Deconstructing Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages: Problematising a Professional Discourse

by

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Abstract

This thesis provides a post-modern critique of the profession of *Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages* (TESOL). This critique derives from the findings of a progressivist applied ethnographic study of group of ESOL teachers working at an institution of higher education in Britain. The analysis of the findings using post-modern theory revealed that there was a complex mêlée of discourses (in the Foucauldian sense) at work in the research setting: a localised idiosyncratic discourse containing the voices of the teachers and the management, and a dominating mainstream discourse containing institutional and academic voices. The teachers in their classroom practices and their construction of these practices reproduced the norms of this dominant discourse in a pedagogy which can be described as weak communicative language teaching. This reproduction resulted in contradictions in their practices and constructions of their practices with regard to learner-centredness and to the superiority of the pedagogy, as well as to tensions and conflicts between the ethos of education and the requirements of an 'industry'. Three arguments emerge from these problems:

1. The pedagogy helps to maintain the low-status of TESOL because it reduces teaching to a series of 'universally-applicable' techniques and skills, the rudiments of which can be taught on a one-month training course. This pedagogy suits the institutional voice which regards TESOL as a private-sector industry.

2. This modernist 'scientific' pedagogy constructed as 'universally-applicable' and superior to other ways of teaching is potentially inappropriate because it cannot respond to social, cultural and political contexts of the classrooms in which it is used.

3. The pedagogy is legitimised with theories of learner-centredness that claim to be responsive to students' needs engendering learner autonomy and self-actualisation while creating a 'democratic' and participative classroom. Using Focauldian theory, it can be seen that learner-centredness in fact masks the subtle operation of *biopower*, and is commensurate with a pedagogy designed as a commodity.

These arguments can be located in wider shifts in education and professionalism in late-modern consumer capitalism where the public sector is being invaded by private-sector discourses. I finally propose the possibility of an alternative post-modern pedagogy with a commensurate post-modern critical profession.

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Chapter 1

There is little question that English is the most widely taught, read, and spoken language that the world has ever known.

(Kachru & Nelson 1996: 71)

- By the year 2000 it is estimated that over one billion people will be learning English.
- Around 600,000 people come to learn English in Britain each year.

(The British Council. *No Date* (a))

1 Introduction

Education and professions associated with the public-sector have undergone dramatic changes within the context of late-modern consumer capitalism as it exists in Britain and other developed countries, marked by the influence of private-sector discourses. In the professions there have been claims of deprofessionalisation, deskilling and increasing low-status; in education, knowledge has become a commodity constructed as skills and competences, while students have become customers. In the profession of teaching, teachers are under increasing demand to be accountable, learner-centred and customer-friendly. This study critically investigates one educational profession *Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages* (TESOL) which has been at the forefront of these changes.

This chapter has three purposes:
- It introduces the profession of TESOL; the profession of the participants in the research setting. It therefore introduces the subject matter of this thesis
- It locates my position as researcher in the postmodern paradigm of *critical applied linguistics* and how reflexivity is used in postmodern research.
- It provides a map of the thesis.

1.1 Introducing the TESOL Profession and the Research Setting

This thesis concerns the profession of TESOL and the dominant discourse that drives theory and practice in it with a particular pedagogy and a notion of professionalism. I use pedagogy to mean what is taught, how it is taught, who is taught and the theoretical basis on which this is built. I prefer this to the far narrower term more commonly used in the dominant discourse, 'methodology', which suggests a narrow set of procedures or techniques for teaching. This dominant discourse derives from institutional organisations in

the 'industry'[1] and from the academic discipline of applied linguistics. More precisely, this thesis concerns one group of TESOL practitioners who taught in an institution of higher education in Britain and how this discourse was reproduced in their own localised discourse. This could be seen in their practices and their constructions of their practices. This thesis presents a postmodern critique of this dominant discourse in terms of its pedagogy and how it constructs the profession of TESOL using one case as an example of its reproduction in the profession and 'industry'. I describe in this section the nature of this profession and 'industry' and locate the sector in which the teachers in this study operated..

The TESOL profession teaches English to students whose first language is not English. This activity is vast and global because the English language is now effectively a global language (McCrum, MacNeil & Cran 1986: 9-10; Phillipson 1992a: 6; Kachru & Nelson 1996: 71). Originally due to Britain's colonial past, amplified by the domineering global presence of the United States of America following World War II, and finally confirmed after the collapse of the Soviet Bloc in 1989; English now dominates a new world order led by the United States which has seen transnational economic organisations and new technical developments particularly in information technology allow globalisation marked by "…space-time compression where distances, both virtual and actual, can be covered far quicker than in previous times and where people, goods and images can be available to each other on an almost instantaneous basis" (Edwards & Usher 1998: 2). English has been adopted as *the* world language in this era of globalisation; a language of national (within some multilingual countries such as India) and international communication.[2]

TESOL was developed and promoted in the twentieth century by Britain and the United States (and latterly Canada, Australia and New Zealand) to respond to, or arguably create (see chapter 3.3.3), the global demand for English (Howatt 1984: 212-293). The development of this 'industry' and profession after the World War II was part of a governmental, as well as private sector, international promotion of English (Phillipson 1992a: 137-172). A vast TESOL industry then exists for the teaching of English globally in terms of publishing, private language schools, examination boards, development aid, teacher training, curriculum development as well as the export of 'native-language' teachers from these countries. This 'industry' generates an enormous income primarily in the countries that promote it (Pennycook 1994a: 155-156). The economic benefits of the TESOL industry is something that the British government recognises.

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[1] I place words in this thesis in inverted commas when a concept is part of the dominant discourse that I problematise. By placing it in inverted commas I demonstrate that I do not take its meaning within the discourse as a given. I follow Berger and Luckmann's (1967) use of this technique for socially constructed concepts.

[2] For global estimates of the number of speakers of English as a first, second and foreign language; the numbers learning English; and statistics for the various global uses of English: see Crystal (1987: 358); Graddol (1999); The British Council (*No Date* (a)).

In addition to bringing an annual income of £500 million to Britain, the British Council[3] claims that "the English language makes it possible for British companies to develop markets, sell into them and form commercial alliances" as well as encourage tourism and the spread of British culture (The British Council. *No Date* (a)).

The type of TESOL that the teachers in the research setting taught was for overseas students coming to Britain to study English for generally short periods of time (i.e. up to year). After that the students normally returned back to their countries or continued to study in higher education in Britain. TESOL in Britain can be roughly divided into two types: the case just described, which the British Council promotes, that is often referred to as 'English as a Foreign Language' (EFL); and the English taught to immigrants and refugees who reside in Britain on a more permanent basis; often referred to as 'English as a Second Language' (ESL) or 'English as an Additional Language' (EAL). It should be noted, however, that in my experience many ESOL teachers have taught both types, and sometimes TESOL classes have had both types of students. The type of English constructed by the 'industry' in the former type is for the instrumental reasons of work, study and leisure for the generally wealthy global middle classes. English is constructed as a 'commodity' whose acquisition brings about advantages for the 'consumer'. It is learnt in order to be able to communicate rather than for the more traditional educational purposes of foreign language learning where language learning is considered as an ennobling form of education that increases intellectual acuity and a means of developing knowledge of a corpus of literary texts (cf. Richards & Rodgers 1986: 1-5; Howatt 1984: 212).

The TESOL profession and industry because of its global nature and because of its various forms is complex to describe. To locate the type of TESOL practiced in the research setting, I have developed a three-level framework. At the first level, there is *International English Language Education* (IELE) derived from Holliday (Holliday 1994a; Holliday 1997a; Holliday 1998a). This describes the phenomena of English language education for speakers of other languages that occurs globally as well as the industries, activities and occupations associated with it. Using the analogy of medicine, this would be equivalent of the concept of health provision in all its forms.

This is subdivided into two sectors where the teaching occurs, each of which has a different educational culture and discourse (see chapter 3.3.2). BANA (*B*ritain, *A*ustralasia and *N*orth *A*merica), also derived

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[3] The British Council is an organisation which was developed by the British government in the 1930s to promote and educate people abroad about the English language, culture and political system. It combines educational objectives and programmes with concomitant commercial interests for itself and Britain. For a critical assessment of its promotion and teaching of the English language see Phillipson (1992a), Pennycook (1994a).

from Holliday (1994a: 12), describes "either private language schools or annexes to university departments" found across the world that are "in some way managed or spawned from the British, Australasia and North American model". Whilst often it is the case that the sector is made up of people who come from the country that spawned it, there are professionals who actually come from the countries where the teaching takes place. For example, whilst teaching in France at a further education college, I worked in a department that was part of BANA with French English language teachers who were also very much part of BANA. The other sector, TESEP (*t*ertiary, *s*econdary, *p*rimary), includes the contexts where English is taught in state education globally (Holliday 1994a: 12-13). Continuing the analogy with medicine, it is rather like how health provision is divided between the public and private sectors. The setting of this research was in a department in an institution of higher education in Britain. It was part of the BANA sector because not only did it share the BANA educational culture and discourse, but the operation of TESOL was run as a 'business' (see chapter 6.4 & 6.5).

The third level, TESOL, describes the profession itself, i.e. ESOL teachers. To take the analogy of medicine, this equates with medical doctors. However, TESOL is not the only name for the profession. In fact there is a plethora of different names in acronym form that tend to be mystery to those outside of the profession (Pennington 1992: 7): apart from TESOL, there is, for example, ELT, EFL, ESL, EIL and EAL, each of which can be prefixed with *T* for *teaching*.[4] I use TESOL even though the participants in the study tended to use 'TEFL', because 'TEFL' and its counterpart 'TESL' have been problematised in the critical literature (Phillipson 1992a: 24-25, 243; Nayar 1997; Wallace 2002: 109), and, as I noted above, in practice there is often not a clear demarcation between the two. Whilst TESOL is not absent of criticism (Pennycook 1998: 22), I consider it to be the least problematic of the names, and it is the name that is beginning to have a wider currency. For example, the MA TEFL at my institution has become MA TESOL.

1.2 Positioning Myself as a Researcher

The purpose of this section is to position myself as a researcher within the critical wing of the discipline of applied linguistics that is broadly congruent with post-modernism. The fact that I place myself within this research suggests reflexivity; an issue which I will therefore discuss.

