistic identities helped me to understand the need to prepare teachers to work with multilingual students in sensitive and respectful ways while also responding to the needs of diverse teacher candidates (Zeichner 2011), particularly in a multicultural city like Toronto. My own journey that included feeling like an imposter,

helped me to understand the deep insecurities of some of the teacher candidates who had been positioned as non-native speakers. As I reflected on my identity as an educator, I encouraged my students to do the same just as Kumaravadivelu (2012) suggests that we should question our teaching selves.

Marlon: In my case, speaking a predominantly American variety of English had a positive impact on my career as an English language teacher. In fact, in Colombia, my legitimacy as an English teacher was never called into question as students, parents and colleagues often perceived me as what Chomsky (1965) called an "idealized native speaker" whose "default expertise" (Canagarajah 1999) was not questioned, since they thought I had been born in or came from an inner-circle country.

Antoinette: Yes, being able to pass as a native speaker of French in Ontario where French is not the dominant language, provided teaching and research opportunities that I would likely not have been able to access otherwise. However, this increased by feelings of being an imposter. Bernat (2009) refers to this as the "imposter syndrome."

Marlon: Antoinette, your experience reminds me of my identity shift when I moved to the U.S and became a Spanish teaching assistant. I felt like my English language teacher identity was fading away when the college community perceived me only as 'the Spanish TA'. This experience made me feel marginalized when I engaged in conversation with my ESL teacher colleagues at the college. Despite the fact that I could finally claim the privileged native speaker identity as a Spanish teacher, I had conflicting feelings since using my native language in the classroom felt alien to me because I felt inadequate as a teacher due to my lack of knowledge and preparation to teach Spanish as an additional language. Moreover, when I did my Masters in Foreign Languages, I experienced how to a great extent my native proficiency in Spanish was considered by the head of the Department of Foreign Languages and Cultures as sufficient to be hired to teach – a much documented phenomenon in the literature known as the native speaker fallacy (Canagarajah 1999; Phillipson 1992; Richards 2010).

Antoinette: Similarly, in Quebec, some perceived me as "semilingual". In fact, I recall a couple of professors at McGill University suggesting that I submit my assignments in French as they perceived me as struggling in English. The University policy allowed students educated in the French school system to submit work in French but I decided not to.

Marlon: A couple of years later as a Master's student in my MA in Spanish (Foreign Languages and Cultures), I experienced how daunting academic writing in my native language could be. In addition to this, I realized how much I had neglected my Spanish writing in my pursuit to hone my English writing skills. I also noticed that I constantly drew on my essay writing skills learned in English to help me with academic writing in Spanish. Nevertheless, it was only a few years later when I read Jim Cummins' (2001) Linguistic interdependence hypothesis that I came to understand what I was doing and this helped to reduce my feelings of being a "phony" because it seemed impossible that I could have more sophisticated writing skills in my second language. During the time in my Spanish-focused MA I felt my English language teacher identity disappearing which made me want to re-claim it, so I got

permission to write my thesis on using American humor in the ESL classroom. However, it did not take long for one of my thesis evaluators to point out my inadequacy to research the teaching and learning of American humor in the ESL classroom and its relevance because of my non-American and non-native English speaker status.

Sreemali: Like the two of you, my linguistic identities shifted as I crossed geographical borders. In Sri Lanka, the fact that I was a native speaker of Sinhalese and Standard Sri Lankan English was always taken for granted. Antoinette, as you experienced, when you are speaking a dominant language by choice or like in my case by birth, it makes it easier to navigate society. The fact that I belonged to the dominant Sri Lankan group, Sinhalese, and spoke English fluently, provided me the linguistic capital to succeed socially and professionally. I was able to move in and out of various social and professional communities that functioned in different languages with much ease. Moreover, I never recall experiencing the insecurities that many local English teachers do related to their pronunciation, fluency and inability to teach certain aspects of the language. In fact, I was an "idealized NS" (Chomsky 1965) of Standard Sri Lankan English who was looked up to as a linguistic and cultural target for language use and instruction (Leung 2005). Scholars like Braine (2010) and Selvi (2010) talk about how perceptions of idealized NS influence hiring practices. When I was 26, I was made the Head of the English Language Department, in the rural university I worked in. I never questioned my privilege.

Antoinette: As a young adult, I remember feeling privileged to be able to move across languages and cultures as I was benefitting from rich interactions with so many more people than my monolingual peers. I, in fact, sometimes felt a bit superior because of the additional intercultural communication skills I possessed.

Sreemali: The English language helped me to navigate my professional identity in various ways. Especially after our move to Toronto, my ability to speak English fluently helped me to settle down to our new life with relative ease. Unlike many newcomers to Canada, I did not need language classes. My English language skills also helped me to get into graduate school and get various contract teaching positions. Though I did get access to work and higher education, the fact that I "didn't look or sound Canadian" was very subtly questioned. I was often asked "Where are you *really* from?" or "Where is that accent from?" or "How did you learn to speak English so well?" The accentedness of my English was covertly questioned.

Antoinette: When I moved to Ontario in my late twenties, I was often asked where I learned to speak English so well. This would sometimes make me laugh on the inside and sometimes it would irritate me. So, I was thrilled when scholars like Firth (2009) and Norton (2010) challenged mainstream conceptualizations of the ownership and the use of English and who might be perceived as valid speakers and teachers of English. I also appreciated the "critical turn" in the work of Braine (2010) and Canagarajah (2006) who argued against conceptualizations of language teacher identity grounded in the native/non-native dichotomy that overlooked the range of contexts and uses of English globally.

Sreemali: Isn't it because of the "contextualized use of English" (Rudolph et al. 2015) that Marlon's nativeness was not questioned in Colombia? You spoke a

variety of American English that was perceived as elite. In Toronto, when my "nativeness" was questioned, I started to question my linguistic identity. It was only when my own identity and the power I had as a NS was questioned that I reflected on my privilege in Sri Lanka. This questioning has made me aware of how the context in which I lived, worked or studied changed my position in the social hierarchy (Braine 1999). This awareness that came through experience has made me empathetic towards the struggles of ESL learners.

Marlon: I noticed that in our teaching histories we have constantly been positioned as idealized or marginalized language teachers due to our language skills, which we have skillfully leveraged to advance our teaching careers. This reminds me of how Liu's (1999) participant language teachers were able to present themselves as native speakers to avoid being discriminated in the job market, while they often introduced themselves as nonnative speakers to establish rapport with their language learners.

6   Race and Ethnicity

Antoinette: My whiteness has served me well and allowed me to maintain a privileged position in my work as an ESL teacher and teacher educator around the world. In the literature and in the field of ESL (e.g., Kubota 2011; Motha 2006), it is people like me who are conceptualized as NSs of English and Widdowson (2003) refers to professionals like me "a self-selected elite." My skin color corresponds to the image most English teachers across diverse contexts have of an ideal English language teacher educator. The color of my skin combined with the fact that my ethnicity incorporates two of the founding nations of Canada, the fact that I have a doctoral degree and a position at a prestigious university are rich currency that generally leads to my unspoken acceptance as an expert in ELT in numerous contexts. My knowledge of French and my French learning journey have also allowed me to enjoy recognition that my unilingual colleagues did not benefit from. More recently my attempts to learn Spanish have also garnered respect from colleagues who see me "walking the talk" rather than just "talking the talk."

Marlon: In a similar way, my fair skin color, hazel eyes, and even my name afforded me a privileged position in the English as a foreign language teaching market in Colombia. The way I looked intersected with how I sounded in English (my American accent) and played an important role in allowing me to climb the socioeconomic ladder. Thus, when I was 19 years old and was only in the second year of my teacher education program, I was hired as a full-time immersion teacher at a prestigious school due to my advanced English proficiency.

Sreemali: With the ethnic conflict and the civil war, 'race' is almost a taboo word in Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka is rigidly divided according to ethnicity. While being Sinhalese, and belonging to the dominant ethnic group has been beneficial, in the ELT community, speaking a standard variety of English has more currency than ethnicity. In fact, it is after I joined the ELT profession that I got to know many other

Sri Lankans who belonged to other ethnic and religious communities. The ELT profession, unlike other communities I have been a part of, is very multicultural.

Both of you share your experiences of your skin colour and its advantages. Yes, I think in many ESL/EFL contexts being white and speaking with a certain accent carries a lot of weight. I am not sure if 'whiteness' is perceived in the same manner in Sri Lanka. Because of our colonial past, I think there is resentment of 'white' expertise in ELT. English has existed in Sri Lanka for centuries and like in many former British colonies, English has been nativized leading to the emergence of a wide range of World Englishes (Kachru 1992). Though it is still an elite language, English is owned and used across various contexts, by a diverse population for a range of purposes (Canagarajah 2006; Jenkins 2006). There is greater acceptance of local teachers who speak a variety of English that is close to what I know as "standard" Sri Lankan English.

Antoinette: Although my whiteness has made my professional life easier in some ways, it has also positioned me as an outsider and a person of privilege in various situations leading me to learn how to negotiate this privilege and present myself in a more self-effacing way. The white privilege that I have enjoyed has led some of my colleagues to be quite angry with me. Favoritism and hiring preferences of NS is commonly documented in the literature (e.g., Braine 2010; Medgyes 2001). It is this common practice that has manifested negative emotions among my colleagues. However, these difficult interactions that have helped me to move from being generally liberal in my orientation to being more critical with a desire to transform some of the problematic structures in ELT and Teaching English as Second Language (TESL).

Marlon: Likewise, I was only able to understand my white privilege, precisely when I did not enjoy it. It was in Washington State when I found myself the target of comments related to drug-trafficking or was sent to extra inspections and interrogations by Department of Homeland Security officers when I showed my Colombian passport. In other situations, because of my ability to speak Spanish, I was expected to fit within two ethnic backgrounds associated with the language; thus, there was an expectation that - as many Mexicans - I ate spicy food, celebrated *Día de Muertos* or other times, as I once was told, I had to be from Spain because I didn't 'look Mexican!'. Later, after immigrating to Canada, I learned that I was considered Spanish, while my wife is often thought to be Indian, though we're both Colombian. I have always resisted this essentialist Spanish umbrella term by saying that I am Colombian. Nevertheless, as a newcomer to Canada, I have often been reassured by Canadian-born, well-intentioned white strangers that I am in fact Spanish. Indeed, at work, I was congratulated by a fellow ESL teacher when Spain won the World Cup.

Another example of how race is understood differently across contexts, occurred in 2014 when Antoinette and I went to a scholarly conference in Scotland. There we learned that as per the British Government's terminology I am considered to be in the 'Black and Minority Ethnic' (BME) category – a catch-all term to describe anyone with a non-white, non-European lineage like me. So, to my surprise, I went from being white in Colombia to being a BME in Scotland. All of these experiences

make me feel like Marc, a female Mexican MA TESOL teacher learner in Johnson's study (cited in Varghese et al. 2005). Johnson explains how the various 'labels' or descriptors that Marc was often assigned in the United States focused mostly on her non-nativeness and her otherness.

Sreemali: I think, our acceptance or rejection due to our skin color is very much rooted in the context and the perceptions of that particular community. Your 'whiteness', Antoinette has made you an 'insider' and an 'outsider.' Similarly, Marlon, depending on the context, you have been perceived as 'white' and a 'black and minority ethnic' man. In Sri Lanka, being local and 'brown' privileged me.

Actually, it was my 'brownness' or my 'non-whiteness'' that got me my first teaching job in one of the biggest community colleges in Toronto. East End Community College was situated in a suburb of Toronto that was densely populated by new immigrants. The student population was predominantly Asian, African and Latin American. The President of the College, believed in the need to diversify the faculty to represent the student body. At that point, she was doing a doctoral degree focused on the use of mother-tongue in adult ESL classes. As a result, she hired teachers like me who were immigrants, who looked and sounded different and didn't fit the ideal ESL teacher image. That was a good example of establishing an institutional culture that confronted Phillipson's (1992) NS fallacy or the belief that native speakers are more capable and therefore superior teachers.

I think in the ELT profession, whether we are accepted or rejected due to our skin color is largely dependent on the teaching context, the administration and the population we serve, as Rudolph et al. (2015) point out.

7 Family

Antoinette: Becoming a mother, and the experience of parenting three children, have had a huge influence on me as an educator in general and as a language teacher educator in particular. As a working mother, my children attended daycare and began school at 4 in a full-time French Kindergarten class. Like most parents, I discovered what a central role teachers play in determining the well-being of my children. It was like a roller coaster as there always seemed to be at least one of my children who was "suffering" under the influence of one of their teachers. This knowledge made me passionate in my role as a teacher educator and I could often be heard reminding teacher candidates that as teachers they are acting *in loco parentis* – in place of the parents. The greatest compliment that I could give a teacher candidate, was to say that I wished he/she could be one of my children's teachers.

Marlon: In my case, I am still fairly new to my parent role as the father of 3-year old Céleste and 1-year-old Joshua. However, in the past 3 years I can tell that both my wife and I have had our lives turned upside down in many positive and challenging ways. First, I must say that my academically 'productive' hours, as well as my conference travel budget and availability have radically changed. Being a parent has

also allowed me to experience the constraints and possibilities of bringing real-life applications to language learning theories as well as the critical pedagogies that I have embraced in my scholarly work.

Sreemali: Like you Marlon, I am also a new parent. Being pregnant, giving birth and seeing my daughter start formal schooling while being a doctoral candidate in language education transformed my own outlook as an educator. I think, working with you Antoinette, provided a space for me to bring in my parent identity and the many challenges that came with it. Our dialogues and your acceptance of the many unanticipated challenges we face as parents made me realize that I can have a strong parent identity along with a professional identity. In our last two publications (Herath and Valencia 2015; Valencia and Herath 2015), Marlon and I talk about the centrality of our family identities in our professional lives.

Marlon: Being a parent has also given me an insider's view of the complexities of raising bilingual children in a context with a pervasive dominant language, which makes my wife and I strategize the use of Spanish as our children's heritage language so they can grow with two first languages.

Antoinette: My own struggles trying to bring French into my children's lives gave me a first-hand sense of the feelings of frustration and loss many immigrant parents feel when it comes to their attempts to maintain their home language inside and outside of formal school settings.

Sreemali: As a language educator, I strongly believe in the value of being linguistically and culturally fluent in one's heritage language. When we lived in Canada, we made a conscious effort to speak Sinhalese so that our daughter Visudu would be able to use the language. However, like any second-generation immigrant, she was a stubborn English speaker who understood but refused to speak Sinhalese. Now, after relocating to Sri Lanka, we are faced with the new challenge of helping her to adjust to her new Sinhalese school. Though I firmly believe in the value of heritage languages, the harsh process of adjusting to a new language and a school culture is making me doubt if it is the right choice.

8   Discussion and Conclusion

Our intersectional lens (Hankivsky 2014) assisted us in making sense of our divergent and complex narratives. In particular, we discovered how we experienced privilege and oppression or marginalization across contexts in our varied journeys to the world of ELT. This lens guided our trioethnographic inquiry into how systems and structures of power in the field of ELT assist in perpetuating, defusing or creating interdependent forms of privilege and oppression across our intersecting landscapes of practice (Wenger-Trayner et al. 2015).

Figure 2 attempts to capture our multiple and fluid identities that have either granted us privilege in accessing resources, employment and other work opportunities or limited us in our growth in field of ELT. The notion of fluid identities is
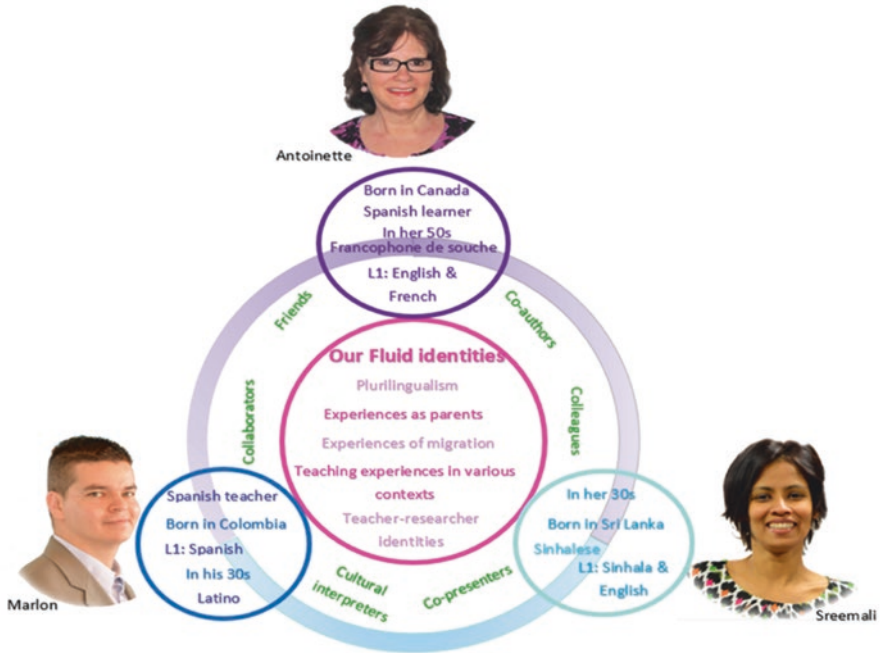
Fig. 2 Our multiple intersecting and fluid identities

central to understanding how we have experienced privilege or marginalization as an ever-changing coastal landscape shaped by the tide and the varied strength of the waves. For each of us the two or more languages we have learned have influenced our trajectory and choice to join the field of ELT as well as the opportunities afforded to us for growth in the community. Our geographical origins and the time during which we grew up impacted us a well in our decision to become English teachers. So indeed, our age, race and ethnicity have been strong factors associated to our privilege or oppression at different stages of our professional lives. Finally, our role as parents, has fed our passion for language teaching and teacher education by allowing us to learn the central role of teachers in the empowerment or marginalization of multilingual children or adults across varied educational settings.

Our trioethnography explained how we created collaborative spaces in which our multiple lived experiences and voices intersected, allowing us to reflect on, and gain a better understanding of the fluidity of privilege and marginalization that each of us is afforded in different social contexts. Our experience working together has shown us the importance of collaboration between diverse researchers to help deconstruct the powerful ideologies that perpetuate essentialist instances of privilege and marginalization in ELT.

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Doing and Undoing (Non)Nativeness: Glocal Perspectives from a Graduate Classroom

Geeta A. Aneja

> *[The native speaker] is at best a convenient myth the linguists have got used to working with, and at worst the visible tip of an insidious ideological iceberg.*
>
> Rajagopalan (1999, p. 203)
>
> *"Who the hell is a native speaker in New York?"*
>
> Anna Marie (Interview, March 4, 2015)

Abstract As dichotomized notions of "native" and "nonnative" are unraveled, an ongoing question is how teacher educators in their own classrooms can create spaces where candidates can explore and enact alternative identities that resist the (re)invention of such binaries. In this chapter, I consider pedagogical possibilities by examining how a teacher educator at a large, urban university integrates critical discussions, normalizes diversity, and encourages and facilitates her students' exploration of identity in ways that resist traditional, dichotomized paradigms, while also advocating for more nuanced ways of thinking about language, its users, and its use. To contextualize the glocal significance of Anna Marie's approach, I first develop *(non)native speakering* as a poststructuralist, dynamic way of framing both the historical emergence of (non)native speakered subjectivities, as well as how "native" and "nonnative" identities are reified, conferred, denied, and performed through everyday interactions (see also Aneja GA, Crit Inq Lang Stud 13(4):351–379, 2016a; TESOL Q 50(3), 572–596, 2016b). I then use (non)native speakering as a lens through which to analyze the significance of the possibilities Anna Marie's classroom pedagogy offers for undoing structuralist, binary views of identity. The chapter's conclusion will discuss participants' resistance against the 'traditional' (non)native speaker concept and how ELT professionals can continue to address inequity in the "field."

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1 Introduction

Thousands of pages of scholarship have problematized the privilege and marginalization of native and nonnative speakers respectively. Collectively, these practices have been termed *native speakerism* (Holliday 2006), and are examined in-depth in a body of literature and activism generally referred to as "The NNEST[1] Movement" (Braine 2010; Selvi 2014). Much of the NNEST Movement's early scholarship consists of accounts of discrimination and surveys of the preferences of language students, school administrators, teacher educators, and the self-perceptions of the teachers themselves (e.g., Cheung 2002; Flynn and Gulikers 2001; Kamhi-Stein 2004; Medgyes 1992; Moussu 2006). Further studies have explored the implications and effects of these various preferences on NNESTs' academic and professional development, as well as the inherent bias of academic institutions, pedagogical approaches, and graduate curricula against nonnative or international language teachers in favor of their native or domestic counterparts (e.g., Brady and Gulikers 2004; Govardhan et al. 1999; Kamhi-Stein 2000; Pasternak and Bailey 2004; Savignon 2002). The inevitable conclusion has been a call for equity in the "field" of English Language Teaching (ELT). To this end, scholars have developed a host of techniques and considerations to empower so-called "NNESTs," for instance, by facilitating their classroom participation or modifying curricula to meet their academic and professional needs. In short, the bulk of the academic literature to date has focused on calling attention to the fact and means of discrimination and providing practice-focused alternatives.[2] While this work has made enormous progress towards increasing equity, it tends to focus on the tip of Rajagopalan's (1999) "insidious ideological iceberg" (p. 203).

More recently, a growing number of language education scholars, including the contributors to this volume, have begun to look below the surface, to the historical origins, theoretical implications, and long-term effects of such ideologies, and have sought to move beyond "essentializing binaries" (Yazan and Rudolph, chapter "Introduction: Apprehending Identity, Experience, and (In)equity Through and Beyond Binaries", this volume) in framing language and identity—native/nonnative, privileged/marginalized, monolingual/multilingual—and towards developing theoretical frameworks and methodological orientations that can account for the dynamic, contextualized nature of individual identity (Duff and Uchida 1997; Norton Peirce 1995; Weedon 1987), diversity within groups that have historically been framed as static or monolithic (e.g., "native" and "nonnative English speak-

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[1] As Selvi (2014) notes, the acronym NNEST can stand for *Nonnative English Speakers in TESOL* or *Nonnative English Speaking Teacher*. In this book chapter, I may refer to either meaning, but when there is flexibility, I default to the former as it also includes academics, policy makers, test writers, administrators, and others who are deeply involved in TESOL as a field while not necessarily being teachers.

[2] In the interest of space, I do not here provide a broad overview of the literature within the NNEST Movement. However, I refer readers to Moussu and Llurda (2008), Selvi (2014), and Rudolph et al. (2015).

ers", see Aneja 2016a, b; Rudolph et al. 2015), and how these multiple and complex considerations interact with language teachers and teaching. The very dichotomization of "native" and "nonnative" has been questioned, and it has been argued, as Yazan and Rudolph do in their introduction to this volume, and as I have elsewhere (Aneja 2016a, b), that nativeness and nonnativeness can be better understood not as a static dichotomy but rather as fluid identity categories that interact across scales of time and space. While such poststructural and postmodern conceptualizations of language and identity are becoming more prominent in some subfields of applied linguistics and ELT, an ongoing question remains how language teacher educators can create spaces in their own classrooms in which graduate students and pre-service teachers can explore and enact identities outside of dichotomized notions of nativeness and nonnativeness and ultimately resist the (re)invention of such binaries (see also Canagarajah 2013; Menard-Warwick et al. 2013; Motha et al. 2012).

In this chapter, I begin to explore some pedagogical possibilities by examining the approach and philosophy of a teacher educator who I here will call Anna Marie,[3] whose graduate courses I observed during the spring term of 2015. More specifically, I will consider how in her classes Anna Marie integrates critical discussions into daily classroom interactions, normalizes diversity in her own classroom practices, creates alternative spaces and possibilities for her students, and facilitates their exploration of identity in ways that not only question the traditional, dichotomized paradigm, but also (re)invent more nuanced, complex ways of thinking about language, its users, and its use. To contextualize the glocal significance of Anna Marie's approach, I first propose *(non)native speaking* as a poststructuralist, dynamic way of framing both the historical emergence of (non)native speakered subjectivities, as well as how "native" and "nonnative" identities are reified, conferred, denied, and performed through everyday interactions (see also Aneja 2016a, b). I then use (non)native speaking as a lens through which to analyze the significance of the possibilities Anna Marie's classroom pedagogy offers for undoing structuralist, binary views of identity.

2   (Non)Native Speakering: The (Re)Invention of (Non)Nativeness

(Non)native speaking takes a post-structuralist orientation to nativeness and nonnativeness, positing that an individual's positionality as a native or nonnative speaker is not static, objective, or innate, but rather is conferred, denied, and negotiated over time and across different scales through institutional mechanisms, individual performances, and social negotiations in a complex, dynamic process. This process has deep historical roots, but also continues to manifest in the present—constantly and reflexively producing and reproducing what I term *(non)native speakered*

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[3]All names used in this chapter are pseudonyms, the majority of which were chosen by the individuals whom they protect.

subjectivities—static, idealized abstractions of native and nonnative speakers—which both reify and are reified by the process of (non)native speakering.

(Non)native speakerist paradigms emerged historically within the sociopolitical milieu that accompanied the rise of the ethnolinguistically pure nation-state in seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe (Blommaert and Rampton 2012; Bonfiglio 2013; Makoni and Pennycook 2007). As these states emerged, each became associated with particular phenotypic, linguistic, and cultural characteristics emblematic of that nation. Individuals and groups who shared most, or "enough" of these characteristics were perceived as legitimate citizens of these countries, while those who could not "pass" were marginalized. Simultaneously, as the fledgling nation-states rose in power and stretched their colonizing wings over the world, they were constructed as having ethical, intellectual, and linguistic standards superior to those of their colonial subjects (Bhatt 2001; Pennycook 2008). Together, these two forces—the strengthening notion of an ethnolinguistically homogenous nation-state coupled with the marginalization and subjugation of "Others"—cemented the notion that "legitimate" speakers of a given language must look, speak, and behave in specific ways similar to one another and representative of their nation of origin. Through this lens, the well-documented preference for English teachers who are Caucasian citizens of "inner circle" countries (Kachru 1985; Selvi 2010), are not just isolated incidences of *native speakerism* (Holliday 2006) but can be better understood as citations of racialized *(non)native speakered subjectivities*, rooted in the historical association among linguistic and ethnic identity, and a homogeneous national citizenry.