1.2.1 Locating Myself in Critical Applied Linguistics

Applied linguistics can broadly be seen as the discipline which informs the practices of TESOL. (In this thesis, unless I explicitly state otherwise, when I use the term TESOL, this means BANA TESOL). To take

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[4] ELT (English Language Teaching); EFL (English as a Foreign Language); ESL (English as a Second Language); EIL (English as an International Language), for definitions see: Richards, Platt & Platt (1992); for EAL (English as an Additional Language) see: Harris, Leung & Rampton (2002). There have been attempts to try to put a structure around all these names (cf. Judd 1981; Hutchinson and Waters 1987: 18).

the analogy of health provision, applied linguistics is to TESOL what medicine is to doctors. It is possible, however, to identify two tendencies within applied linguistics: a mainstream one, and what Pennycook (2001) calls *critical applied linguistics*. I locate this research within this critical tendency.

Although applied linguistics' concerns include the teaching of languages in general and non-education areas of language in practice such as translation, language planning and lexicography, its historical roots lay in TESOL (Howatt 1984: 265-273; Phillipson 1992a: 174-176; Pennycook 1994a: 126-127). The role of applied linguistics for TESOL and language teaching in general has been traditionally seen as the application of the findings of linguistics to teaching (Crystal 1987: 412; Richards, Platt & Platt 1992:19). This would then suggest the medicine-doctor analogy. However, this assumption can be questioned because linguistics does not deal with many educational issues and problems particularly in the areas of the cultural, social and political and it has areas of concern which do not have a direct relationship with the profession (Holliday 1998a: 200-201). At a broader level, treating applied linguistics as linguistics *applied* in all its domains, education or otherwise, does not take into consideration that language in practice is a social phenomena (Widdowson 2000).

Critical applied linguistics can be broadly categorised as work that brings a more cultural, sociological and political dimension to the issues of language in practice (Pennycook 1990a; 2001). This approach is similarly identified by what Rampton (1995) calls the shift from an autonomous to an ideological model. Pennycook (2001) presents four current positions in the discipline: *liberal ostrichism*; *anarcho-automony*; *emancipatory modernism*; and *problematising practices*. Liberal ostrichism is very similar to Rampton's autonomous model and shares with the anarcho-automony position the belief that the study of language is a non-political act; it is a 'neutral' science concerned with discovering 'universals'. The main difference between them is that proponents of the anarcho-automony position, while seeing their 'science' as neutral, are otherwise highly-engaged in anarcho-syndicalist politics. The anarcho-autonomy model lacks a certain credibility as a descriptor of a common position in applied linguistics. As Pennycook (2001: 33) points out it is principally associated with Noam Chomsky who is a linguist, not an applied linguist. However, as Pennycook admits, the position does reveal "what other conjunctions there may be" between political and epistemological frameworks (ibid.). Proponents of liberal ostrichism, as the name suggests, tend to have more mainstream liberal politics and are equally detached from their 'science'. Emancipatory modernism and problematising practices are the two positions of critical applied linguistics which, fitting into Rampton's ideological model, see the subject matter of applied linguistics as a social, cultural and political one. The difference between these two positions is that emancipatory modernism comes from a neo-Marxist perspective while problematising practices comes from poststructuralist, postmodern and postcolonial thinking. Emancipatory modernism looks at the relationship between language, and the social and political explaining these relationships in terms of macro structures of domination where there is the possibility of emancipation from it. Pennycook (2001: 36-41) gives the examples of the following authors'

work that falls within this position: Mey (1985); Fairclough (1989); Clark (1992); Phillipson (1992a); Wodak (1996). Problematising practices, on the other hand, which is Pennycook's position, does the following:

> This fourth position, then, although also viewing language as fundamentally bound up with politics, nevertheless articulates a profound scepticism about science, about truth claims, and about an emancipatory position outside ideology. This position, which we might call *critical applied linguistics as problematising practice*, draws on poststructuralist, postmodernist, and postcolonial perspectives…This *post* position views language as inherently political; understands power more in terms of its micro operations in relation to questions of class, race, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, and so on; and argues that we must also account for the politics of knowledge. Rather than continuing to see scientific endeavour as means to further critical work, this views sees science – or claims to scientificity – as part of the problem.
>
> (ibid: 42)

I locate this work in the *problematising practices* of critical applied linguistics. It is from this postmodern vantage point that I critique the dominant discourse that drives TESOL's problematic pedagogy and professionalism. In critiquing this dominant discourse, I am also critiquing the liberal ostrichism model of applied linguistics, what I call mainstream applied linguistics, because it is an important voice in this discourse (see chapter 3.1.1). By constructing itself as a 'neutral' and 'universal' science, and ignoring the cultural, social and political, mainstream applied linguistics has helped to create this problematic pedagogy and professionalism.

Finally, critical applied linguistics suggests that its practitioners are also political in intent and whilst I do not want to succumb to academic hubris and over-inflated perceptions of the influence of this work, I do share with Pennycook (ibid: 7) the "assumption that we live amid a world of pain and that applied linguistics may have an important role in either the production or the alleviation of some of that pain" and that it should not only try to alleviate that pain but promote the possibility of change; something I attempt to do in chapter 8.2.

1.2.2 Reflexivity

This thesis then adopts a postmodern perspective in its theory, research methodology and analysis. In doing so, I must therefore take on the mantle of reflexivity, that is to say "applying a critical perspective to one's own knowledge claims" (Kendall & Wickham 1999: 101). Whilst accepting that reflexivity is a site of complex and differing interpretations and debates (Marcus 1994: 568-573), I consider in this thesis, reflexivity concerns the role of my own subjectivity as a researcher; i.e. I have not come to the perspective argued here through objective 'scientific' analysis external to myself, but my own experiences and opinions

have helped to shape this perspective. This should not be considered a problem interfering in the claims that I make but a resource to clarify these claims (Usher & Edwards 1994: 147-153).

> At its simplest, reflexivity claims that since the activity of the knower always influences what is known, nothing can be known except through those activities. The question that then follows from this inevitable reflexivity is that if research, the making of knowledge-claims, is dependent upon the activity of the researcher, can such knowledge ever be truthful representation - in other words, are we as researchers researching the world, or ourselves as makers of knowledge-claims? Can research ever be anything more than a subtle form of writing the self? These questions suggest a further and perhaps a key question – what kind of 'problem' is reflexivity, indeed is it a problem at all? We might want to argue that by foregrounding how we construct what we research, reflexivity is no longer a problem but a *resource*. It helps us to recognise that we are a part of rather than apart from the world constructed through research. More than this, however, by becoming aware of the operation of reflexivity in the practice of research, the place of power, discourse and text, that which goes 'beyond' the purely personal, is revealed.
>
> (Usher & Edwards 1994: 148)

My position as researcher is an important consideration not just because I wish to be a reflective researcher and because I am taking a postmodern perspective, but also because I was an *insider* in the research setting (see chapter 4.5). I am an ESOL teacher critically researching my own profession. Therefore I need to be aware of the knowledge claims that I make and how this relates to the position I have adopted. Using postmodern theory was part of a complex process that started during the period of data collection and initial analysis (see chapter 4.3). What my findings were revealing correlated with the postmodern ideas I was reading about. However, in being truly reflexive, I must admit that I was also attracted to postmodernism because it made sense to me as a disillusioned neo-Marxist, as postmodernism was itself a product of the disillusionment with Marxism after the events in Paris of May 1968 (Sim 1998a: 241). However at another level, neo-Marxism could not really have helped to explain the phenomena that I was observing (see chapter 3.4).

1.3 Map of the Thesis

This thesis contains seven further chapters that are structured as follows:.

Chapter 2: Epistemology, Terms and Concepts

This chapter explores and defines the epistemology and concepts used in this thesis: postmodernism, deconstruction, profession, professional & professionalism, culture and discourse. This is necessary because postmodernism and its attendant concepts are used for the theory on the dominant discourse, the

research methodology of the study and analysis of the findings. Furthermore, in defining postmodernism, I implicitly begin the process of problematising the norms of mainstream applied linguistics, while in the definitions of culture and discourse, I explicitly do so.

Chapter 3: Deconstructing the Mainstream Dominant Discourse and Pedagogy in BANA TESOL

This chapter develops a three-part critique of the BANA TESOL 'industry' in terms of its dominant discourse. The discourses in the study are introduced (*dominant mainstream* and *localised*) and the pedagogy defined. The problems of TESOL being a profession is discussed next. I then explore four critiques of International English Language Education as a means to create my own critique of the dominant discourse, which is developed using postmodern theory; with particular reference to Foucault's concept of *biopower*. I then give a detailed postmodern critique of the pedagogy looking at the role of applied linguistics, the influence of learner-centredness, and the pedagogy itself.

Chapter 4: The Study

In this chapter, I first define and give a rationale for the research methodology used: *progressivist applied ethnography*. I then give an overview and rationale for the research process I used, i.e. its design and procedure. How this research process was actualised is then described followed by ethical issues that arose in this process. I then deal with how the analysis was carried out, and issues in the writing process. I finally give a description of the research setting.

Chapter 5: The Nature of the Localised Discourse: The Pedagogy in Practice

This is the first of two findings chapters which provide a micro-level analysis of the findings. I first deal with how the findings are organised in all the findings chapters. This actual chapter analyses how the pedagogy was enacted by the teachers in their classrooms. The evidence suggests that their teaching reproduced the norms of the dominant discourse in terms of what was taught and how it was taught. These consistencies had within them certain contradictions in terms of the practice of learner-centredness.

Chapter 6: The Nature of the Localised Discourse: The Teachers' Construction of a TESOL Ideal

This chapter describes how the teachers' theorised their practices in a construction of what I call a TESOL ideal, and more broadly how they constructed their profession and working lives. Like their practices, this ideal was highly consistent with the dominant discourse, but also contained within it conflicts and tensions with regard to the ethos of education and the needs of business, while also containing contradictions in the construction of learner-centredness and the superiority of this ideal.

Chapter 7: Deconstructing the Localised Discourse

This chapter provides a macro-level analysis of the findings of the previous two chapters using the three-part critique established in chapter 3.

Chapter 8: Implications and Conclusion

I discusses in this chapter the implications of the findings of the thesis for TESOL and applied linguistics, and the implications of researching in the postmodern. I then provide a conclusion to the thesis.