Over time, repeated citations of race, accent, nationality, and other characteristics in conjunction with idealized (non)native speakers, cement the nature and prominence of (non)native speakered subjectivities in the social imagination. In this sense, perceived (non)nativeness is *performative* in much the same way Judith Butler (1990, 1993) argues is the case with gender. (Non)native speakered subjectivities, like gendered subjectivities, emerge from a series of "constitutive acts" that "congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance" (Butler 1990, p. 33). Through such acts, individuals in turn become *interpellated*—socially recognized and valued—as native or nonnative speakers. Through a performative lens, such identity categories are unable to exist apart their constituent iterations. In other words, individuals are in a sense *(non)native speakered* through social interpellation rather than by behaving "native-like" or "nonnative-like" *a priori.* Such identities can be conferred explicitly, for instance by a student announcing "you're not a native speaker!" or implicitly, perhaps by a supervisor asking how an Asian American teacher came to speak English so well. This interpellation can also occur at the institutional level, by explicitly or implicitly preferring teachers of some nationalities or with certain accents over others, or requiring some but not all teachers to take a language exam.

Furthermore, because the most apt definition of a nonnative speaker of English is simply someone who is not a native speaker of English, and vice versa, the seemingly distinct process of *native speakering* and *nonnative speakering* are actually mutually constitutive, warranting the use of a single term rather than two distinct

ones most of the time.[4] Through this lens, Kandiah's (1998) ad seeking "native speaking Caucasian English teachers" (p. 79) can be understood as a discursive act that cites racializing discourses in conjunction with (non)nativeness, producing a racialized Caucasian native-speakered subject as well as a racialized non-Caucasian non-native speakered subject, where the former is legitimized as an English teacher, while the latter is not. Across multiple iterations at multiple scales, the association between race and (non)nativeness is continuously reified, sharpening the image of a racialized (non)native speaker.

Thus, the dynamic, post-structuralist frame of (non)native speakering provides a "way of thinking about language use and identity that avoids foundationalist categories" (Pennycook 2004, p. 1), and instead affords new ways of understanding how notions of language and identity become sedimented at the intersections of multiple shifting discourses (Weedon 1987; Wenger 1998). It also posits that so-called "native speaker effects" (Doerr 2009) reverberate across scales from local to global contexts and vice versa, making the production of (non)native speakered subjectivities glocal. Finally, the complexity of this process opens the analytical frame to encompass relevant discourses beyond those that have been most-discussed by scholars (i.e., race, nationality, proficiency) to examine more broadly how individuals' "doing language" creates spaces for new conceptualizations of language and identity outside of dichotomized frames of nativeness and nonnativeness (Harissi et al. 2012, p. 530).

3   Data Collection and Methodology

The data presented below represent one strand of a larger study conducted from January to May 2015 in the language teacher education program of a large, private, urban university in the eastern United States. In this time, I collected audio recordings, observational field notes, classroom artifacts (handouts, syllabi, etc.) and student work (blogs, reflections, final papers, etc.) during all 16 two-hour sessions of three focal courses, two of which were culminating student-teaching seminars taught by Anna Marie. Outside of the classroom, I had informal meetings almost weekly with Anna Marie, during which she was able to answer questions and provide additional insights into her approach. Additionally, I conducted three semi-structured interviews with each of 20 pre-service teachers who were enrolled in at least one of the three focal courses, and held a monthly focus group in which I provided visual stimuli (e.g., photographs, YouTube videos) as launching points for conversations about participants' courses and field placements. These data sources were further

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[4]While an individual in a particular interaction may be more "native speakered" or "nonnative speakered" in a local context, at the global level, such acts mutually constitute their inverse. In other words, questioning an Asian American's English proficiency not only "nonnative speakers" that individual, but also interpellates a racialized Caucasian native speakered subjectivity.

contextualized by ongoing conversations other faculty members and administrators, and by attending department events (e.g., poster sessions, talks, etc.).

I transcribed all recordings and field notes during data collection, first roughly each evening and then in more depth within a few days (Briggs 1986; Bogdan and Biklen 2003). The first round of coding was deductive and done during data collection, based on prominent themes in the literature on NNEST teacher identity (e.g., race, nationality, accent, etc.). Once data collection was complete, I coded again by theme, type of event, and participant, and compared code occurrences both diachronically and synchronically (Berlin 2000; Coffey and Atkinson 1996) to better understand how and why Anna Marie's practices resisted (non)native speakering and produced alternative subjectivities, as well as how her students responded to her efforts.

4   Class Context

This chapter focuses on two of Anna Marie's courses—an Adult Second/Foreign Education Seminar and a K-12 Education Seminar—both of which were capstone courses that teacher candidates completed in their last semester before graduation. Both courses met once per week for just under 2 h. Teacher candidates enrolled in the Adult Seminar did not earn a state teaching certification, while those enrolled in the K-12 Seminar did. Participants came from a broad range of linguistic, socioeconomic, and cultural backgrounds, including international students from China, India, and Korea; generation 1.5 immigrants from Turkey and Ghana; several African-Americans many of whom were bilingual in French, Haitian Creole, and/or Spanish; and Caucasian-Americans many of whom were bilingual in Spanish. Anna Marie, the instructor, identified as American, spoke English, Arabic, and French, and had spent a significant amount of time teaching around the world.

5   Researcher Positionality

As a doctoral candidate at a different university, my primary role in my data collection context was as a researcher. I met Anna Marie for the first time just a few days before I began observing her classes, and she introduced me to her students as a doctoral candidate at the University of Pennsylvania. However, throughout data collection, I found that I shared many personal and professional experiences both with her and with her students, and I found myself drawing on these experiences and identity positions in our interactions. For instance, I have taught English in the US and abroad, including at two universities, and am a graduate student, frequent traveler, language learner, and multilingual and multicultural Indian-American woman. I have in different contexts been positioned as a native English speaker as well as a nonnative English speaker, and have struggled with addressing issues of equity and

(non)native speakering in classes I have taken as well as those I have taught. I felt a personal connection with my participants, since I had faced many of the same professional, personal, and academic issues they had (Park 2012), and in some ways saw their experiences as extensions of my own (see also Ramanathan 2005).

6   Anna Marie and Her Classroom Practices

As we as educators, practitioners, and activists begin to consider alternatives to (non)native speakered subjectivities, an ongoing question is how we can encourage graduate students and pre-service teachers to do the same. The complexity of this challenge is compounded by the harsh reality that upon graduation students must face a world that often assumes, values, and reinforces the very dichotomized framings we seek to undo.

The observations and discussion below explore how Anna Marie, a pre-service teacher educator and self-described "researcher-activist" at a large, urban university provided her students with the space and encouragement to redefine legitimacy and ownership with regard to language teaching and use. This exploration shares many strands with the work of others who have explored teacher identity-as-pedagogy (e.g., Jain 2014; Morgan 2004; Motha et al. 2012). However, it is distinct in that Anna Marie's use of her own translingual/transcultural identity in her pedagogy is only one strand of my larger inquiry into how she creates opportunities for her students to engage with alternative identities that question and resist dichotomized notions of (non)nativeness. She did this not only through explicit, focused classroom discussions on critical issues in applied linguistics and ELT, but also by "walking the walk"—integrating critical considerations into her own pedagogical practices and participating in acts of resistance and (re)invention of linguistic legitimacy outside the classroom.

7   Rethinking Authenticity

One of the many ways Anna Marie moved towards greater equity in her classroom was by reframing the notion of *authenticity*. Authenticity has been heavily politicized and problematized, and whether an individual's language is perceived as "authentic" at best depends on racialized, classed, and nationalistic associations between language and power (e.g., Lowe and Pinner 2016), often influenced by the features of an individual rather than of their language. To subvert this dynamic, Anna Marie divorced the notion of authenticity from an inner circle context, and instead shifted the conversation "from authentic language to authentic use." She rethought authenticity not as how real people speak in certain parts of the world, but rather as "the language of things that real people do—if no one does it for fun and no one gets paid to do it, then it's not authentic."

For instance, in the second session of her Adult Second/Foreign Education Seminar, she contextualized the language of directions within the authentic task of making a peanut butter sandwich, and then connected these language skills to a more traditionally academic application:

AM: The language of directions is really important language. It's very authentic language. It can make a huge difference in communication… Think about the language Jenny [a student] was using. First you do this. Then you do this. What language structures do we call those? First, then, next? Sequential words or transition words… Thinking about how important those are in the way you speak, but also how they're infused into academic writing. If I'm going to write an academic paper and I want to teach my kids academic language, I'm going to start with the peanut butter and jelly thing, because it gives super details. You get transition words, when you write, that's what you want to help them make, is the connections between making a sandwich and writing an essay. (Class Recording, Feb. 4, 2015)

In this way, Anna Marie rooted authenticity in how real people in the real world "do language" rather than how language practices may be constructed as emblematic of a particular geographic region or social class. In doing so, she legitimized all of her students' ownership of English, including those who learned English at an older age and those who are most comfortable communicating in marginalized varieties of English, since all of them use English for real-life, and therefore "authentic" tasks.

8 Reconceptualizing Appropriateness

Anna Marie also explicitly discussed classed and racialized perceptions of language, proficiency, and competence, and managed her classroom in ways that undid these hierarchies and included the language practices of her students. For instance, Anna Marie encouraged her students to draw on the totality of their linguistic and cultural resources in class—to take notes, brainstorm, and conduct group work in any language(s) in which they and their group felt comfortable. While English was used for presentations and class discussions, the orientation was not forcibly nationalistic (i.e., "this is America, speak English"), but rather was gently acknowledging that English was a *lingua franca* in this setting—while almost every student in the class was at least bilingual, English was the only language that all students shared. While this kind of *translanguaging* (Garcia 2009) is often framed as a form of scaffolding for students who may not be fully comfortable in so-called "academic English", most of the students in Anna Marie's classes, regardless of their language background, seemed to take advantage of the flexibility to use any combination of languages to make meaning. Students who were earning dual certifications in Mandarin or Spanish, for instance, often grouped themselves together and translanguaged while discussing applications of course material to non-English pedagogical contexts.

This preference was not isolated to "international" students, but included multilingual "domestic" students who often drew on their shared Spanish proficiencies, to take notes and ask one another questions. On one occasion towards the end of the term, Anna Marie was leading a class brainstorm on techniques for building cultural awareness within small groups of students, and had just mentioned using a flower as a graphic organizer, in which students could write personal characteristics in individual petals and shared characteristics in the center. Alex, a Caucasian student earning dual certification in ESL and Spanish, then contributed:

> Alex: We did something like this at a meeting in Spain, but instead of doing a flower, we did like [pause] a crest? [pause]
>   [to April]: *¿Cómo se dice escudo?*
> April: A shield?
> Alex: A shield, and that was your group symbol…

At this point in the semester, not only was Alex comfortable contributing to the class discussion, be he also felt comfortable seeking support from another student in a shared second language to draw a connection between an experience in Spain and the material that Anna Marie was presenting. Anna Marie's openness to the multiple and shifting language proficiencies of all of her students resisted the construction of a graduate classroom as an English-only context, destigmatized the use of "Othered" languages and language practices, and reframed the use of languages other than English as representative of all language users rather than as emblematic of "nonnative" or "international" students.

8.1   Appropriateness in Writing

This flexible framing of language extended to students' written submission—a weekly teaching journal in which students were to "reflect on your experiences in your practicum placement and make personal connections to your own learning" (Adult Second/Foreign Education Syllabus). Taking the genre of a journal entry to heart, most submissions were colloquial in tone, including contractions, sentence fragments, and, in some cases, cursing or strong language. The idea, according to Anna Marie, was for students to process the week's theme and reflect on their teaching in ways that were productive for them. The submission was intended to offer her a window into their world. This framing of an assignment, particularly for a graduate course, is unorthodox, but was a way of Anna Marie "walking the walk" and reifying her position, that educators ought to embrace a broader range of language practices in their classrooms, particularly if such practices make material more accessible for students. This practice had enormous impact on students. Consider, for instance, the following excerpt from one such journal:

> Race was something that I did not see or understand. I was light skin and was raised by my great-grandmother who was very fair-skinned. So when I would look at her I would think that she was white and also considered myself white as well, that when someone would ask

me what color are you? I would answer white. At first, everyone thought it was funny, but later I started to get a lot of ridicule for it… (Mark, Journal 4)

While the language features and punctuation of this excerpt in some ways deviate from those of prescriptive "academic" English, its content engages deeply with an individual student's personal experiences with race, as well as with the tension between his self-ascribed identity and its social recognition. However, these nuances would be lost on a reader unwilling to engage with the content because of its resistance against dominant language ideologies. When I asked Mark about this journal in a later interview, he told me that he was raised in poverty and was the first in his family to graduate from high school, let alone college. He felt that his language practices were marginalized in many of his classes, as well as in the university as an institution. However, Anna Marie was willing and able to present material in ways that were accessible and significant for him. In doing so, she actively embraced and legitimized his own linguistic and cultural backgrounds in ways that allowed him to make his learning experience his own. In Anna Marie's classes, he was able to "be myself and talk" (Interview, April 15, 2015).

9   Linguistic Diversity As a Resource

Anna Marie did not merely *allow* diverse language practices into her classroom space, as if they were a necessary evil, but she framed them as communal pedagogical resources from which all students could benefit. On one occasion, she demonstrated a technique for using comics as scaffolding to teach dialogue tags, in which learners first fill in empty thought and speech bubbles on a sketched comic, and then expand the completed comic into a short paragraph with creative dialogue tags. As Anna Marie led a whole-class brainstorm listing as many dialogue tags as possible, she not only accepted those that are traditionally appropriate in academic settings (e.g., said, exclaimed, etc.) but also informal and marginalized dialogue tags (e.g., be like, was like). While these tags are not necessarily attributed to "nonnative English speakers" per se, they are often associated with speakers of color. Because racialization is often a mechanism of (non)native speakering (e.g., Amin 1997, 1999; Aneja, 2016a, b) legitimizing the language practices of racialized Others is also a move towards undoing (non)native speakerist paradigms.

10   Negotiating Language in the Real World

Anna Marie fully acknowledged the tension between wanting to legitimize students' backgrounds and language practices and the sobering reality that "the world is a nasty unfair place that values certain languages and cultures more than others." To encourage her teacher candidates to walk this line while still equipping their

students with "the tools to succeed in the world," Anna Marie used the metaphor of clothing:

AM: …What do you wear to the beach?
S: A bathing suit.
AM: What do you wear to church?
S: Suit
AM: Do you wear a bathing suit to church?
Ss: [muttering "no"]
AM: What? Do you wear a bathing suit to church?
Ss: No.
AM: What about a wedding, do you wear a bathing suit to a wedding?
Ss: No.
AM: Is there anything wrong with a bathing suit? No, it's just not the place for it…
    It's like I say "I been done did that." There's nothing wrong with it, but it's just
    not wedding clothes.

In the excerpt above, Anna Marie demonstrates the contextualized nature of appropriate language—that speaking differently in different contexts is no different from dressing differently in different contexts. In giving this explanation to her students, she provides them with an alternative to racialized framings of linguistic legitimacy (e.g., "talking White" when what is really meant is "being articulate" or "sounding educated") that emphasizes the importance of context in judgments of linguistic appropriateness. While the rhetoric of appropriateness has been problematized—for instance, Flores and Rosa (2015) argue that "appropriateness" and other social designations become thinly-veiled proxies for racial, nationalistic, or socioeconomic discrimination—it nonetheless encourages students to value language practices in context.

Later in the same lesson, Anna Marie encouraged her teacher candidates to "present code-switching[5] as a skill"—one that is highly marketable in a broad range of vocational fields, and that is absolutely necessary when communicating with different people for different purposes.

AM: It's a really fun activity to have someone tell the same story to two different
    people. So like think of something that happened to you in the last six months.
    Now tell it to your best friend, and now tell that story to the police. What do you
    edit out? How does your language change? How would you tell it to your friend
    and your mom? Not just the details you include or leave out, but the vocabulary
    you use. Like if you ask "what's the weather like today?" Tell your best friend
    what the weather's like today.
[All laugh—it was 15 degrees Fahrenheit with almost 18 inches of snow piled
    around]

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[5]While I recognize that this term is somewhat ambiguous and is theoretically distinct from translanguaging (Garcia, 2009), code-meshing (Canagarajah, 2011), translingualism (Canagarajah, 2013) and other similar terms, for the purposes of this chapter, I use the term as Anna Marie does—to mean altering and adapting one's language to fit different contexts.

Jenny: [tongue-in-cheek] It's so darn cold
[All laugh louder]
AM: [smiling] Man, it's cold as shit outside! It's BRICK out there! (Field Notes, Feb. 25, 2015)

When Anna Marie asked the class to "Tell your best friend what the weather's like today," students laughed because no one's mental dialogue was traditionally appropriate for an academic setting, especially not in response to an explicit question from a professor. Jenny's response, which was very much tongue-in-cheek, acknowledged the dramatic irony of the situation, while also demonstrating her hesitation to reconstruct the standards of appropriateness herself; as a student, she may not have felt that she had sufficient power to do so. Anna Marie, as the professor and arbiter, (re)invented the rules of classroom discourse by cursing and using drug-based slang to make a pedagogical point. In doing so, she moved towards normalizing alternative registers and language varieties in the classroom, continuing to chip away at Rajagopalan's (1999) ideological iceberg.

11   Beyond Language

(Non)native speakering is also closely related to other processes of marginalization in which language is implied. Flores and Rosa (2015), for example, argue that critiquing or devaluing individuals' or groups' language practices has become little more than thinly-veiled racism. Thus, (non)native speakering is woven into larger webs of social justice and power that perpetuate false perceptions and stereotypes and construct legitimized language users as ethnolinguistically and culturally homogeneous citizens of given nation-states. Thus, in order to "undo" (non)native speakering, it becomes necessary to look beyond language to (re)invent these racialized, nationalistic sociocultural associations wherever they occur.

One strategy Anna Marie employed, was awareness-raising activities and discussions, for instance, using a "find someone who…" BINGO board to facilitate the discussion of a wide range of aspects of culture, from the most-discussed dance, religion, holidays, and food, to less-discussed issues like education level, handy skills (e.g., fixing a window), and gaps in geographic knowledge (can you name seven cities in Africa?). Through this activity, she not only modeled an activity that candidates could adapt for their own classes but also increased candidates' awareness of the range of their peers' human experiences, normalized the diversity of their large, urban environment, and shed light on gaps in their own knowledge base. By making often-abstract discussions of diversity professionally relevant and personally meaningful, Anna Marie was able, by the second week of the term, to set the stage for deeper attempts to normalize diversity, both in and beyond the "field' of ELT. For example, in having one square that asked students to "find someone who was an immigrant" and another that asked for someone who "had been an "English Language Learner" (ELL), she confronted the reality that over half of the ELLs in

the local school district were born and raised in the US, and that many immigrants arrive in the US already speaking English. This realization resists the conflation between immigration or citizenship status and language proficiency—the misconception that immigrants' English proficiency is somehow deficient, while that of "citizens" is not.

Anna Marie also encouraged students to critically examine the intersections of race, class, and language. For instance, she drew attention to how the local school system treated a Caucasian English speaker from the UK differently from a darker-skinned English speaker from India, as well as how people of color are often obscured in or even absent from institutionalized spaces in language education. Such spaces can be as broad and "official" as textbooks, which are notorious for depicting Caucasian teachers with students of color and thus reinforcing a racialized Caucasian "inner circle" English authority and an "outer circle" student, or as unofficial as the appearance of dolls and the choice of foods in the play kitchen of a pre-school. In other words, the construction of linguistic legitimacy is closely related to national identity, which is in turn connected to aspects of culture like food and holidays. Therefore, undoing (non)native speakering not only involves rethinking Kachru's (1985) depiction of circles of English usage, but also related nationalistic framings of culture.

Anna Marie introduced her problematization of nationalistic framings of culture by sharing, "so many people ask me if I celebrate Christmas, and I say, 'well, I don't necessarily celebrate Christmas,' and they say, 'but you're American,' as if Christmas is an American holiday." In this anecdote, she both questions the notion that Christmas is an emblematically American holiday, and highlights and normalizes the diversity within the United States itself. Furthermore, she reinforces the idea that conforming to White, middle-class, Christian, English-speaking "American" life is neither an obligation nor necessarily positive. Neha, a student who was raised in India and completing a post-master's degree in the US then chimed in:

N: I was in a first grade classroom last semester, and we did Thanksgiving and Christmas and every holiday possible, except you know, Diwali and Ramadan [laughs]

Anna Marie: So NOT every one possible [smiles]

N: [laughs] yeah, but all the American holidays, like we had a Christmas tree and everything was Christmas themed.

Here, not only does Neha first say "every holiday possible" when she in fact meant "every American holiday", but she also constructs Christmas and Thanksgiving as American, while both are celebrated in multiple countries around the world in different ways. In doing so, she constructs and reifies these as "mainstream" holidays, while Othering Diwali (Hindu) and Ramadan (Muslim). However, Anna Marie resists her student's entwinement of Christmas and Thanksgiving with notions of American-ness. In doing so, she demonstrates that raising awareness about the implicit associations between nationality, culture, holidays, and by extension language need not be an exhausting or time-consuming undertaking, but can be woven into the everyday fabric of classroom discourse.

12   "Walking the Walk" Beyond the Classroom

Anna Marie not only legitimizes marginalized practices of her students in academic spaces, but also uses language in alternative ways herself outside the classroom. In this sense, she "walks the walk"—reifying the legitimacy of the language practices she advocates for by engaging in them herself. In doing so, she further undoes the notion of a unitary, static perception of the monolithic native English speaking academic, and its nonnative counterpart. The department culture more broadly also created spaces for such fluid, dynamic framings of language, identity, and use. Most of the professors came from multilingual and multicultural backgrounds, and many had family and close friends around the world. In March, Neha organized an event called *World Read Aloud Day*, in which she invited students, professors, children, and other friends of the department community to read or recite a short piece in a language of their choice. She herself read a poem that was written in one of her father's languages, but which had been transliterated in to Devanagari (the Hindi script) so that she could read it. Anna Marie read "Ego Trippin'" by Nikki Giovanni, another professor (who happened to be Caucasian) read a children's book in Mandarin, and a third professor read a poem in Yiddish, a language of which she explicitly identified herself as a nonnative speaker of English. This last professor had recently taken up learning Mandarin, and in the previous semester had given a welcoming address in Mandarin to a cohort of students from China. In doing so, the professors and administration of this program not only perform and therefore call into existence subject positions that legitimize the language practices of bi/multilinguals and those who would traditionally be considered nonnative speakers, but also do so in ways in which their students can participate in and identify with.

13   Conclusion

As the NNEST Movement steams ahead, scholars, teacher educators, practitioners, and activists must reconcile the academic problematization of (non)nativeness and other identity-related dichotomies, and the communication of such complexity to our students and teacher candidates. We must consider how we can structure our courses in ways that resist the very dichotomization that we critique, as well as how we can begin to create spaces in our own classrooms for students to explore their own constructions of translinguistic and transcultural identity, challenge essentialized approaches to identity, and conceptualize and deconstruct their ongoing negotiations of fluid privilege and marginalization. This is not to say that scholarly critique is not a worthwhile undertaking, clearly it is necessary for the field to progress. However, such publications are often not accessible to educational practitioners because of high pay walls, limited time, or simply unfamiliarity with academic jargon. As such, the scholarly road to undoing and disinventing (non)native speakered subjectivities is limited, particularly if we agree that social positions are

performed and performative—that acting as though they exist functionally invents them across multiple iterations and citations.

One way of resisting the "ethnocentrism" of ELT as a field (Liu 1998) and more robustly embrace local ways of learning, communicating, and being is for us, both as teacher educators and as language teachers, to integrate, as Anna Marie has, broader critiques of language, legitimacy, (non)nativeness, and nationalism into our own classes. Anna Marie in her classes not only recognizes linguistic and cultural practices that have been marginalized or delegitimized by institutional structures, but she also resists their marginalization, both by increasing her students' consciousness of them explicitly, and by actively performing as if they do not exist or at the very least as if they were differently valued. In doing so, she encourages her students to become critically conscious of the historical roots and ideological implications of (non)native speaking, how they could in their own classroom management be complicit in recreating racialized, nationalized, or other conceptualizations of (non)native speakers through the "hidden curriculum" of their courses, and ultimately work towards breaking the cycle and "undoing" (non)nativeness. Because languaging and (non)native speaking are both active processes to which individuals and institutions constantly contribute and performatively create, in theory, there should be ways to subvert these mechanisms and work towards the creation of alternative subjectivities. As we encourage our students to reinvent themselves through translanguaging or through the enactment of alternative identities that subvert dominant norms, we must also model by engaging in such practices ourselves—by walking the walk.

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Essentialization, Idealization, and Apprehensions of Local Language Practice in the Classroom

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Abstract This chapter details a poststructural ethnographic account (Britzman DP, Int J Qual Stud Educ 8(3):229–238, 1995) of 16 Japanese university students and their teacher conceptualizing boundaries of local language practice in one English department. Together, they apprehend local (Japanese) language practice as negotiated at the interstices of discourses of "Japaneseness-Otherness" and "native English speakerness-Otherness." Authority to employ Japanese in the classroom was afforded to "Japanese" teachers who might then assert authority to engage in local language practice or teach content in and through the Japanese language. Additionally, "Japanese" teachers were provided space to assert identity as linguistic and cultural border crossers, whereas "native speaker teachers" were to downplay or disassociate from their lived experiences negotiating membership in Japanese society, including from their use of Japanese, in the classroom. Space for teachers, positioned as neither an "idealized NS of English" nor "idealized NS of Japanese," was non-existent. The study troubles dominant, critically-oriented approaches to local language practice in the field of English language teaching (ELT) and its corresponding disciplines, that do not account for individuals' negotiation of positioning and being positioned, identity-wise, and the creation, limitation, and/or elimination of space for being and becoming that may result.