Chapter 2

"And now Derrida," said Fulvia Morgana. "Everybody in Chicago – I'ave just been to Chicago – was reading Derrida. America is crazy about deconstruction. Why is that?"

"Well, I'm a bit of a deconstructionist myself. It's kind of exciting – the last intellectual thrill left. Like sawing through the branch you're sitting on."

(Lodge 1985: 118)

2   Epistemology, Terms and Concepts

2.1   Introduction

Chapter 1 made clear the nature of the profession that this study deals with and my position as a researcher in this study. The purpose of this chapter is to define the terms and concepts used to describe and analyse the behaviour of the people studied. These terms and concepts do not possess fixed meanings; rather they are areas of definitional contention and misunderstanding. The definitions I use are located in the postmodern epistemological tradition that is commensurate with the *problematising practices* position in critical applied linguistics (Pennycook 2001). As well as fitting in with this epistemology, the definitions also act as a valid and workable means to explore the issues and findings of the study; a means that is commensurate with the research methodology (see chapter 4.2). Thus an interpretative exploration of the way a pedagogy is used and thought about by a group of teachers suits an applied ethnographic approach where the group of teachers are conceptualised as a culture. The data that emerged from the fieldwork revealed that many aspects of their working behaviour could be understood in terms of a professional discourse. I argue then that the group of people studied can be described as a professional culture who exhibit in their working behaviour a localised professional discourse that reproduces a wider dominant professional discourse in BANA TESOL.

By locating these terms in a postmodern epistemology, I am able to draw on postmodernism as means of conceptualising the data (i.e. the interpretations of profession, culture and discourse), critiquing the findings (i.e. using deconstruction) and explaining them (i.e. attributing to the findings certain tendencies of late-modern societies). As postmodernism underpins the whole of this thesis in these three ways, it is necessary to discuss it in some detail.

The structure of this chapter is as follows.

- As the epistemological basis of the thesis, as well as the analysis of the dominant discourse (see chapter 3) and the findings (see chapter 7.2), is located within postmodernism, *postmodernism* is

defined first of all. All of the terms and concepts that follow will be understood in the light of this epistemology. A key element of postmodernism is a critique of modernism and structuralism. As I argue the wider dominant discourse is located in modernism and structuralism, this discussion consequently introduces the themes of the postmodern critique of this discourse in chapter 3.

- *Deconstruction,* the postmodern method with which the localised and dominant discourses are critiqued is defined.

- I then establish what I mean by *profession, professional* and *professionalism* when describing the occupation of TESOL and its culture and discourse. This definition also serves the purpose of introducing the issue of professionalism *per se*; an important element in my critique of BANA TESOL (see chapter 3.2).

- Using Holliday's (1999) concept of *small cultures, culture* is defined as an heuristic device which was used to analyse the group of TESOL teachers. In arriving at this definition appropriate for a critical applied linguistics study, the use of *culture* in mainstream applied linguistics, a key voice in the dominant discourse, is also critiqued.

- *Discourse* will then be defined. I will argue that the most appropriate definition derives from the work of Michel Foucault. This debate also examines how *discourse* is defined in applied linguistics, and as in the discussion on culture, consequently develops the critique of mainstream applied linguistics.

- I will then bring together the concepts of *professional, culture*, *discourse* and argue how these concepts link to *ethnography*.

2.2 Postmodernism

As the entire thesis is epistemologically and analytically underpinned by postmodernism and post-structuralism, it is necessary to describe what I consider postmodernism and post-structuralism to be. The principal 'godfathers' of the perspectives that have influenced my position are Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, and Jean-François Lyotard. However, it is the ideas of Foucault that have the greatest influence in this thesis. I have marked out postmodernism and post-structuralism as separate entities by the very act of naming them separately although the two perspectives are often treated as being virtually synonymous (Rosenau 1992: 3; Usher & Edwards 1994: 17). I will discuss their differences and similarities, but after this section I will use postmodernism as a convenient superordinate for postmodernism and post-structuralism. By doing so I am not privileging postmodernism over post-structuralism but using a term which can more comfortably include both perspectives.

Postmodernism and post-structuralism are movements that originated in French philosophical and social scientific thought (Sarup 1993: 1-4; Sim 1998b: ix; Williams 1999: 1; Gutting 2000b: 701-702), but whose ideas have been applied in different disciplines and areas of study within the Anglo-American-Australian academy particularly in the arts, humanities and social sciences (cf. Sim 1998a). This application of its

ideas has emerged in education (e.g. Giroux 1992; Usher & Edwards 1994; Smith & Wexler 1995; Paechter & Weiner 1996; Usher, Bryant & Johnston 1997) and to a lesser extent in applied linguistics and international English language education (e.g. Willet & Jeannot 1993; Holliday 1997a; Pennycook 2001; Grimshaw 2002). Applying postmodernism and post-structuralism does not necessarily mean a wholesale importation of ideas and concepts but can be a critical process where new dimensions and interpretations are developed as shown for example in postmodern and post-structuralist feminist work (Sarup 1993: 109-128 & 155-158; Thornham 1998). Thus I see the possibility in this thesis of critically using and adapting postmodernist and post-structuralist ideas located in this emerging tendency in education and applied linguistics.

For Usher and Edwards (1994: 18) post-structuralism "is perhaps best understood as a way of thinking, a theoretical position or a mode of analysis" which is "part of a movement of resistance to any form of totalisation and closure". Its very name suggests some form of posterior reaction or development of structuralism and indeed there appears to be in post-structuralism a concomitant development and critique of structuralism (Sarup 1993: 1-3; Sim 1998a: 341; Sim 1998c: 4; Gutting 2000a: 701) with a range "of reactions to structuralism, primarily by philosophers such as Derrida, Foucault, Deleuze and Lyotard" (Gutting 2000b: 701-702).

It is useful then to briefly look at this relationship between post-structuralism and structuralism in order to identify the nature of post-structuralism. It is also important because one of the major critiques of mainstream applied linguistics is that it is structuralist (see chapter 3.5.1). Structuralism held sway from the 1950s to 1970s as a major force in French thinking (Sim 1998a: 341) with its roots in Ferdinand de Saussure's linguistics (Culler 1986), which, in its influence in the anthropology of Lévi-Strauss, the psychoanalysis of Lacan, and the literary theory of Barthes, was hoped to "provide the framework for rigorous accounts in all areas of the human sciences" (Gutting 2000a: 701). Structuralism's main principles were that behind all human phenomena there were deep structures which dictated how these phenomena developed (Sim 1998a: 341-342). The social world is then an organisation of interlocking systems with each system having its own grammar of operation that operate in similar ways and thus making the systems open to structuralist analysis (ibid). Analysis is then the process of classification where all systems can be mapped and where the world is completely knowable through this analysis (ibid). In structuralism, the system is absolute; there is no grounding in subjectivity (Gutting 2000a: 701).

> The core of structuralism was the treatment of distinctively human domains as formal
> structures in which meanings were constituted not by conscious subjects but by relations
> among the elements of a formal system.
>
> (Gutting 2000b: 701)

Williams (1999: 61) points out that Lévi-Strauss and Lacan "present a position in which the mind enters the social worlds constructed from structural codes which are claimed to define society". There is then the key idea that language constitutes a system (ibid: 33).

Sarup (1993: 1-3) identifies four critiques that structuralism and post-structuralism both engage in, revealing their commonalties: they both share a critique of the Cartesian human subject; a critique of historicism arguing that there is no overall pattern to history and progress; a critique of meaning arguing that the signifier-signified relationship is arbitrary; and a critique of philosophy. The differences emerge in post-structuralism's critique of structuralism's critiques. For structuralism, truth exists behind or within texts while in post-structuralism (particularly in Derrida) the truth is not within or behind the text but comes from the interaction of reader and text (ibid.: 3). Whilst there is agreement in both on the arbitrary nature of the signifier in the sign, in post-structuralism the signifier-signified relationship is not considered stable, there is no logocentricity (ibid.). This instability means that the possibility of precise definitions on which systems of knowledge must be based are problematised and, in Derrida's deconstruction, the definitions of fundamental concepts are undermined by the very effort to formulate and employ them (Sim 1998a: 341-342). Thus post-structuralists believe that structuralism is too neat and oppressive with little room for human agency in a model where structure appears to determine human behaviour and theories determine how systems have to operate (Sim 1998a: 341-342). Conversely, post-structuralism considers the workings of chance in the social world. Within this post-structuralist critique, the assumption that systems are self-sufficient structures is challenged (Gutting 2000a: 701); the social cannot be understood without taking into account non-structural causal factors such as power and desire (Gutting 2000b: 702). Post-structuralism questions structuralist certainties where the world is intrinsically knowable through structuralism's methodology (Sim 1998c: 4). The final fundamental difference between them is in the conception of the subject. Whilst structuralism unsurprisingly sees structure as overriding agency, its understanding of the subject is still rooted in the humanist Cartesian unitary subject that post-structuralism rejects (Sarup 1993: 3; Williams 1999: 63).

When trying to establish epistemological boundaries between sets of ideas, there can be a tendency for reductionism and essentialism. Structuralism and post-structuralism involves a range of thinkers with a range of ideas that do not always create easy divisions. Certainly if one uses a close-up lens, there is revealed a range of notions of the unitary subject which were not in itself unitary, with Lacan obviously veering towards a more post-structuralist decentred subject (Usher & Edwards 1994: 73); Lacan was indeed a kind of epistemological bridge between structuralism and post-structuralism (Sim 1998a: 300). Yet if one uses a wide-angle lens one can see that while post-structuralism could not have existed without structuralism, post-structuralism's critique of the structuralism results in it being placed with postmodernism with structuralism seated in the modern.