1 Introduction

Who can and/or should employ "local language" in the classroom? This chapter explores the lived experiences of 16 students and their teacher (the author), conceptualizing and deconstructing the bounds of local language practice (Pennycook 2010) in the classroom, in one university-level English department in Japan. Together, the students and I[1] co-apprehend the bounds of Japanese practice as

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[1] Throughout the chapter, I use first-person "I" and "my," as well as the "active voice," to reveal my subjectivities as a co-participant in the fluid co-construction of the study in question.

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fluidly intertwined with "teacher roles," and, in turn, with borders of "native Japanese speakerness/Otherness" and "native English speakerness/Otherness." The study contends that authority to engage in local language practice appears to be afforded to "Japanese" teachers,[2] who possess the authority to engage in local language practice and teach linguistic, cultural, academic, and professional content in and though Japanese. Additionally, "Japanese" teachers were provided space to assert identity as border crossers, whereas "non-Japanese,"[3] "native English speaker teachers" ("NESTs"), whose identities correspond with contextualized constructions of the Chomskyan (Chomsky 1965) idealized native speaker (NS)-hearer, were to embody an essentialized and idealized native speakerness that, in turn, excluded their lived experiences negotiating identity in Japan. Teachers positioned as neither an "idealized NS of English" nor "idealized NS of Japanese," were both excluded from the workplace, and conceptually marginalized. This study, I assert, contributes to the "troubling" (Vaughan 2004) of dominant, critically-oriented, binary approaches to identity and local language practice, in the field of English language teaching (ELT), that may not account for individuals' negotiation of positioning and being positioned, and the creation, limitation, and/or elimination of space for personal and professional being and becoming.

2 Conceptual Framework

2.1 *Theoretical Lens: Poststructuralism and Identity*

In this chapter, I draw on poststructural theory[4] to conceptualize *identity* as dynamically, discursively, and contextually negotiated at the interstices of linguistic, cultural, ethnic, national, economic, religious, educational, professional and gender-related *discourses*[5] of being and doing (Bhabha 1994, 1996; Davies and Harré 1990; Rutherford 1990). This negotiation of identity can be richly multimodal, occurring via spoken and written discourse, and through contact with images, man made artefacts, and the environment (natural, manipulated and/or arti-

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[2] During the course of the study, students defined "Japanese (teachers)" in terms of *both* "citizenship," and being a "native speaker of Japanese." As apprehended by students, this idealized individual was an essentialized, linguistic, cultural, ethnic and national, discursive construction (see Doerr 2009; Sugimoto 1999, 2014) Such an apprehension of the "native speaker of Japanese" was confirmed as guiding thought in the Department, during the study, by departmental leadership.

[3] Teachers originally from other countries, may be found to possess Japanese citizenship, though none of the teachers in question in the study do. The students were aware of this.

[4] Poststructural scholarship can be underpinned by a variety of ontological and epistemological commitments related to the discursive negotiation of "self" (Procter 2004). In the following chapter, I draw on poststructural scholarship that does not eliminate "self" completely.

[5] *Discourses*, according to Gannon and Davies (2007), are "complex interconnected webs of modes of being, thinking, and acting. They are in constant flux and often contradictory. They are always located on temporal and spatial axes, thus they are historically and culturally specific" (p. 82).

ficial), endowed with, and interpreted as having, "meaning" (e.g., Pennycook & Otsuji 2015). I apprehend dominant discourses – constructed, perpetuated, maintained, and patrolled by individuals and groups for the sake of power – as subjectively *essentializing* borders of being and doing, resulting in binaries including those of Self/Other, Us/Them, pure/impure, correct/incorrect, and valuable/not-valuable (e.g., Burgess 2012; Pavlenko 2002; Rutherford 1990). Additionally, I contend, critically-oriented discourses, while seeking to problematize dominant discourses, may also be complicit in co-opting, affirming and reifying essentialized borders of identity (Rivers 2018; Rudolph et al. 2015).

In approaching this study, I apprehend individuals' negotiation of *subjectivity* (Weedon 1997), or sense of "self," as occurring in and through their lived experiences apprehending, complying with, endorsing, perpetuating, patrolling, problematizing, confronting, and crossing borders. Though this "self" may appear to be stable and static to an individual or to others, it is instead a product of motion and interaction- of individuals discursively and dynamically positioning themselves and being positioned, in ways that often appear contradictory (Davies and Harré 1990; Davies 1991). In positioning themselves, individuals may assert *agency*, with degrees of influence and authority. Agency, according to Davies (1991), is one's "capacity" to trouble discourses, and in doing so, "to resist, subvert and change the discourses themselves through which one is being constituted. It is the freedom to recognise multiple readings such that no discursive practice, or positioning within it by powerful others, can capture and control one's identity" (p. 51). Likewise, agency may involve an individual *not* troubling, discourses. Thus, I contend, agency transcends "criticality." In and through their lived experiences positioning themselves and being positioned, individuals may construct hybridized, borderland identities (Anzaldua 1987), leading to their experiencing fluid privilege-marginalization, and empowerment-disempowerment, in diverse ways and to varied degrees (Rudolph et al. 2015).

3 Literature Review

3.1 Identity and Local Language Practice

Within the dynamically, sociohistorically, glocally, and contextually constructed field of ELT (Pennycook 2007), tensions, inscribed in the ongoing construction, perpetuation, maintenance, negotiation, problematization, challenging, acceptance, and reification of borders of identity, manifest in discourse relating to conceptualizations of and approaches to local language practice in the English language learning classroom. This *chronotopic* (Blommaert 2015)[6] literature review begins with a brief account of the discursive construction of "English only," and of "multilingualism through parallel monolingualisms" (Lin 2015, p. 76): the use of English only and local language use only, by separate categories of teachers. I will then discuss

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[6]A *chronotope* (Blommaert 2015) is a non-linear, incomplete, intertextual (Allen 2011) construction of time-space.

how critical scholarship has sought to problematize the *monolingual principle* (*MP*) (Howatt 1984), leading to attention to learner, user, and teacher identity, and simultaneously to reconceptualizations of the nature and value of local language practice in the classroom. This critical attention, I contend, is far from homogenous, ontologically and epistemologically speaking, resulting in very different conceptualizations of the bounds of who "can" and/or "should" engage in local language practice. In synthesizing such scholarship, I assert that little attention has been paid to individuals' discursive, contextualized, sociohistorical construction and negotiation of borders of local language practice in the classroom, a gap this study seeks to contribute to addressing.

Within the field of ELT, local language practice in the classroom has traditionally been Othered by the *MP* (Howatt 1984). The *MP* is predicated upon the notion that learners must be or become "native like" -to sound, speak, behave, and think like an idealized native speaker (NS)/hearer (Chomsky 1965)- in order to successfully interact, and to serve as instructors (Creese and Blackledge 2010; Hall and Cook 2012).[7] "All teachers" are therefore charged with creating an "English only" classroom, in the interest of providing students with maximum exposure to the target language and its corresponding "culture." The roots of the *MP*, as actualized in ELT, can be traced to the colonial period initiated by British and subsequent American imperialism. The modern field of ELT, emergent at that time, served the colonial agenda to cultivate "subjects," and to perpetuate discourses of linguistic, cultural, economic, political, educational, and ethnic superiority that privileged colonizers (Kumaravadivelu 2003; Pennycook 2010). As language education transferred into the hands of "local" teachers, the *MP* was additionally linked to opposition to translation approaches to language education, wherein local students and teachers deconstructed the "language" and "culture" of the Other through the local language/s (e.g., Hall and Cook 2012).

Through the years, the *MP* has underpinned dominant methodological approaches to ELT, ranging from Audiolingualism to Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) (Cummins 2009; Imran and Wyatt 2015; Lin 2013). Employing students' "native/first/own/local"[8] language/s in the classroom was viewed, both theoretically and practically, as interfering with learner growth (Lin 2015), and as a sign of deficiency on the part of "non-native English speaker (NNS)" learners and teachers ("NNESTs") (Hall and Cook 2012). "Native" teachers were, by default, not to use these languages, as their role was to shape students in their "image." The *MP* additionally underpinned immersionist approaches to teaching non-linguistic content, through which students both learn English and learn through English, resulting in attempts to marginalize or eliminate local language/s in the classroom (Dalton-

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[7] The *monolingual principle* certainly predates the Chomskyan (Chomsky 1965) native speaker/hearer (Nayar 1997; Pennycook 2010), though Chomsky's work has served as a conceptual foundation for worldviews of and approaches to theory, inquiry, teacher training, pedagogy, materials creation, assessment, and hiring practices in the field of English language teaching (Leung 2005).

[8] Through the years, these terms, grounded in Modernistic, purist notions of languages as closed systems, have been used interchangeably in the literature (Hall and Cook 2012).

Puffer et al. 2014; Hall and Cook 2012). Scholars have referred to such education as *separate bilingualism* (Creese and Blackledge 2011), *bilingualism through monolingualism* (Swain 1983), and *multilingualism through parallel monolingualisms* (Lin 2015). Such education, Creese and Blackledge (2010) argue, aims to cultivate, in learners, knowledge and skills compartmentalized within separate, compartmentalized, language using "selves."

Immediately following the emergence and ascension of Chomsky's "idealized NS-ing/hearing homogeneous linguistic community member" construct, the anthropologist Dell Hymes (1972) problematized the abstraction, contending that it could not capture the vast array of contexts in which individuals negotiate identity and meaning in interaction. This was accompanied by Hymes' conceptualization of contextualized *communicative competence,* which attended to the sociohistorically situated and negotiated nature of identity and interaction. At the same, however, Selinker (1972) proposed the concepts of *interlanguage*, or the error-laden speech of NNSs, on their arduous journey towards "native-like" competence, and *fossilization*- the long-term and eventually permanent production of linguistic errors, which drew upon and bolstered Chomsky's work. Ironically, scholars in the field of ELT married the Chomskyan NS/hearer, Selinker's notions of interlanguage and fossilization, and Hymes' notion of communicative competence, together (Jenkins 2006; Leung 2005). This combination served as the conceptual foundation for seminal frameworks for communicative competence in ELT, predicated upon the essentialized linguistic and cultural knowledge, skills, behavior, and experiences of an idealized NS (e.g., Canale and Swain 1980; Canale 1983). This idealized NS, conceptualized in the literature (critically and otherwise) as monolingual, Caucasian, Western, middle to upper class, urban, and most often male (Amin 1997; Braine 1999, 2010; Cook 1999; Kubota 1998; Motha 2006), was the "standard" by which learner "success" in interaction might be assessed (Jenkins 2006; Leung 2005), leading to the perpetuation of the *NS fallacy* (Phillipson 1992) that NSs of a certain ilk were, de facto, better teachers. "Non-native" learners, users, and instructors of English were to become less "themselves" and more "native-like," which rendered their "non-native" and "local" identities deficient. Local language practice, was a vestige of a "self" necessarily checked at the classroom door.

3.2   Critical Challenges

The movement and hybridity characterizing the colonial period and continuing in the postcolonial, has resulted, however, in the emergence of new ways of being and becoming. Ever-increasing flows of people, goods, information, technology, and finances (Appadurai 2000), coupled with a dominant, continued American presence on the world stage (Phillipson 2008), and contextualized constructions of "participation in the global community" (Kubota 2013), have led to the rapid spread of

English education into further contexts, and to propagation of the myth of its ubiquity and utility (Pennycook 2007). The contextualized interaction between fluidly local-global discourses of identity, has simultaneously resulted in (a) new users, uses, varieties, and functions of "English," whether speaking of the postcolonial hybridity of world English*es* or the postmodern function of "English as a *multilingua franca*" (Jenkins 2015) in interaction between individuals from diverse backgrounds, and (b) the continuing perpetuation and maintenance of Modernistic ELT predicated upon essentialization and idealization.

A wave of critical challenges to the *MP* has thus swelled from: (a) attention to the incredibly destructive effect its underpinning discourses of essentialization, idealization, and Othering have had upon language learners, users, and instructors whose identities do not correspond with that of "the idealized NS," and (b) exploration of individuals' sociohistorical, contextualized negotiations of new ways of being and becoming, including as owners, learners, users, and instructors of English (Cummins 2009; Lin 2013, 2015; Pennycook 2007, 2010; Shin and Kubota 2008). These challenges, grounded in divergent ontological and epistemological commitments, have resulted in very different approaches to conceptualizing and approaching identity and local language use.

One vein of scholarship, exemplified in work by Medgyes (1992, 1994, 2001), largely ignores the diversity of users, uses, contexts, and functions of English, and attempts to problematize "deficiency" while retaining the dominant, mainstream, NS-centric dichotomies of NS/NNS and NEST/NNEST (Mahboob 2010, p. 2). Medgyes' work expands the construct of "native speakerness" to include the "NNSs'"/"NNESTs'" "own" language. In doing so, Medgyes (1992, 1994, 2001) juxtaposes an idealized "NNEST" against an idealized "NEST," arguing that "NNESTs" (likely) share a first language in common with their students, and have experienced learning the additional language (English) firsthand, thus affording them superiority over "NESTs" in terms of apprehending language acquisition, and addressing student problems and anticipating their needs. "Natives" and "nonnatives," never transcend the bounds of their identities, and therefore work in symbiotic pedagogical fashion.

A second area of scholarship expresses a desire to "move beyond" the idealized NS construct, critically and practically speaking. This work problematizes the binary-oriented rendering of "NNESTs" deficient as contrasted against the "idealized NS" (e.g., Braine 2010; Kamhi-Stein 2016; Mahboob 2010) and the select group of individuals who are afforded "ownership" of English, as a result (Widdowson 1994, 1998). In doing so, such work (e.g., Braine 2010; Mahboob 2005, 2010; Mahboob and Lin 2016, 2018) acknowledges and draws upon social constructivist, postcolonial, postmodern and poststructural scholarship, in varying degrees and combinations, that is:

- Engaged with postcolonial and postmodern movement and hybridity, in order to highlight the translinguistic and transcultural complexity of identity, resulting in a diversity of contexts, uses, and functions of English (in concert with other languages) (e.g., Canagarajah 2007; Kramsch 2008);

- Reconceptualizing "communicative competence," in a manner that accounts for trans-/ multi-/pluri-lingual identity and interaction (Canagarajah 2006, 2011, 2013; Cenoz and Gorter 2011; Cook 2003, 2007; Creese and Blackledge 2010; Kramsch 2008, 2012; Lin 2015; Pennycook 2007, 2010);
- Problematizing the monolingual instruction of English, predicated upon the linguistic and cultural "knowledge," "skills," and "behavior" of an idealized NS, which is unsuited to the ever-globalizing, postmodern world in which individuals construct identity and interact (e.g., Lin 2013, 2015; May 2014);
- Cultivating a trans-/multi-/pluri-lingual classroom reflective of the ever-globalizing, postmodern world in which it is situated, which includes student and teacher use of local language/s (Canagarajah 2011, 2013; Kramsch 2014; Lin 2015; May 2014);
- Detaching approaches to fluidly teaching content and language from monolingualism, in the interest of attending to the above four points (Cenoz and Gorter 2011; Cenoz and Gorter 2013; Cenoz 2015; Dalton-Puffer and Smit 2013; Lin 2013, 2015).

In doing so, however, this work yet employs juxtaposed categories embedded within binaries (NS/NNS; NEST/NNEST), to apprehend identity and experience (see Moussu and Llurda 2008; Rudolph et al. 2015). *Native speakerism* (Holliday 2005, 2006), through this lens, is purported to flow unidirectionally from the West into contexts around the world, privileging "NSs," while marginalizing the translinguistic and transcultural identities and competencies of "non-native" learners, users, and instructors of English. Privilege and marginalization are therefore apprehended as largely uniformly experienced constructs corresponding with categories (NEST: privileged; NNEST: marginalized) (Menard-Warwick 2008; Rudolph et al. 2015).

Concomitantly, critical scholarship employing binary lenses, conceptualizes "NNESTs" as "multilingual, multinational, and multicultural" (Mahboob 2010, p. 15) individuals engaged linguistic, cultural, ethnic, national, academic, political, economic, religious, gender-related and professional border crossing. These "NNESTs" are alternately juxtaposed against: (a) an idealized, essentialized, monolingual, Caucasian, Western NEST, (b) against "NESTs" in the field whose identities seemingly correspond with the idealized NS construct, or (c) against a "NS" left undertheorized as an essentialized abstraction, leaving "NNESTs" to stand alone as "border crossers" (see Aneja 2016; Houghton and Rivers 2013; Llurda 2016; Rivers 2014, 2016; Rivers 2018; Rivers and Houghton 2013; Rudolph et al. 2015). When referring to "local language use" in the classroom, a further binary in this critically-oriented scholarship emerges, as "NNESTs" are differentiated from each other by the use of the "local" qualifier. These "local NNESTs" (or Local English Teachers) are subsequently afforded, implicitly and/or explicitly, ownership of the "local" language (e.g., Mahboob and Lin 2016, 2018; Mahboob 2005, 2010; Tatar and Yıldız 2010). Not all conceptual and inquiry-based work that might be associated with critically-oriented binaries essentializes the bounds of local language ownership and use directly, though the dichotomic vestiges of its undergirding commitments can be apprehended in and through the literature upon which it is framed, and the

delimiting research questions it explores, that exclude individuals whose identities do not correspond with constructions of "local NNEST" (e.g., Lin 2013, 2015).

Scholarship largely underpinned by social constructivist (Faez 2011a, b), and in particular, postcolonial, postmodern and poststructural theory and inquiry (e.g., Aneja 2016; Houghton and Rivers 2013; Menard-Warwick 2008; Motha et al. 2012; Park 2012; Rivers 2014, 2016; Rivers and Houghton 2013; Rudolph et al. 2015), has problematized binaries as essentialistic, failing to account for, or even purposefully discounting, individuals' negotiations of being and becoming within and across borders discursively constructed in the fluid interaction of local-global discourses of borders of identity. Scholarship in this vein has contended:

- Individuals dynamically, contextually, discursively, fluidly and concomitantly negotiate borders of who they can or should be or become as learners, users, and instructors of English, and as community members within and across contexts; personal and professional identity/ies cannot be parsed (e.g., Rivers 2016; Rivers and Houghton 2013; Rudolph 2012);
- "Native speakerism," is the contextualized, fluid, local-global discursive construction, limitation, and elimination of essentialized and idealized space for individuals' negotiations of being and becoming (Doerr 2009; Houghton and Rivers 2013; Rivers 2014, 2016, 2018; Rudolph et al. 2015);
- In their negotiation of identity, individuals may experience fluid privilege and marginalization within and across "contexts" and "communities" (e.g., Aneja 2016; Houghton and Rivers 2013; Rudolph et al. 2015);
- As there is diversity, in terms of being and becoming, both within and transcending essentialized categorical borders, experiences, qualities, competencies, and community membership should not be supposed to correlate with categories of being embedded within binaries of identity (e.g., Rivers 2016; Rudolph 2016a).

Through such a lens, the complexity of contextually negotiated identity, experience, and indeed, interaction, cannot be apprehended via binary lenses. Thus, binary approaches to identity are inscribed with conceptual contradictions between: (1) drawing upon theory and inquiry exploring postcolonial and postmodern movement and hybridity that is contending for attention to and the drawing upon of teachers' and learners' trans-/ multi-/pluri-lingual identities in the classroom, in the interest of attending to the ever-globalizing, postmodern world in which it is situated and is intertwined, and (2) reifying juxtaposed and essentialized categories of being, thereby limiting or eliminating conceptual, descriptive and even practical space for personal and professional being and becoming. "NESTs," for instance, can be multilingual (Llurda 2016), and both negotiate and draw upon their translinguistic and transcultural identities in and beyond the classroom, as they construct identity in and across borders of "context" and "community" (e.g., Houghton and Rivers 2013; Rudolph 2018). Yet, "NESTs" whose identities may seem to correlate with the idealized NS construct, may be confined within an essentialized category, inscribed with essentialized roles, resulting in marginalization of their border crossing (Rudolph et al. 2015). Other "NESTs" may face contextualized Othering, as they position themselves and/or are positioned as linguistically, culturally, ethnically,

nationally, religiously, politically, socio-economically, or professionally divergent from the idealized NS "norm" (e.g., Rivers and Ross 2013; Shin and Kubota 2008). "Non-local NNESTs" may find space for themselves limited or eliminated, as their identities do not correspond with idealized nativeness, whether relating to English or local language/s (Rudolph et al. 2015). "Native" or "native-like" competence in a local language can determine an individual's value as a language teaching or researching professional, thus creating job categories and roles of "local teacher/s" and "Other" (however contextually constructed) (Rivers 2016; Rudolph 2018).

The problematization of binaries of being, of the categories of identity embedded therein, and of corresponding experiences and competencies, has occurred in tandem with the reconceptualization of language use as dynamic, contextually, sociohistorically, and discursively situated and negotiated, fluid, and hybridized (Blommaert 2012; Canagarajah 2007; Pennycook 2007, 2010). This conceptualization challenges, at once, clean divisions between people, "language," "culture," location, and space. In line with such commitments, Pennycook (2010) proposes a reconceptualization of "local language use" as local language *practice*:

> To talk of language as a local practice, then, is about much more than language use (practice) in context (locality). To take the notion of locality seriously, rather than merely juxtaposing it with the global, the universal or the abstract is to engage with ideas of place and space that in turn require us to examine time, space, and movement (p. 1–2).

Language practice involves the discursive, contextualized, sociohistorical negotiation of identity and interaction within and across linguistic, cultural, geographic, national, ethnic, political, socioeconomic, religious, professional, and gender-related borders (Blommaert 2012; Canagarajah 2007, 2011, 2013; May 2014; Pennycook 2010).

In contrast to *code switching* (e.g., Heller 1988), which is grounded upon Modernistic notions of linguistic purism (Bailey 2007), scholars have sought to conceptualize and apprehend the fluidity and hybridity of language practice as *heteroglossia* (Bakhtin 1981; Bailey 2007; Blackledge et al. 2014; Creese and Blackledge 2010) and *translanguaging,* or the use of languages integrated into one system (Creese and Blackledge 2010; García 2009), as *codemeshing* (Canagarajah 2011), which builds upon heteroglossia and translanguaging by including multimodal means of communicating and the use of symbols, and *metrolingualism,* or the contextualized negotiation of identity and interaction in urban spaces of complex diversity (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010; Pennycook and Otsuji 2015). However apprehended and articulated, language practice is bound up with *all* individuals' negotiations of identity and interaction (Pennycook 2010). Scholars have contended for the affordance of space for such language practice in the classroom, in order to cultivate learner competencies related to negotiating the complexity of an increasingly postmodern, globalizing world, and to acknowledge, value, and draw upon the identities of learners and teachers therein (e.g., Celic and Seltzer 2011; Canagarajah 2011, 2013; Creese and Blackledge 2010; Lin 2015; May 2014; Pennycook 2010).

3.3   Contributing to the Literature

In the academic literature exploring "native/first/own/local" language "use," scholars have examined teacher and student identities, and their beliefs regarding and purposes for using or avoiding use (see Hall and Cook 2012). Scholars have also explored language use in educational settings and classrooms therein, which alternately seek to maintain the *MP*, or cultivate plurilingualism (see Lin 2013). Inquiry related to student use (Saito 2014a) and student beliefs (Carson and Kashihara 2012; Norman 2008), and Japanese teacher (Saito 2014b) and international teacher (McMillan and Rivers 2011) beliefs about local language policy and use, has also occurred in the Japanese context. While many studies discuss beliefs about local language use, gaps remain in the literature relating to learners' and teachers' apprehensions of the fluid, contextualized, sociohistorical discursive construction, perpetuation, acceptance, maintenance, problematization, challenging, crossing, and even reification of borders of identity shaping ownership and manifestations of local language practice in the classroom. The following study aims to contribute to filling this discursive gap, by focusing on student conceptualizations of and approaches to the bounds of local language practice in the classroom.

4   The Study

4.1   Context

The following study is situated in a department of English, at a large women's university in western Japan. Students complete courses together during their first two years of study, including a semester abroad at the university's institute of English located in the United States. In their third year, students enter one of four tracks of study: (1) linguistics, (2) language education, and (3) business English (classified as "mainstream" paths), and (4) a track for advanced learners, referred to as "international liberal studies." Though these tracks each contain select content-related goals and courses, they are underpinned by the common objective of producing students who are "people equipped for participation in the global community" (*guroubaru-jinzai*). Within the department at present, this is conceptualized as: (a) strengthening students' English abilities, and (b) providing students with knowledge, skills, and experiences that will maximize their success as professionals in the local and global workforce (not specific to any particular profession), which includes both a focus on Japanese society, and on interaction with "the international community" (officially imagined as "NSs" from North America and the U.K., though individual teachers also attend to portions of Asia).

Regardless of their specific track of study, the majority of the courses that students take during the latter half of their tenure in the department are open to individuals from all four tracks. These include "skills-based" English courses taught by

"NSs" (from North America, the U.K., Australia, and New Zealand), as well as 2-year-long, content-based seminar courses that do not usually correspond with the track with which students are affiliated. The fact that seminar courses do not serve as track-specific, capstone experiences, is further evidence of the preeminence of general, department-wide goals. It is within one of the author's seminar courses, that the study takes place.