I now wish to explore what postmodernism is, aware that while post-structuralism is often merged with postmodernism, there are differences between them (Rosenau 1992: 3; Usher & Edwards 1994: 17). A definition of postmodernism is not something that can be easily distilled in a concise way and such an attempt anyhow would in fact be the antithesis of what postmodernism seeks to do, i.e. critique such totalising practices of modernism as creating single, unified definitions (Usher & Edwards 1994: 7); defining post-modernism then would be a modernist act (Kumar 1995: 104). It is difficult to define (Sim 1998b: vii) because its meanings shift dependent on the context in which they are used (Ermath 2000: 699-700). Usher and Edwards (1994: 7) see it, with the seemingly analogous postmodernity and postmodern, as a "loose umbrella term under whose broad cover can be encompassed at one and the same time a condition, a set of practices, a cultural discourse, an attitude and a mode of analysis." One should also be aware that such an umbrella term, rather like post-structuralism, tends to be imposed from the outside onto a range theorists and theories. It is interesting to note, for example, that Foucault in interview did not associate himself as either postmodern or post-structuralist (Raulet 2000: 447-448). While Bradbury (1999: 675) thinks that it is "best seen as a complex map of late-20th-century cultural expressions, social directions, fantasies and anxieties, rather than as a clear-cut aesthetic or philosophical ideology," Kumar (1995: 66-67) attempts to draw some central themes to this seemingly heterogeneous phenomenon arguing that post-modernism and post-modernity can be read either as something after modernity and modernism or as a critique of modernity and modernism. Some theorists see postmodernism more as a mood or attitude of mind (Sim 1998b: vii). Indeed Foucault (2000a) sees postmodernism and modernism as oppositional attitudes that can be present in any epoch; thus "rather than seeking to distinguish the "modern era" from the "pre-modern" or "postmodern," I think it would be more useful to try to find out how the attitude of modernity, ever since its formation, has found itself struggling with attitudes of "countermodernity" (ibid: 309).

Postmodernism is then a wide ranging cultural phenomenon that does not just include intellectual inquiry in the humanities and social sciences but includes the arts, literature and architecture (cf. Sim 1998; Bradbury 1999: 673-675). In discussing postmodernism a whole panoply of terms emerge which have at their root *modern*. *Modernity* is a historical epoch with its origins in the Enlightenment marking the start of economic and social disruptions that founded industrial capitalism and the nation state (Usher & Edwards 1994:8 citing Featherstone 1991; Spencer 1998: 158) while *Modernism* is the heterogeneous cultural movement that for some promotes, for some criticises, modernity (Spencer 1998: 158-159). *Postmodernity* is the cultural situation now in the wake of modernity's collapse (Sim 1998a: 340); it is something after modernity; or has replaced it; a new social totality; a post-industrial society (Usher & Edwards 1994:8 citing Featherstone 1991). There seems to be here a similarity between *postmodernity* and *postmodern*: a cluster of features which characterise contemporary culture as expressed in for example consumption (Watson 1998: 54-55). Yet this is a contested territory as Marshall (1996: 181) notes describing postmodern

as an epoch is itself a modernist act. Whether postmodernity or postmodern, *postmodernism* represents the diverse range of responses to these times we live in (Spencer 1998: 159).

The response then from intellectuals in the humanities and the social sciences could be best summarised as a sceptical stance towards the principles and assumptions that have achieved the status of truth within the Western modernist project (Sim 1998: 339-340; Usher et al 1997: 5-9; Ermarth 2000: 699-700); a scepticism toward received authority (Sim 1998c: 4). As Lyotard (1984: xxiv) puts it, "Simplifying to the extreme, I define *postmodern* as incredulity toward metanarratives." These metanarratives are then the stories which purport to justify certain practices or institutions by grounding them upon a set of transcendental, ahistorical, or universal principles (Marshall 1996: 183).

> In a general sense, postmodernism is to be regarded as a rejection of many, if not most, of the cultural certainties on which life in the West has been structured over the last couple of centuries. It has called into question our commitment to cultural 'progress' (that economies must continue to grow, the quality of life to keep improving indefinitely, etc.), as well as the political systems that have underpinned this belief. Postmodernists often refer to the 'Enlightenment project', meaning the liberal humanist ideology that has come to dominate Western culture since the eighteenth century; an ideology that has striven to bring about the emancipation of mankind from economic want and political oppression. In the view of postmodernists this project, laudable though it may have been at one time, has in its turn come to oppress humankind and to force it into set ways of thought and action. It is therefore to be resisted, and postmodernists are invariably critical of universalizing theories ('grand narratives' or 'metanarratives' as they have been dubbed by the philosopher Jean-François Lyotard), as well as being anti-authoritarian in their outlook. To move from the modern to the postmodern is to embrace scepticism about what our culture stands for and strives for…
>
> (Sim 1998b: vii)

Taking a broader perspective, such scepticism can be seen as part of a longer running philosophical tradition of scepticism (Sim 1998a: 340); a form of scepticism about authority, received wisdom, cultural and political norms that dates back to classical Greek philosophy (Sim 1998c: 3).

There seems to be a tension between interpretations of postmodernism which see it as either progressive or some form of fatalistic pessimism. Spencer (1998: 158) sees postmodernism as a variant of modernism "which has given up hope of freeing itself from the ravages of modernity or of mastering the forces unleashed by modernity." Yet others are more optimistic:

Postmodernism is a culture and politics of transgression. It is a challenge to the boundaries in which modernism has developed its discourses of mastery, totalization, representation, subjectivity, and history. Whereas modernism builds its dream of social engineering on the foundations of universal reason and the unified subject, postmodernism questions the very notion of meaning and representation. Postmodernism not only opens up a new political front within discourse and representation. It also criticizes the notion of the unified subject as a Eurocentric construct designed to provide white, male, Christian bosses and workers with a legitimating ideology for colonizing and marginalizing those Others who do not measure up to the standards of an "I" or "We" wielding power from the center of the world.

(Giroux 1992: 118-119)

Thus this reflexive dislike of authority (Sim 1998c: 4) can result in a society that is better.

To understand more fully the nature of postmodernism, it is necessary to analyse in more detail its critiques of certain assumptions of modernism; assumptions that are implicit in the dominant discourse (see chapter 3): firstly, metanarratives of the inevitability of human progress and betterment (Usher & Edwards 1994: 9 citing Couzens Hoy 1988; Sim 1998a: 339). Modernism's tendency to being forward looking, which assumes that our present civilisation is superior to that of past with its knowledge and sophistication of techniques, is put into question (Sim 1998a: 339). Postmodernism subverts the periodisation that 'modern' suggests (Usher & Edwards 1994: 9 citing Couzens Hoy 1988).

Secondly, the power of reason is questioned (Sim 1998a: 339). Postmodernism subverts the modern faith in rationality and science (Usher & Edwards 1994: 9 citing Couzens Hoy 1988). There is "a questioning of the modernist belief in a legitimate and hence legitimating centre upon which beliefs and actions can be grounded" (Usher & Edwards 1994:10). The way that modernism creates knowledge in terms of universals is thus put in question: e.g. global universal human destiny and collective human goals (Giroux 1992: 120 citing Bauman 1988-1989: 12). This then extends to the universal truths that modernism propagates about humans.

Within this perspective, all claims to universal reason and impartial competence are rejected in favor of the partiality and specificity of discourse. Abstractions that deny the specificity and particularity of everyday life, that generalize out of existence the particular and the local, and that smother difference under the banner of universalizing categories are rejected as totalitarian and terroristic.

(Giroux 1992: 120)

Postmodernism "rejects European tradition as the exclusive referent for judging what constitutes historical, cultural, and political truth" (Giroux 1992: 122). In such a world "There is no tradition or story that can speak with authority and certainty for all humanity" (Giroux 1992: 122). Thus even modernist intellectuals who claim to be emancipatory are criticised for placing themselves above history (Giroux 1992: 120). Modernist intellectuals by basing their theories on universals inevitably leads to the those who do not fit these 'universals' as being placed as the 'other'.

> The claim of postmodernists that raises the most significant issues is that Western
> modernity's fundamental moral and political concepts function in such a way as to
> marginalize, denigrate and discipline 'others'; that is, categories of people who in some way
> are found not to measure up to prevailing criteria of rationality, normality and responsibility,
> and so on.
>
> (White 2000: 700)

There is then no common denominator, in 'nature' or 'truth' or 'God' or 'the future', that guarantees the oneness of the world or the possibility of neutral or objective thought (Ermath 2000: 699-700). There is a questioning of this foundational knowledge (Sim 1998c: 4).

> Postmodernism rejects the modernist discourse on history that views it as uniform,
> chronological, and teleological. In contrast, postmodernism argues for a view of history that
> is decentered, discontinuous, fragmented, and plural.
>
> (Giroux 1992: 122)

Thirdly, the centred subject of modernism is decentred. Postmodernism rejects aspects of Enlightenment and Western philosophical tradition that rely on master narratives of the transcendental subject; of essential human nature (Giroux 1992: 120 citing Bauman 1988-1989: 12). Postmodernism "challenges the liberal, humanist notion of the unified, rational subject as the bearer of history." (Giroux 1992: 123).

> in postmodernity, the decentring of knowledge is paralleled by the decentring of the subject.
> The unified subject of modern humanism as an assumed grounding for identity and action is
> reconceived as a multiple subjectivity constituted (and reconstituted) through the acquisition
> of multiple meanings.
>
> (Usher & Edwards 1994:12)

> In this instance, the subject is neither unified nor can such a subject's action be guaranteed in
> metaphysical or trans-historical terms. Postmodernism not only views the subject as
> contradictory and multilayered, it also rejects the notions that individual consciousness and

reason are the most important determinants in shaping human history. It posits instead a faith in forms of social transformation that are attentive to the historical, structural and ideological limits that shape the possibility for self-reflection and action.

(Giroux 1992: 123).

The originality of thought and artistic expression (where originality is the highest state of artistic endeavour) is consequently put in question (Sim 1998a: 339).

Fourthly, in modernism meaning is a clear representational relationship between referent and the sign (signifier and signified). Postmodernism problematises this by questioning the notion of representation: the relationship between sign and reality and arguing that the signifier is not attached to a fixed signified; therefore the sign becomes the signifier becoming its own reality (Usher & Edwards 1994:14). There is an assumption in postmodernism that all human systems operate like languages, "being self-reflexive rather than referential systems – systems of differential function which are powerful and finite, and which construct and maintain meaning and value" (Ermath 2000: 699-700). There are then "no fixed referents or traditional anchoring points" but complexity, a myriad of meanings to be celebrated (Usher & Edwards 1994: 10).