4.2   Participants

In the Spring of 2015, 16 students, hailing from all four departmental tracks, signed up for my junior (third-year) seminar. As I was one of three internationals teaching seminar courses (out of 24 teachers), the students who enter my class were generally both comfortable with and prepared for interacting with me in an "English mainly" course (McMillan and Rivers 2011; Rivers 2011). In this seminar, students had the opportunity to explore worldviews of and approaches to identity, globalization, and the cultivation of *guroubarujinzai*. This included attention to what Kubota (2013) contends is the equation of NS-centric ELT with preparing learners for participation in the global community. The fluidly local-global discursive construction of NS-centric ELT not only relates to defining the borders of who learners, users, and instructors can and/or should be or become as English users; it concomitantly serves to construct, perpetuate, and maintain essentialized bounds of "Japaneseness" and "Otherness" established in Japanese society and ELT therein, by dominant discourses of identity (Rudolph 2016b; Rudolph 2018).

During the second semester of the first year, the students and I were co-conceptualizing and exploring what cultivating *guroubarujinzai* might look like beyond essentialization and idealization. This included:

- Problematizing the dominant, essentialized notion of "Japan" as a place of static homogeneity (Befu 2009; Doerr 2009; Heinrich 2012; Lie 2001, 2004; Morris-Suzuki 1997; Sugimoto 1999, 2014), and moving towards its apprehension as a site of dynamic linguistic, cultural, ethnic, religious, socioeconomic, political, geographical, and historical movement and diversity (Chapman and Krogness 2014; Denoon et al. 2001);
- Challenging essentialized constructions of "Other," juxtaposed against an essentialized and idealized "Us" (Kubota 2002, 2011; Rudolph 2016b; Toh 2015; Willis and Murphy-Shigematsu 2008);
- Paying contextualized attention to who Japanese people, in general, might interact with in and beyond Japan (in English, Japanese, and other languages), where, and for what purposes (Kubota 2013; Murata 2015; Sugimoto 2009);
- Attending to the different users, uses, varieties, and functions of English (Japanese, and other languages);

- Learning from a diverse array of teachers (not simply those whose identities correspond with the categories of idealized teachers ("Japanese" or "NESTs"), and if possible, with a variety of students;
- Addressing the question, "What knowledge, skills, and experiences might learners therefore be equipped with, in the interest of better preparing them to negotiate interaction with a wide variety of individuals in and beyond Japan?"

In doing so, the students and I intermittently discussed the use of Japanese in the classroom, with relation both to students and teachers. Our conversations led to my desire to pursue the topic as a line of inquiry, focused on student perceptions of teachers' use of Japanese, guided by the overarching research question: *How do students apprehend the borders of local language practice in the classroom?*

Before the start of our penultimate class in the second semester, I informed students that I was planning to focus on teacher use of local language (Japanese) in the classroom. I asked students for permission to use our thoughts and discussions for research purposes. I assured students that their words would remain anonymous, and that they were free to withdraw from the research, should they decide to do so. I additionally confirmed that students' grades would be effected in no way by choosing to or withdrawing from participation. All students expressed their willingness to participate (and none withdrew at a later date).[9]

4.3 Approaching Inquiry

I conceived this study as a *poststructural ethnography* (Britzman 1995). Poststructural ethnographic inquiry destabilizes a few of the key Modernistic underpinnings of mainstream ethnography, including:

- The dichotomic division of *context* (e.g., "research site/beyond"; "the classroom/beyond"), *identity* (e.g., teacher/student; researcher/participant), and *experience* (e.g., privileged/marginalized) (Murphy-Shigematsu 2008; Popoviciu et al. 2006);
- The supposition that participants in a study "say what they mean and mean what they say" (Britzman 1995, p. 229);
- The reliability of the researcher/scholar to observe and ascertain "reality" (past and present) and document stable "truths" about context and the people situated therein (Britzman 1995; Popoviciu et al. 2006; Vaughan 2004);
- The goal of producing a product (study) that embodies the "realities" of places, people and experiences, through which readers will comprehend "the way things are," and be able to problem solve as a result (Britzman 1995; Vaughan 2004).

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[9]Additionally, the university in question has no policy governing classroom inquiry. My interaction with participants, handling of data, and creation of the study, instead conformed to the Science Council of Japan's (2013) *Code of Conduct for Scientists*, which provides a framework for ethical research intended to protect participants, researchers, and Japanese society.

In contrast, ethnographic inquiry through a poststructural lens, is conceptualized as "a subjective, sociohistorically situated exploration and deconstruction (Derrida 1976) of the discourses implicated in the "invention," perpetuation and maintenance of essentialized borders of place, identity and knowledge, as well as of individuals' dynamic negotiation of identity and agency – of discursive positioning and being positioned (Britzman 1995; Davies 1991; Holstein and Gubrium 2004; Vaughan 2004)" (Rudolph 2018, p. 156). Such a study is *chronotopic* (Blommaert 2015), as it is a sociohistorically situated, incomplete, intertextual co-construction of time-space. Engaging in participation in, or interaction with, poststructural ethnographies can afford individuals an opportunity to "trouble" discourses of being and knowing, whether dominant or critically-oriented, they shape and are shaped by, in their ongoing negotiation of identity (Lather 1991; Vaughan 2004).

4.4   Attending to Researcher Positionality

In a poststructural ethnography, the researcher -potentially an instructor, faculty member, mentor, stakeholder in education, and local community member- subjectively participates in the discursive co-construction of classroom experiences, their analysis, and their apprehension (Choi 2006). Researchers must necessarily attend to how their negotiation of identity, or *subjectivity* (Weedon 1997, p. 21), shapes how they position, and are positioned by, participants (Davies et al. 2004; Lather 1993). Choi (2006) asserts that such *reflexivity*, through a poststructural lens, is not meant to "increase the validity or to find the researcher self, as if the researcher self is out there independent of relations; rather, conversely, the purpose of reflexivity is to deconstruct the authority of the researcher" (p. 441).

When first introducing the course, and throughout its duration, I sought to share openly with my students regarding my ongoing negotiation of subjectivity as a teacher, critical applied linguist, and self-professed member of Japanese society, with a vested interest in seeking to create space for being and becoming in and beyond the classroom in the Japanese context. I attempted to avoid framing my approach to research, practice, and the negotiation of identity as static "truth." Iendeavored not to "tell" my students what to think or say, but rather, to allow them to explore, conceptualize, and apprehend the discursive construction and maintenance of borders of being and becoming in Japanese society. Acknowledging this struggle as occurring in the process of teaching, inquiry, and scholarship, is a necessary part of employing a poststructural gaze (Britzman 1995; Vaughan 2004).

4.5   Data Collection, Analysis, and Presentation

Data collection first involved students' in-class, written responses to and discussion of prompts provided via handouts, at the end of the first year. I recorded notes during the student-centered small group chats and class discussions that followed, and then collected the handouts. In the first semester of their second year, I took notes as we reviewed our previous discussions. During this period, I occasionally prompted students to elaborate on their comments, which I then recorded in writing. I subsequently recorded notes related to the ideas students wrestled with, shared, and discussed. Though given the opportunity to use Japanese, students opted to use English almost exclusively. The data collected alternates fluidly between our analysis, assertion of opinions, and speculations related to teachers' use of Japanese in the classroom, all in the interest of conceptualizing and approaching the discursive construction of "local language practice" in the department. In order to preserve student anonymity and organize data, I assigned numbers to students (e.g., Student 5), which I used when using direct quotations and paraphrasing in the "results" section.

In the "results" section that follows, I present data in the form of five "episodes" (Youdell 2006, p. 87): (1) *Approaching local language practice*, (2) *Borders of language practice and teacher roles in the classroom,* (3) *Valuing border crossing (?),* (4) *"My positionality": Co-conceptualizations,* and (5) *What about everyone else?* I constructed the episodes after reviewing the contents of the above-mentioned documents and notes, at length. I assert they provide "discursive evidence and background" (Vaughan 2001, p. 20) for attending to student apprehensions of the borders of local language practice in the classroom. I acknowledge my subjectivity, in terms of data analysis and episode construction, and note the episodes are sociohistorical, incomplete, and intertextual constructions of space-time. Finally, I have chosen not to use "sic" when presenting students' words in the episodes (Rudolph 2016b), as such is in line with the ontological and epistemological commitments regarding language ownership and use underpinning this study.

5   "Results"

5.1   Approaching Local Language Practice

During the next to last class of our first year together, the students and I focused attention on teachers' "use" of Japanese in the classroom. I asked students to reflect on their experiences in our department. To prompt their in-class reflections, I provided them with guiding questions. These questions related to who used Japanese, in what types of classes, how often and how much, how their teachers explained such use (if such an explanation occurred), and for what purposes Japanese was used. After completing the questions, students participated in small group

discussions. The students and I then discussed their answers and thoughts collectively. At that time, one particular observation made by Student 10, with which all students agreed, stood out: "*Japanese is the language of teaching 'content.'*" I asked the class to unpack that idea with me in classes following their two month-long winter holiday.

In our second year together, the students and I returned to the theme of local language practice. First, I presented students with a summary of their in-class responses to my questions, and our previous class discussion. Key information, included the following:

Use?

Students had collectively apprehended local language "*use*" as entailing *any* teacher production of Japanese. This, they believed, provided space to account for the many purposes underpinning appearances of Japanese in the classroom, and for its employment by both "Japanese" and "non-Japanese" teachers, regardless of quantity.

Who, how much, and how frequently?
   "Japanese" teachers

Students had noted that the majority of their classes had been taught by "Japanese" instructors. In the Department, 23 Japanese professors were full-time and tenured (out of 24), while 37 were part-time (out of 49). The 12 students in the mainstream tracks estimated that in their courses taught by Japanese teachers, Japanese was the language of instruction between 60% and 100% of the time. The four students in the advanced English track noted that in approximately 60% of their courses taught by Japanese teachers, Japanese was the guiding medium of instruction between 50% and 90% of the time.

"NSs"

As mentioned above, in the Department, "non-Japanese" faculty consisted of "native speakers" from the U.K., U.S., Australia, and New Zealand. Two of the teachers were on full-time, limited term contracts, visiting from the university's American campus. Twelve of the teachers were part-time, and one (this author) was full-time and tenured.[10] In the oral English and writing courses taught by these individuals, Japanese was used only sporadically.

Why (or why not)?

Students had apprehended Japanese teachers' use of Japanese to be grounded (in varying degrees and combinations) in the following reasons:

• Asserting their identity in the classroom as "Japanese" (whether speaking of a collective, homogenous identity, or, for example, of asserting one's identity via use of a local dialect);

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[10] All students spend a semester abroad the university's exclusive American institute for English study. Students reported no use of Japanese, with teachers, at that campus.

- Making teaching "easier" in the classroom (due to "teachers' English ability," or the perceived competence of students);
- Teaching *content* to students, necessary to facilitate their participation in the local and global community, undergirded by the assumption that "Japanese students" learn more deeply in "our" (the teachers' and students') language, rather than in English.

Japanese teachers' purposes for Japanese use, they noted, appeared to be conceptually intertwined with each other, and often fluidly linked together in their discourse. All such comments, according to the students, were observations, as none of their Japanese teachers had ever discussed any reasons for employing Japanese in the classroom.

Students had noted that non-Japanese, "NS" teachers' use of Japanese appeared to relate to:

- Connecting with students (greetings; joking);
- *Alluding* to identity (for the explicit purpose of letting students know that the teacher speaks Japanese and has some connection to Japan, or so that students will either be careful speaking Japanese or will avoid its use altogether);
- Trying to facilitate communication with students (informing students about their attendance status; clarifying homework).

Students additionally noted that these teachers (other than this researcher, according to Students 14 and 16) followed what was at times an unwritten, and in others, an explicitly stated "English only" rule, in the classroom.[11]

5.2   Borders of Language Practice and Teacher Roles in the Classroom

After we reviewed the summary, I asked students to explore the topic/issue of teaching and learning "content" with me, and with each other. First, I asked students to define "content." After working in groups, students shared their thoughts, resulting in a collectively apprehended view of "content" I summarized as:

(a) The knowledge and skills necessary for their future careers (social etiquette in Japan; sociocultural, political, economic, and business-related knowledge related to the Japanese context; job hunting-related information);
(b) The nature and function of English, including "its grammar" and "its pragmatics";
(c) Academic knowledge related to the history of English, and the values underpinning the world of "NSs."

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[11] "Native speaker" teachers are informally, yet strongly encouraged to implement "English only" approaches to the classroom, according to the Department's Academic Affairs Representative.

This content was nearly exclusively taught in Japanese, and by Japanese teachers. I asked students what they believed their "other teachers" were teaching in the classroom. Students 1, 3, 4, 6, and 16 responded that the "content" that "native speaker" teachers were introducing, whether related to the Japanese context or not, consisting of generalized "materials and topics" intended to cultivate students' ability to use English as a spoken or written medium of communication. "NSs" were attempting to teach them how to sound, speak (vocabulary; expressions), think, and behave in a practical, "native-like" way.