In considering the relationship between postmodernism and post-structuralism it is rather akin to the problem of what came first, the chicken or the egg. I combine post-structuralism and postmodernism into one term, postmodernism, because the two terms can be conveniently combined into one without losing the range of meanings that they possess. I accept that there are differences in meaning between them (Usher & Edwards 1994: 17-18; Williams 1999: 11). However, the two concepts intertwine and interrelate to such a degree that for the sake of convenience it is easier to use one term to cover both concepts. Certainly the literature does not provide a clear answer to what the relationship, similarities and differences between the two terms is. Sim (1998a: 341) views postmodernism (with deconstruction and feminism) as post-structuralist because it challenges the assumption of what structuralism is based on and yet in another text. Sim (1998c: 3-4) also argues that what falls under the heading of postmodern philosophy is not just thinkers such as Lyotard but various discourses such as deconstruction that go under the term post-structuralism

Poststructuralism's rejection of the structuralist tradition of thought constitutes yet another gesture of scepticism towards received authority, and can be considered as part of the postmodern intellectual landscape.

(Sim 1998c: 4)

Whilst Usher and Edwards (1994) accept that there are differences between post-structuralism and postmodernism, they use such theorists as Lacan, Derrida and Foucault for chapters in a text that is entitled *Postmodernism and Education*. Indeed Foucault's and Derrida's works are sometimes defined as poststructuralist (Gutting 2000b: 701-702; Sarup 1993), yet it is discussed within other texts that are ostensibly dealing with postmodernism (e.g. Kumar 1995; Smith & Wexler 1995; Sim 1998a). It appears that postmodernism has drawn on the ideas and personnel of post-structuralism to such an extent that theorists such as Foucault, Derrida and Lacan are considered key influences. As Kumar (1995: 129) states "From the very beginning, since the 1960s, the poststructuralists have been linked with theories of post-modernism and post-modernity" and post-structuralism "shares much in common with postmodernism, for example in their common emphasis on the constitutive effects of language and discourse and the consequent 'decentring' of the modernist subject" (Usher & Edwards 1994: 18). It would be helpful to consider post-structuralism as a philosophical tendency deriving primarily from the French academy that has contributed as well as shared ideas and personnel with the academic phenomena of postmodernism. However, it must also be taken into account that postmodernism is not just an academic movement but a wider cultural condition that manifests itself in such sites as the arts, media, economy and social structure.

I then locate this thesis within the academic work and tendencies that fit into postmodernism. However, this is not just an analytical tool that I have chosen out of a whim or because it suits my intellectual tastes. It is more than a means of analysis because it helps to state where I position the dominant discourse. The dominant discourse is very much in the modern and influenced by structuralism (see chapter 3).The criticisms of modernism and structuralism here form the basis of the overall critique of this thesis.

2.3 Deconstruction

In this thesis I deconstruct the teachers' localised discourse and the profession's dominant discourse in terms of how they construct pedagogy and professionalism. It is therefore necessary to outline what I mean by deconstruction. Deconstruction could be described as the analytical method of postmodernism but for the fact that its proponents deny that it is a method (McQuillan 2000: 3) preferring to see it "as a tactical exercise designed to demonstrate the instability of language and the shaky foundations on which most of our theories rest" (Sim 1999: 71). The concept originates in the work of Jacques Derrida (Derrida 1976; Kamuf 1991) whose aim is to philosophically critique texts not as instance of the errors and inconsistencies of their authors but to treat an author's work "as an example or symptom of a way of thinking more pervasive and more persistent than any one individual thinker, a kind of metaphysical field of force that would enclose and shape – constrain – our apprehension and conceptualisation of the world" (Johnson 1997: 51-52). The aim is then to uncover "the conceptual and argumentative reflexes, the sequences and associations of ideas which precede and condition the thinking of these authors, and which operate as a kind of unconscious that speaks *through* them and almost in spite of them" (Johnson 1997 ibid: 52-53). In his writing Derrida creates a critical dialogue with a text where the "immanent contradictions" of a text

emerge as "symptoms of a more general configuration or structure" (Johnson 1997 ibid: 53). This concern with critiquing a general configuration and structure "that calls our unexamined assumptions into question" (Sim 1999: 31-32) in order to "rethink the conceptual and non-conceptual foundations of the Western tradition from the ground up" (McQuillan 2000: 8) is the point where deconstruction demonstrates its relationship to postmodernism.[5]

> Rather than attempting to find a true meaning, a consistent point of view or unified message in a given work, a deconstructive reading *carefully teases out,* to use Barbara Johnson's words, 'the warring forces of signification' at play and waiting to be read in what might be called the textual unconscious. As a mode of reading then, which exposes a text's internal differences and attends to its repressed contradictions or inherent vulnerabilities, its strategy is also interventionist, and as such, despite many a claim to the contrary, deconstruction is political. This is not only because of the ways in which a deconstructive reading can turn a text's logic against itself by showing how the logic of its language can differ from and play against the logic of its author's stated claims, but also because deconstructors tend to seize on the inconsistencies, inequalities, or hierarchies which are expounded or glossed over either by a text, by a whole discourse, or even by an entire system of beliefs.
>
> (Sim 1998: 221-222)

The expansion of deconstruction into many academic and non-academic fields may have meant that the concept has been essentialised and inappropriately used (Norris 1991: 136-138), but nevertheless I attempt here to deconstruct the dominant and localised discourses. A deconstruction which finds in the *text* of the practice and construction of a pedagogy and profession, tensions, conflicts and contradictions that finally can be attributable to wider tendencies in late-modern society (see chapters 3.4.1.1 & 7.2.3).

2.4 Profession, Professional and Professionalism

The concept of profession has two roles in this thesis. Firstly, it is used as a means of describing the occupation of TESOL and its concomitant *discourse* and *culture*. Secondly, professionalism is a key issue in this thesis in terms of TESOL being a low-status profession; a status which is aided by its pedagogy and discourse. It is therefore necessary to define profession as well as its derivative terms professional and professionalism and explain how they all fit into a wider understanding of occupations in late modern society. Whilst it has been argued that the notion of a more professionalised society is a statistical sleight of hand (Kumar 1995: 25), there seems to be a common notion amongst scholars that professionalization has

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[5] There are more specific elements to Derrida's deconstruction concerning language and meaning (Norris 1991: 46-48; Johnson 1997: 53-55; Sim 1999: 30-38) which I do not deal with here as they are not directly concerned with the form of deconstruction that I pursue.

been a notable historical process of modern society (Perkin 1989; Porter 1999: 689). The nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw the emergence of a professional society with occupations developing into professions where the defining characteristics of a profession was (and is) trained expertise and the service that training can provide (Perkin 1989: 359) which is "enhanced by strategies of closure, that is, exclusion of the unqualified" (ibid.: 2). Exclusion then provides the material advantages that derive from being providers of a service that only a minority can provide; put simply they can demand higher payment for these services. Obviously to do so they must persuade others of their expertise, even if the clients do not understand their expertise, in order that they pay high price for the service (Perkin 1989: 116). This client does not necessarily have to be an individual but could be the whole community for some professions (ibid.: 117). Professions then defend themselves and their privileges through closure.

> The device was closure, the restriction of access to the profession by means of expensive or selective training, education and qualification, better still by the grant of a state monopoly of the service. That is why, in an increasingly specialized society, the expanding service occupations so avidly sought professional organization and control of the market for their services. The vast expansion of the qualifying associations since 1800 was an attempt to consolidate the financial and psychic rewards accruing from the monopoly of certain kinds of human capital.
>
> (Perkin 1989: 439)

In the present-day context, a profession can be defined in terms of its traits, i.e. you are a professional if you match these traits (Malin 2000: 12-13). Using this approach to describing a profession, a profession has these common traits: control over entry into the profession usually by credentialism; a body of knowledge and skills that is recognised and highly regarded by the broader society; a commitment to service; representation by powerful institutions; and autonomy in terms of establishing and evaluating acceptable practices (Friedson 1994). A profession is sustained in part by an ideology of expertise and services. Professions can be divided into two types: firstly, *status* professions (which in the European tradition was medicine, law and clergy) are limited in number with institutional and ideological traits in common producing distinctive occupational identities and exclusionary market niches (Brown & McCartney 2000: 179-182 citing Eliot 1972). This contrasts with the second type, *occupational* professions, which are broad stratum of relatively prestigious and varied occupations identified by having some higher education. I would argue that TESOL fits into this latter category. However, as Malin (2000: 13 citing Hugman 1991: 104) notes, some caring professions are considered semi-professional because they appear to lack the discrete areas of knowledge being more practice-based. To have professional status, an occupation needs control over a particular area of knowledge. In terms of TESOL's development whether, like some caring professions, it is a semi-profession will be dealt with in chapter 3.2.

What is clear so far is that a profession is an occupation that has expertise via training and provides a service that is prestigious and 'clients' are willing to pay for. However, it is important also to understand what it means for individuals to be labelled professional. A professional person has a formal higher education, special knowledge and skills that relates to their profession but more interestingly a professional person can have a career in their occupation retaining the identity of the profession, as well as using the same knowledge and skills, in whatever context they work (Brown & McCartney 2000: 179-182). More precisely, Friedson (1988) argues that there are three types of members within a profession: practitioners, administrators and teacher-researchers. Each type holds different views on the use and interpretation of the profession's knowledge which leads to different views on good and appropriate practice (Eadie 2000: 169 citing Howe 1991). The teacher-researcher is concerned with rigour and consistency of performance; the administrator with consistency, regularity and standardisation; and the practitioner aware of both the above uses their knowledge and skills for a given situation. At the heart of this is the issue of where power lies in the above three. Within TESOL, I argue that power lies with the administrators (see chapter 3.1.2).

Overriding the concept of profession and professional is the notion of professionalism: the claim that a person's work has the quality of being professional. Brown & McCartney (2000: 179-182) argue that the notion of professionalism is a commitment to a particular body of knowledge and skill for its own sake and for the use to which it is put. In order to do work well and behave in a professional manner, a professional person must have nominal freedom to exercise discretionary judgement. For Friedson (1994), professionalism is the ideology and set of institutions by which a profession is organised where the course of training required for learning how to do an esoteric and complex work tends to create a commitment to practising body of knowledge and skill that means the professional's work becomes a central life interest and commitment.

I will now look at how work on professions links more directly to postmodernism. Whilst providing a framework with which to understand the phenomena of professions, the trait approach does not provide a critical understanding of the formation of professions. According to Fournier (2000: 69), the formation of a profession from an occupational group takes place through the constitution of a field of expertise: a legitimate area of knowledge of, and intervention in, the world. There is an appropriation of a field of expertise as its exclusive area of jurisdiction and expertise. One can use the metaphor of boundary setting whereby occupations claim sovereign control over an area of knowledge (ibid.). This process of legitimising a field of knowledge so it becomes 'natural' draws on the work of Foucault (ibid.: 70-71). In fact, Friedson also draws on Foucault's ideas. While he does not use a Foucauldian approach, Friedson (1988: 6, 9, 13; 1994: 7, 31) argues that Foucault's ideas can be linked to and used in work on professionalism. In Fournier's (2000: 72) analysis, the knowledge of observed 'objects' is not 'out there' to be discovered but is constituted in the knowledge-making practices. Professions then create specialisation and autonomy via boundary construction which leads to an incommensurability of specialisation between

professions. These boundaries are naturalised, ordered and stabilised (ibid.: 73) but are of course social constructions which serve the purposes of the profession.

If professionalization has so far been described as a form of linear growth which certain occupations undergo, it should also be recognised that there can be a process of deprofessionalisation whereby work that was once considered professional becomes considered an occupation. Malin (2000: 17) argues that in for example health care there is deprofessionalisation because of the non-comparability of qualifications and the perception within the health sector that the non-qualified can do care tasks. Fournier (2000) locates the issue of deprofessionalisation to wider structural changes in terms of the imposition of market liberalism on the professions which challenges their legitimacy and foundations, eroding the divisions central to the establishment of professions. She (ibid: 67) notes examples of this in multi-functional teams and flexibility; the taking on of more managerial roles or the constituting of themselves as entrepreneurs; and (with particular reference to health care) patients/clients becoming customers. Within this is an image of declining respect, prospects and status. There are three core themes: the extension of domains governed by the market (e.g. education); the 'reification' of 'sovereign consumer' displacing patient, client or student; and a discourse of market: integration and flexibility not professional monopoly and division (ibid: 78). Fournier (ibid: 80) also notes a dismantling of the boundary between professionals and clients/lay persons where the 'sovereign consumer' (ibid: citing du Gay 1992) questions the authority of the professions and cost of services, shops for alternatives in and outside of the profession leading to professionals to be on the market selling services and the diffusion of professional knowledge weakening boundaries.

TESOL meets the many of the criteria of an occupational profession (see chapter 3.2), but as will be discussed in chapter 3.2 and developed throughout the thesis, TESOL in the BANA sector is a low-status profession that suffers from the problems that Malin and Fournier note above. Its low status is intrinsically linked to its pedagogy as a body of knowledge and to how the dominant discourse constructs TESOL as an 'industry'.

2.5 Culture

This section develops an operational concept of *culture*: a concept that was used as a means to study and analyse the group of teachers. This discussion has two purposes: it establishes a concept of culture commensurate with a postmodern critical applied linguistics study, and at the same time provides a critique of how culture tends to be defined in mainstream applied linguistics; a definition which is found in the dominant discourse. The concept of culture is deeply embedded in the professional discourse and in the research done in applied linguistics and TESOL (c.f. Bentahila & Davies 1989; Harrison 1990; Alptekin 1993; Kramsch 1993; Scovel 1994; Atkinson 1999; Hinkel 1999; Holliday 1999; Victor 1999). I will explore how it has been used as a counterbalancing concept to language, where language is seen as a

cohesive national or international 'object' that has a parallel cohesive 'object' in culture. I will then explore how critical work within applied linguistics have questioned this model drawing on works in social anthropology to develop a less essentialist and deterministic model of culture. For this thesis, I use Holliday's (1999) concept of *small culture* as a basis to develop the concept of a *professional culture*.

Defining the group of teachers who were studied as a locally-contextualized small culture was a conceptual, analytical and descriptive device which helped to frame or set parameters for the ethnographic investigation. The findings suggest that this culture shared commonalities with a wider professional culture (see chapter 3.3.2) in terms of norms of professional behaviour expressed in a localised discourse that reproduced the dominant discourse of this wider professional culture. Yet, the findings also suggested localised idiosyncrasies that meant that this was not a complete reproduction, particularly in terms of their resistance to the dominant discourse (see chapter 7.2.4).

2.5.1 Culture and Applied Linguistics

Culture is a means of investigating and describing groups of human beings that can in some way be described as cohesive. As an analytical concept, culture originated in the 19th century and is associated with colonialism as a way of analysing the 'other'; the colonised and therefore giving intellectual support for economic, political, military power (Vidich & Lyman 1994: 26-27; Duranti 1997: 23). Despite its rather disreputable past it still remains a powerful analytical tool.

> Whatever problems earlier concepts of culture might have had, they are small compared with the danger of avoiding defining the concept that can help us understand similarities and differences in the ways in which people around the world constitute themselves in aggregates of various sorts.
>
> (Duranti 1997: 23)

The concept of culture as a means to understanding human behaviour derives from the social sciences, particularly anthropology. In the anthropological view culture is "the acquired knowledge people use to interpret experience and generate behaviour" which comprises of cultural artefacts; cultural knowledge; and cultural behaviour (Spradley 1980: 6). Culture is the basic unit of anthropology which can be used to analyse any group of people who learn to exhibit characteristic behaviour whether, for example, tribe, nation, work group or sports team (Beals *et al* 1967: 25).

Culture is a contested territory within the academy; both in anthropology (Duranti 1997: 23-50; Faubion 2001) and, more importantly for this discussion, within applied linguistics where the essentialist and reified notions of culture in mainstream applied linguistics has been critiqued (Sarangi & Roberts 1993; Sarangi 1994; Sarangi 1995; Atkinson 1999; Holliday 1999; Hyde 2002). Applied linguistics has generated a great

deal of literature that is concerned with culture: in the relationship between culture and language (e.g. Taylor & Tingguang 1991; Kramsch 1998); in how culture should be implemented in foreign and second language teaching (e.g. Bentahila & Davies 1989; Scovel 1994; Kramsch et al 1996; Valdes 1986a; Hinkel 1999; Zaid 1999); in the area of intercultural communication (e.g. Jandt 2001; Dirven & Pütz 1993; Scollon & Scollon 2001; Roberts 1998); and finally as an analytical tool in research into international English language education (e.g. Krasnick 1988; Harrison 1990; Richards, Tung & Ng 1992; Holliday 1994a; Holliday 1994b; Holliday 1994e; Kubota 1999) – which is how it is used in this thesis.

The interpretation of culture that has been dominant in mainstream applied linguistics is described by Holliday (1999) as *large culture* as compared to his alternative, *small culture*. Large culture is used to describe ethic, national or regional communities while small culture relates to the cohesive behaviour in activities within any social grouping with no necessary subordination to or containment within large cultures. In large culture analysis the researcher looks for essential features of ethnic, national or international groups; one starts from the point that these groups have 'cultures' which are different from other 'cultures' and the researcher looks for these differences. Such a model suffers from essentialism and reductionism.

> In brief evaluation, the essentialist view reduces and otherises. It is the basis of what has come to be known as 'Orientalism', through which 'we' see 'them' as less complex than they really are, and tend to explain all their actions as caused by a simplistic national culture…The essentialist view is thus constructed in similar ways to sexism and racism, attempting to fit the behaviour of people into pre-conceived, constraining structures. It can therefore be said to be *culturist*. As a sexist statement explains a woman's behaviour solely and reductively in terms of her femaleness, a culturist statement explains a Japanese person's behaviour solely and reductively in terms of her 'Japanese culture'.
>
> (Holliday 2001c: 47)

In fact, students were constructed by the teachers in this study in exactly this way (see chapter 6.5.1). Applied linguistics' interest in culture derives from the assertion that there is a relationship between language and culture. Holliday (1999; 2001c) argues that applied linguistics has been dominated in its research and practices within TESOL by the large culture model which has led to reductionist and essentialist work. This is due partly to the work of Robert Kaplan (1966; 1972; 1987)[6] on contrastive rhetoric which explored the differences in writing styles between people from different national and regional cultures. His central hypothesis, which was the starting point for much of the further work done in

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[6] Lecki (1991) provides an overview of the repercussions of contrastive rhetoric to the teaching of writing in ESOL.

this field, was that discourse or rhetorical structures in texts vary with different languages (Taylor & Tingguang 1991; McKay 1996: 435; Wood 2001; Hamp-Lyons & Wenxia-Zhang 2001). Kaplan uses the term 'culturo-linguistic system' which "implies a fixed, if not wholly isomorphic, relation between language and culture bound into a single structural 'system'" (Kaplan 1978: 69 cited in Taylor & Tingguang 1991: 320). Kaplan's hypothesis has its theoretical basis in the Saphir-Whorf hypothesis in which it was "argued that if a language encodes a particular experience of the world, its use might predispose its speakers to see the world according to the experience encoded in it." (Duranti 1997: 56). From this is developed the notion of linguistic relativity where "users of markedly different grammars are pointed by the grammars toward different types of observations and different evaluations of extremely similar acts of observation, and hence are not equivalent as observers but must arrive at somewhat different views of the world" (Whorf 1956: 221 cited in Duranti 1997: 60). The two hypotheses share a belief which sees a direct relationship between language and culture; i.e. a language defines the culture of its users.

Pennycook (1998: 161; 2001) associates Kaplan's work as being in the Western tradition of Orientalist discourse that places the non-native speaker as the Other. This discourse then provides an essentialist and reductive means of understanding the Other. Thus contrastive rhetoric develops broad generalisations about language-culture which become naturalised and fixed constructs that can be used for interpretation of texts and behaviour; they act as easy explanations of difference.

> …this view of cultural *fixity* is part of a long history of colonial othering that has rendered the cultures of others fixed, traditional, exotic, and strange, whereas the cultures of English (America, Europe) are unexplored givens or moving, modern, and normal. Possibly the locus classicus of this work remains the cultural thought patterns dreamed up by Robert Kaplan (1966) in which "Oriental" students thought in spirals and Westerners in a straight line.
>
> (Pennycook 2001: 145)

Another important dimension in this development of Western applied linguistics is its tendency to view a language as the singular standard code of a nation-state (Milroy & Milroy 1999; Phillipson 1992a: 40-41; Pennycook 1994a: 117-118). Consequently, there is an assumption that language and culture are related phenomena and that each language-culture is a homogenous product of a group of people who are defined by the nation-state which they belong to. Such reductive reasoning can lead to over-generalisations that perpetuate stereotypes and otherisation. The complex mêlée of sociocultural and political factors means that a national-language-equals-a-national-culture hypothesis has become highly questionable.