I asked the students how they felt about: (1) their apprehension of a distinction between the types of "content" and the association of types of content with differing language practice, and (2) the assigning of language practice to specific categories of teachers. Regarding #1, three students (1, 5, and 11) expressed displeasure with the use of Japanese to teach any "content." Student 1 contended, "I think it is unnecessary to use of Japanese in the classroom. Because our major, we should use English." Student 11, likewise, emphatically stated, "I think teacher should use English in most of the time because our major is English. It is too mush using Japanese in class. I don't choose to be Japanese major." Student 5 noted, "I think to learn something regarding English literature by English is the best way to learn not only the language, but also their spirit and historical background." Student 3 argued in contrast, however, that all "real content" should be taught in Japanese, and that Japanese teachers using English was questionable: "If it's Japanese, I want to know why are they use English." Students 2, 13, 14, 15, and 16 believed that learning content could and should take place in Japanese and English, and that both languages were helpful to facilitate learning, in tandem. These students assigned Japanese and English to teachers, categorically, as with Student 3 (Japanese: Japanese language; "native speakers": English).

I then asked students to share their feelings regarding the seeming assignment of Japanese to Japanese teachers. This, the students suggested, was a complicated affair. Students 5, 9, and 12 noted that non-Japanese teachers "are not NSs of Japanese," and might therefore struggle to use the language. They believed the question, "How good/natural is your Japanese?" would be a recurrent one in the department and in students' minds. Students 1, 2, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, and 16 asserted that "NESTs" have a role to play, in symbiotic relation with the Japanese teachers. "NESTs" were in the department to provide students with maximum opportunities to use English, as they would have few chances to do so in their other classes and outside the classroom. Only Student 10 argued adamantly, that Japanese and English could and should be disassociated with "categories" of teacher.

The conversation that particular day and in the next class, gravitated towards discussion of "roles" for teachers. Students reconfirmed their belief that in the Department, non-Japanese teachers were meant to play the role of the "NS" and "teach students English" in English. These teachers were to minimize drawing upon, or avoid altogether, their lived experiences negotiating membership in Japanese society. Student 15 noted that, "I feel NS teachers are required to be 'native-like,' especially they are required to behave like 'Americans' because many Japanese people have a strong stereotype that many of the foreigners they meet are

from America." In addition, these teachers employed materials in the classroom (which, I informed students, were almost exclusively selected by the department) that minimized the differences between them, identity- and experience-wise. Thus, their unique "nativeness," for the students, appeared to melt together to form a largely generic, essentialized "NS" category. These teachers' task was to "be native" and "represent foreignness." A number of students (2, 4, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16), though accustomed to such an educational setting, were aware that there was linguistic, cultural, ethnic, and national diversity within the "NS category" in the Department, and they therefore problematized its essentializing nature.

Discussion of professional categories, roles, and language practice, led the class and me to discuss the fact that the 12 part-time "NESTs" had been in Japan at least 5 years, with many of them residing in country for decades, often longer than in their "countries of origin." Yet, they were expected to embody fresh foreignness in the classroom. During this conversation, a very sensitive subject was broached by one small group: Were these teachers *actual* members of Japanese society? The class concluded, as a whole, that "native speaker" teachers were positioned in our setting, and by dominant discourses within Japanese society at large, as permanently temporary transients. This conversation, in turn, led to students pointing out that Japanese teachers, as locals and "native speakers" of Japanese, were given administrative duties that transcended the classroom and connected directly to the "community" beyond the university, such as serving as homeroom teachers (individuals who interact with parents, provide students with academic and life-related counsel, academic information, and who at times travel with them on excursions).[12]

5.3   Valuing Border Crossing (?)

In a subsequent class, I asked students how they viewed Japanese teachers who transcended the linguistic, cultural, and professional boundaries corresponding with the categories to which they were seemingly assigned. First, students collectively identified two to three full-time Japanese teachers in the department who opted to assert their identities as linguistic and cultural border crossers via codemeshing in the classroom. These teachers were valued by *all* students, and were openly praised by select faculty members, in the students' presence. According to Students 10, 13, 14, 15, and 16, these Japanese teachers asserting identity as border crossers, did not appear to be "less Japanese," but were rather attempting to serve as models for who the students might be or become as language users. This was the case, they argued, even though two of those individuals openly challenged English education predicated on an idealized NS.

In contrast, however, according to the students, if a "NS" speaks Japanese in any quantity and with regularity, they may appear to be becoming "more Japanese," and

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[12] This "homeroom teacher" role, at the university in question, is a role usually found in primary and secondary schools in Japan, and not, in such a manifestation, as commonly at the tertiary level.

therefore "less foreign." This may be perceived as transgressing the bounds of their "role" in the classroom. One reason, the students and I apprehended together, was that the majority of the Japanese teachers (full and part-time) had been hired for "expertise" in a particular area, such as linguistics, literature, business, translation, and tourism. Their use of English was added value. NESTs, however, appeared to be hired for their "nativeness" and "foreignness," as well as for their "ability" to teach English (whether presumed or presumed and supported by corresponding academic credentials and teaching experience).

5.4   "My Positionality": Co-conceptualizations

Throughout the seminar course, I had been sharing anecdotes with students, regarding lived experiences as a member of Japanese society. Sometimes, these anecdotes related to events in my everyday life, such as helping my daughters with their public elementary school homework, participating in their school and extracurricular activities, attending a football match, or renewing my residency status in Japan. I shared that I used English and Japanese in my household and in public, as well as Spanish with my American wife and a few friends in Japan, and via social media. Occasionally, I selectively addressed more sensitive topics related to the contents of our course, such as a news event or hardship I, or someone I knew, was facing. The majority of these anecdotes related to the fact that I was negotiating identity within and across borders of being and becoming in and beyond Japan.

Additionally, I carefully shared regarding my experiences negotiating identity as a member of the department and university. These anecdotes, I informed students, were not "truths" about the university and department, or Japan, but were instead sociohistorically-situated experiences that I continued to reflect on and wrestle with, both alone and in interaction with others. I shared with students that unlike in many university settings in Japan, wherein positions "reserved" for "NSs" require proficiency in Japanese, while the majority of positions available -intended for "Japanese" teachers- are advertised in a manner that implicitly and explicitly narrow their target applicants through essentializing discursive parameters (Rivers 2016), positions for "NSs" at our institution have had no corresponding linguistic requirements. As with job descriptions elsewhere in Japan (Houghton and Rivers 2013; Rivers 2016), tenure-track or tenured positions at my school are almost exclusively reserved for Japanese professors. I therefore entered the university as an assistant professor on a limited-term contract, and was quickly and firmly informed that my "role" was to embody and model English-related nativeness at the university, both in the classroom and in promotional events and materials. I asserted agency troubling discourses of idealization and essentialization in the classroom, in my professional activities, and in discussions with colleagues in private, and occasionally in public spaces (e.g., committee meetings), though in doing so I practiced *critical pragmatism* (Pennycook 1997) in choosing how and when to reveal my subjectivities to faculty members and students. I told students that the linguistic and

cultural border crossing in my life beyond the university became known in the department, and was treated as "normal" by some, and inauthentic or even unreal by others.

In terms of my professional identity, however, I was prompted to remember, on countless occasions, that I was not "Japanese," in terms of professional standing in the department, and role. This was particularly apparent during my first contract renewal as a non-tenured faculty member, when I inquired regarding the possibility of being considered for a tenure-track position in the department in the future.[13] In the 2-h long meeting, conducted exclusively in Japanese, I was informed that, "You are not 'Japanese' and you cannot fill the role of a Japanese teacher as a result." I was ultimately offered tenure, however, to become the university's only tenured international at the time, after a professor in another department attempted to recruit me to be "the in-class NEST/Japanese speaker-for-administrative-purposes" in his department. This professor's efforts prompted upper administration to "force" my current department to change its policy. I deemed this not to be a permissible conversation in the classroom, though I did share with students that I had been given the unique opportunity to be tenured. My change in status brought with it participation in committees, duties, and roles on and even off campus, in which Japanese was the exclusive medium of communication, though the boundaries of my role and assigned value and authority as an educator and resource on campus, related to nativeness in English.

Having shared with the students, Students 13, 14, 15, and 16 stated they "could see" that I asserted my identity as a border crosser in our course. Though I wasn't teaching the course in Japanese, I was familiarizing students with concepts and terminology in Japanese, asking them to do research online in Japanese, and allowing them to ask me questions in Japanese if they so chose. And, I was not getting in trouble with any students, nor with the department. "Why was this so" wondered Student 10? Together, the students and I discussed the idea that perhaps, as a trusted full-time faculty member, whose practice was left entirely unsupervised, I might be able to "get away with" using, or having students use, Japanese. Students 13, 14, 15, and 16 thought that as I was teaching a "content-based" seminar course, perhaps the "rules of the game had become blurred, and perhaps I could perform "like a Japanese teacher." What students did not know, was that the space for full-time "NSs" to teach seminar courses had opened around 7 years prior, when a few senior Japanese professors had argued that some students might potentially prefer completing seminar courses in English (as they were nearly exclusively taught in Japanese), from the three visiting, limited-term contract teachers in the department at that time. The focus on "content" in those seminar courses, according to one senior faculty member, had been trumped by providing a few students with the chance to study "something" (content-wise) in English with "NSs." This conversation was left unresolved.

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[13] Limited-term track positions in Japan may be renewed in some cases, but almost never turn into tenure-track slots. The position in which I was located had no explicit framework regarding status or time limit in the future.

5.5   What About Everyone Else?

What about teachers whose identities did not correspond with the categories we discussed? In discussing the Department, we concluded that professional value was framed within essentialized and idealized categories of identity, resulting in the limitation or elimination of space for users and teachers of English, such as individuals from Singapore, Korea, or the Philippines, whose "identities" correspond neither with that of the "idealized NS of English" nor the "idealized NS of Japanese."[14] Many of the students (2, 4, 5, 10, 14, 16) argued for the pressing need to include more types of teachers, particularly from Asia, who would represent the individuals with whom they would likely interact in the future. The majority of students admitted, however, that they had never considered the notion of hiring teachers beyond the binary of idealized native speakerness in English/Japaneseness. Interestingly, only one of the students in class had studied with a teacher from a country other than the U.K., U.S., Australia, New Zealand, or Japan, at any time as a primary, secondary or tertiary student, in the Japanese context.

6   Reflections: "Troubling" Discourses (Vaughan 2004)

6.1   The Construction of Japanese Use

In our classroom discussions, the students and I conceptualized local language practice, as fluidly bound up with borders of "teacher roles," which were in turn intertwined with borders of "Japaneseness/Otherness" and "nativeness in English/Otherness" as constructed in our department (see also Rivers 2016; Rudolph 2016b). The linguistic, cultural, academic, and professional authority to employ Japanese in the classroom, was almost exclusively afforded to "Japanese" teachers, who thereby might assert the exclusive authority to codemesh or teach content (in this case linguistic, cultural, academic, and professional) in and though Japanese.

6.2   Identity and Border Crossing

"Japanese teachers" were afforded space, by students and colleagues, to assert their identities in the classroom as linguistic, cultural, and professional border crossers, if they so identified and chose. "NESTs," in contrast, were to represent an idealized and essentialized "native speakerness," which in all likelihood corresponded little within their lived experiences negotiating identity. They were to additionally

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[14] Interestingly, however, the department had begun a "cost effective" *Skype* lesson program, where students could chat in English online, and complete lessons, with Filipino ELT professionals.

downplay or disassociate from their lived experiences negotiating membership in Japanese society, including their use of Japanese, in their approach to the classroom. Space for teachers of English in the department, who were positioned as neither an "idealized NS of English" nor "idealized NS of Japanese," was non-existent. There were a few teachers within the part-time and full-time faculty, Japanese and non-Japanese alike, who were challenging these categories and corresponding roles, and contending for a move beyond essentialization and idealization in their classroom practice, while many others seemed to acquiesce to or affirm such categories and roles.

6.3 Critical, Binary-Oriented Conceptualizations of "Local Language Practice"

The dialogue students and I co-constructed, serves to problematize critical, binary-oriented approaches to identity and local language practice, as neglecting the contextualized construction and maintenance of fluid privilege-marginalization, and as failing to account for the negotiation, as well as limitation and elimination, of space for different ways of being and becoming. Such critical work, I contend, may thus lend discursive support to Othering, in terms of who language learners, users, teachers, and researchers "are," and "can" and/or "should" become. In the department in this study, for instance, there is no means of accounting, through a binary lens, for the juxtaposition of "idealized NS of English" and "idealized NS of Japanese," for the essentialization of the identities and lived experiences of those individuals situated within these categories, nor for the elimination of space for individuals whose identities neither correspond with the "idealized NS of English" nor "idealized NS of Japanese," as contextually essentialized and idealized. The contents of this study challenge critical scholarship to attend to the discursive fabric of ELT as dynamically woven through the fluid, contextualized, sociohistorical interaction of local-global discourses of discrimination, domination, empowerment, homogenization, marginalization, suffering, privilege, emancipation, heterogeneity, nationalism, hybridity, linguistic and cultural annihilation, and resistance (e.g., Canagarajah 2005; Pennycook 2007, 2010; Shin and Kubota 2008).

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