2.5.2 Small Cultures

I chose to adopt Holliday's model of small culture as a means with which to analyse and describe the behaviour of the participants because it is the most suitable concept to use in an ethnographic study which

entails the interpretation of emergent behaviour of a culture (Holliday 1994a).[7] The large culture view tends to be associated with positivist research while small culture with interpretative research, which is in a process of struggling for recognition within mainstream applied linguistics even though it is a common methodological device in sociology to enable ethnography (Holliday 2001c: 46). A small culture is "the composite of cohesive behaviour within any social grouping" (Holliday 1999: 247) which:

> …allows for a more flexible idea of 'culture', in which the social world is made up of a seamless mélange of human groupings, any of which (families, classrooms, teachers, students, schools, drinks queues) may be characterised and understood as *small cultures*.
>
> (Holliday 2001c:46)

Thus when ethnographers study a cohesive group of people, "they *treat it as* a culture" (Holliday 2001c: 46). A small culture is not a sub-culture, i.e. part of a large culture. Indeed small cultures can go across large cultures, for example classrooms exist across the world and share many similar features (Holliday 1999) (see table 2-1). Small cultures are non-essentialist because the purpose of analysis is not to look for essential features of an ethnic, national or international group, and they are not subordinate to any of these types of 'cultures'. In a small culture study, the researcher "is careful not to allow pre-conceptions about national culture characteristics to constrain the investigation" (Holliday 2001c: 47).

> The non-essentialist view of culture therefore allows social behaviour to speak for itself. It provides the *resource* of an overall understanding of how culture per se works, which provides a framework for analysis of behaviour; but it does not impose pre-definitions of the essential characteristics of specific national cultures. It thus avoids culturism by prohibiting reductive statements such as 'Japanese students behave like this because this is how the Japanese are'. At the same time it recognises that culture is used by people as their own *resource* for self presentation.
>
> (Holliday 2001c: 48)

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[7] There are certain similarities in this concept of culture and the concept of *discourse community* used in applied linguistics (cf. Swales 1990: 24-27; Kramsch 1998: 10 & 127).

	Small Cultures	Large Cultures
Character	**non-essentialist, non-culturist**	**essentialist, culturist**
	relating to cohesive behaviour in activities within any social grouping	'culture' as essential features of ethic national or international group
Relations	no necessary subordination to or containment within large cultures, therefore no onion-skin	small (sub)cultures are contained within and subordinate to large cultures through onion-skin relationship
Research orientation	**interpretive, process**	**prescriptive, normative**
	interpreting emergent behaviour within any social grouping heuristic model to aid the process of researching the cohesive process of any social grouping	beginning with the idea that specific ethnic, national and international groups have different 'cultures' and then searching for the details (e.g. what is polite in Japanese culture)

Table 2-1 Small and Large Cultures (from Holliday 1999: 241)

With such interpretative research any differentiating characteristics between groups are discovered and not presumed by the researcher (Holliday 2002:12). A small culture does not actually exist as an entity but is a heuristic device which defines the parameters of a cohesive group and nothing else.

> [Culture] is rather like 'water', which flows, drips, collects in pools and rivers, can evaporate and freeze. It is more like a molecular state than a political construct. As such, it exists as a social fact in that it is there wherever there are people coming together in groups. Qualitative researchers can nevertheless speak of 'a culture', but only in the sense of *the* specific piece of society they have chosen to draw boundaries around for the sake of their research…
>
> (ibid.)

In fact, large cultures are a reification of small cultures; they are constructed as a means of understanding human behaviour but are then institutionalised into something that exists above human behaviour (Holliday 1999). Culture does not cause behaviour and is not a conscious thing; it is a socially constructed concept. Small cultures are a dynamic, ongoing group process.

A small-culture perspective allows a means of investigating and interpreting the complexity of behaviour that people generate. The small-culture perspective is very flexible in what it can describe as a culture.

However, what is important to understand is that cultures are not separate distinct entities but are inter-locking and changing. In any one place (such as a classroom or school) a whole range of cultures could be happening at the same time: interacting, co-operating or clashing. An interpretative, small-culture approach by its very opposition to the positivistic scientism of large culture research fits into the paradigm of postmodernism (Holliday 2002: 14-15).

To summarise, the group of TESOL teachers that were studied were conceptualised as a small culture. It was only through the process of analysing their behaviour that it became clear that their behaviour was closely related to the norms of their profession; thus it is possible to describe the group as being not only a localised culture, but part of wider TESOL professional culture. It was also indicated that mainstream applied linguistics tends to construct culture in the *large* form which can essentialise and reduce the *other*; something which the teachers did in the study (see chapter 6.5.1). From this point on, I will refer to the culture as the *(professional) culture* with the understanding that this refers to the concept of *small culture*.

2.6 Discourse

In defining discourse, two areas will be dealt with in this section. Firstly, the concept of discourse is used in this study to describe how the TESOL profession operated as whole at a localised level of the study. Secondly, in the process of defining this concept, I will explore how discourse has been used in applied linguistics. This will help to reveal the modernist epistemology that mainstream applied linguistics operates with.

Discourse is the principal descriptive and analytical tool of the thesis in terms of conceptualising the means by which the culture represented its knowledge, beliefs, attitudes and practices via language and other signifying texts and behaviour. In the process of analysing the teachers as a culture, certain characteristics emerged that revealed their membership of a wider professional culture with a strong professional discourse. This discourse and the way that the participants reproduced it in their own discourse became the most significant and problematic emergent feature of the study. There was in a sense an intertextuality or heteroglossia in the way that they reproduced the wider professional discourse into their own localised discourse, which could be critical of the wider professional discourse (see chapter 7.2.4).[8] Nevertheless, the wider professional discourse dominated the localised one.

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[8] Intertextuality has come to mean the way a text contains within it references to, or elements of, prior texts (cf. Fairclough 1995: 13-14; Mills 1997: 153-155; Usher, Bryant & Johnston 1997: 223; Williams 1999: 190; Titscher et al 2000: 23). Heteroglossia derives form Bakhtin's literary criticism where he argues that a text can contain multiple, often contradictory, voices in dialogue (Bakhtin 1984; Burke 1999). Johnston's (1997) research into the life histories of ESOL teachers applies Bakhtin's heteroglossia to analyse the competing discourses in the teachers' discourse.

This notion of discourse that I use is developed principally from the work of Michel Foucault. In order to define this notion, there needs to be, as with culture, some contextualisation of how the concept has been used in applied linguistics and TESOL because the interpretation I use is not commonly used in the discipline. To do this, I have adapted a tripartite framework of discourse in applied linguistics from Pennycook (1994b) that comprises of *language in use*, *critical discourse analysis* (CDA), and *Foucault/Postmodernism*. I argue that Foucault's conception of discourse is the best way of understanding a professional discourse within a postmodern epistemology. *Language in use* is the model associated with mainstream applied linguistics; CDA is part of the neo-Marxist *emancipatory modernism* position in critical applied linguistics; and *Foucault/Postmodernism* is commensurate with the *problematising practices* position in critical applied linguistics, the position of this thesis (see chapter 1.2.1).

2.6.1 Discourse in Applied Linguistics

Discourse as a term used for describing and analysing social phenomena has not been the unique domain of applied linguistics but has been used in a range of disciplines (Mills 1997: 1; Jaworski and Coupland 1999: 3). As Mills (1997: 1-8) argues, in such work it is often used in an undefined way that suggests that there is one general meaning which is commonly understood, yet in reality there are various interpretations between and within disciplines. Jaworski and Coupland (1999: 1-3) cite ten definitions from the literature which share at their core the concern with how language is operated by its users, i.e. *language in use* but differ when they conceptualise how this *use* is related to wider socio-cultural and political factors, something "*beyond* language in use". Pennycook (1994b) develops this division into a tripartite model of discourses in applied linguistics: what he calls a suprasentential language use model; a CDA model; and a Foucauldian power/knowledge model. I am aware that such a division could be open to the accusations of oversimplification and reductionism of a complex collection of theories and analyses. I accept that each model is not a singular, homogeneous entity but I believe that they can fit into these broad categorisations in that each one shares certain conceptual precepts.

The first model Pennycook (1994b) describes, suprasentential language use, will be referred to by its more commonly used name *language in use* (c.f. Jaworski & Coupland 1999: 3). This is the model that has developed in mainstream applied linguistics and derives from language teaching growing out of a concern amongst academics working in the areas of language education in the 1960s and 1970s to analyse language beyond the level of the sentence in order to arrive at a more complete understanding of language use (Pennycook 1994b: 117). Discourse analysis is then the study of what gives stretches of language coherence and cohesion: i.e. how meanings are constructed between sentences; and meanings created in the relationship between lexico-grammatical forms and their use in context. Thus meaning derives from the relationship between form and function (Pennycook 1994b: 118-119). It is interesting to note that in the

Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics (Richards, Platt & Platt 1992: 111) *language in use* is the *only* definition give for discourse.

The second model, CDA, deals with what Fairclough (1989: 17) calls "language as social practice determined by social structures." CDA sees language use embedded in its contexts based on the understanding of social, cultural and political difference and ideological forces (c.f. Fairclough 1992; Fairclough 1995; Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard 1996; Wodak 1996; Stubbs 1997; Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999). Here meanings are a product of social and cultural relationships and analysis explores how they are realised in language: the choices of what is said and not said (Pennycook 1994b). These variations in discourses express social and economic differences and its CDA's role to expose and remedy such inequities (Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard 1996: xi-xii; Kress 1996: 15). In CDA there is a dialectical relationship between the micro-structures of discourse (linguistic features) and the macro-structures of society where the macro may determine the micro which reproduces the macro (Pennycook 1994b: 123-124).

The third model suggested by Pennycook (1994b), discourse as power/knowledge, is based on the work of Michel Foucault and associated with postmodernism, what I call the Foucault/postmodern model. This model does not derive directly from linguistics nor applied linguistics but has its disciplinary roots in philosophy and psychology (Sheridan 1990). For Foucault, "the term 'discourse' refers not to language or social interaction but to relatively bounded areas of social knowledge" (McHoul & Grace 1993: 31) where power is not seen as monolithic with causal reductions and totalisations but productive with knowledge (Foucault 1991: 27-28), thus "it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together" (Foucault 1998: 100).

> With Plato there began a great Western myth: that there is an antinomy between knowledge and power. If there is knowledge, it must renounce power. Where knowledge and science are found in their pure truth, there can no longer be any political power.
>
> This great myth needs to be dispelled. It is a myth that Nietzsche began to demolish by showing…that, behind all knowledge [savoir], behind all attainment of knowledge [connaissance], what is involved is a struggle for power. Political power is not absent from knowledge, it is woven together with it.
>
> (Foucault 2000: 32)

Foucault investigated how knowledge/power normalise the subject, fields of knowledge, social institutions and practices in society (e.g. Foucault 1970; 1972; 1990; 1991; 1998). Discourses and the knowledge, truths and norms that they produce do not work in a hierarchical social structure but in complex, nebulous

networks. Power/knowledge can be created by all forms of social groupings and as such are able to determine the production and reproduction of 'truths' within these groupings, 'truths' that are manifested in the language and behaviour of these people. Discourses constitute knowledge/power but they are not just ways of thinking and producing meaning for they also constitute subjects. A Foucauldian analysis then could be understood as having three levels "in which the text…is given meaning by discourses…, which in turn derive from a multiplicity of non-discursive practices" (Pennycook 1994b: 130).

Whilst such brief descriptions do not give justice to three highly complex areas of description and analysis, they should provide an initial insight into the three models. It is clear that with CDA's and Foucault's concern with power and structure determining discourse they appear to have something in common, but it is to the next section where these commonalities will be shown to be erroneous and my preference for the Foucault/postmodern model will be made clearer.

2.6.2 Disentangling the Three 'Discourses'

To establish why the Foucault/Postmodernism model is commensurate with this research, and in the process, to develop my postmodern critique of the mainstream applied linguistics voice in the dominant discourse in BANA TESOL, I will now analyse the three models by looking at eight key precepts that help constitute them: epistemology and ontology; language; text; discourse; ideology; power; meaning; analysis. It should be noted that in this discussion that CDA has drawn heavily on Foucault and postmodernism in general for its theory building (Pennycook 1994b: 126; Mills 1997: 148-151; van Dijk 1998: 369; Titscher et al 2000: 144).[9] As I have argued elsewhere, I consider this to be highly problematic because Foucauldian and postmodern theory is theoretically inconsistent to a neo-Marxist epistemology (Anderson 2001).

The epistemological and ontological basis to the theories is the foundation stone that determines the nature of all the other precepts. The language in use model, as an element of mainstream applied linguistics, sits comfortably in the *modern* (Rampton 1995; Pennycook 2001): "the progressive economic and administrative rationalisation and differentiation" (Sarup 1993: 130) in the West where the world is seen to be "governed by natural laws which are capable of discovery through reason" (Williams 1999: 11).

> I will use the term *modern* to designate any science that legitimises itself with reference to the metadiscourse…making an explicit appeal to some grand narrative, such as the dialectics of

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[9] For examples of how Foucault's work is used see: Fairclough (1989: 28); Fairclough (1992: 37-61); Fairclough (1995: 136); Fairclough (1996: 72); Sarangi & Slembrouck (1996: 12); Wodak (1996); Chouliarki & Fairclough (1999: 24, 58-61 & 114-116); McKenna (2000: 132-134). For examples of how post-modern generally is used see: Chouliaraki & Fairclough (1999: 89 & 94).

the Spirit, the hermeneutics of meaning, the emancipation of the rational or working subject,

or the creation of wealth.

(Lyotard 1984: xxiii)

Thus language in use is part of the liberal grand narrative of progress and scientific rationalism which is not tainted by the subjectivity of politics and ideology. Scientific truth objectively produced will create a better society; truths in human sciences that are universal to all people. Within this model the speaker is conceived as a free-willed subject, rational, centred, derived from humanist notions originating in the Enlightenment that "presupposes that man is a free, intelligent agent and that thinking processes are not coerced by historical circumstances" (Sarup 1993: 1). This notion of free-willed subjects making free choices in language use (Williams 1999: 5), and the possibility of objective scientific analysis of such use, is in contrast with Foucault/postmodernism which is fundamentally a critique of such modern assertions. The subject here is de-centred, anti-humanist; humans are made subjects, i.e. 'individual', via discourse, therefore, there is no centred, free-willed subject (McNay 1994: 4-7; Sim 1998: 366-367; Danaher et al 2000: 122-123). Within its epistemology there is no claim to scientific universal truths or universal progress; truth, discursively created, is relative to the socio-cultural and political contexts in which it exists. In his work Foucault was interested in *regimes of truth*; how powerful discourses create truths and the effects of these truths, rather than the question of their veracity (Kenway 1990: 175-176; Usher & Edwards 1994: 86; Foucault 2000d: 237).

CDA is modern. It may not be liberal, being neo-Marxist, but it still subscribes to the same progressive grand narrative of liberalism. CDA's ontology on the surface is rather different because it posits a subject that suffers from false consciousness whose language and thinking is determined by social and ideological forces. However, there is a capacity for a free-willed subject in a just society. Thus fundamentally, being both modernist both share the Enlightenment notion of the free-willed subject. This then is the essential point to consider, CDA and Foucault/postmodernism are epistemologically and ontologically different. The difference reveals itself most significantly in how they consider truth, for in modernism there are universal truths that should be sought while in postmodernism truth is relative to its contexts, and truth for Foucault is relative to the discourses that substantiates each claim to truth. This fundamental difference has repercussions in each precept that follows, it is the root from where the inconsistencies grow.

As discussed in 2.2 above, the modern and the postmodern have a very a different view of the nature of language. In language in use the relationship between signifier and signified is transparent and any difficulties in understanding language are related to immediate contextual factors. The speaker is theoretically able to choose at any instance an almost infinite range of language possibilities when speaking or writing. There are no constraints on what can or cannot be said, and therefore the possibilities of creating

different meanings, even though there may be norms of language behaviour within a speech community. In CDA, language is not transparent but ideologically tainted. A language does not embody a world view for each discourse is responsible for constituting a world view. Foucault/postmodernism offers on the surface a similar view where language is not transparent. However, there is a fundamental difference which relates back to the epistemological differences. In CDA there appears to be, adapting Marx, some form of dialectic of discourses whereby different discourses are in battle. Yet one, right, socially-just discourse exists that is not tainted, not affected by ideology, in a sense beyond ideology, which is the beholder of *the* truth. Thus there is an Archimedean viewpoint of truth where a transparent language exists (Pennycook 2001: 88). In postmodernism the concept of truth is put into question, there is no Archimedean viewpoint because we are all constituted by discourse; there is just a power battle of competing discourses, a 'will to truth' (Sheridan 1980: 123) and, according to Derrida, meaning is not logocentric but always at once removed, deferred and changing (Norris 1991; Johnson 1997; Sim 1999).

What constitutes text is also radically different in the modern and the postmodern. In both language in use and CDA, text is normally identified as written or spoken language. Despite movements to include visual images (e.g. Kress & van Leeuwen 1999), CDA is essentially located in the linguistic. Within postmodernism text refers to "all attempts at representation, whatever form this may take" (Sim 1998: 370) thus a "text is any organised network of meaning; its characteristic is that it is always interpretable" (Usher & Edwards 1994: 144). Thus text goes beyond language and can be visual images, architecture, clothing and so on (cf. Parker & the Bolton Discourse Network 1999), including the human body (cf. Foucault 1998).

At the centre of this discussion is how the three models understand the term discourse. A useful dichotomy of discourse that can be used for understanding the differences between the three models was developed by Gee (1999) with his notions of big 'D' *D*iscourse and small 'd' *d*iscourse, which is in a sense a clearer demarcation between Jaworski and Coupland's (1999: 3) "language in use" and "*beyond* language in use". Small d *d*iscourse is "how language is used "on site"" (Gee 1999: 7). Large D *D*iscourse concerns "the non-language 'stuff'" that "enact specific identities and activities", i.e. " ways of acting, interacting, feeling, believing, valuing, together with other people and with various sorts of characteristic objects, symbols, tools, and technologies – to recognise yourself and others as meaning and meaningful in certain ways" (Gee 1999: 7). While Gee (ibid: 9-10) is primarily concerned with the relationship between this social *D*iscourse and the language in use *d*iscourse from a linguistic perspective, the two notions can be conceptually and analytically divided with Foucault/postmodernism categorised as *D*iscourse.[10]

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[10] There are certain similarities between *D*iscourse and Bourdieu's concept of embodied cultural capital: *habitus* (cf. Bourdieu 1992; Robbins 2000; Pennycook 2001: 123-125). However, I use Foucault's concept

This *D*iscourse is then the structuring principle of society constituting knowledge and the subject. Foucault (1972: 80) preferred to maintain a certain ambiguity in the way he used the term; it could equally suggest a non-count noun about all texts that have meaning in the world; a group of utterances that are regulated and coherent; and the rules and structures that produce texts (Mills 1997: 7). Whilst his three versions could arguably all be placed within a large 'D' model because their concerns are beyond language in use in a linguistic sense, I believe that his third definition is the one that corresponds to most academics who claim to be working with a Foucauldian form of *D*iscourse (e.g. Ball 1990a; Marshall 1996; Pennycook 1998; Popkewitz & Brennan 1998a; Olssen 1999). CDA, however, sits in a position that rests between *d*iscourse and *D*iscourse. Fairclough (1995: 135) sees discourse as "language use conceived as social practice" and "as a way of signifying experience from a particular perspective." Thus whilst it is located in the linguistic description and explanation of it disciplinary roots, it also wishes to combine a more sociological Foucauldian perspective (Widdowson 1995) and yet in the final analysis it sees discourse as a socially-embedded *linguistic* phenomenon (Pennycook 1994b). CDA is then in a deep tension between the two understandings.

Ideology is a critical element of CDA (Pennycook 2001: 82-84), but absent from language in use. In CDA ideology creates a view of the world that determines the nature of discourses, which through the process of naturalisation appear in themselves to be non-ideological but common sense (Fairclough 1989: 107), thus ideology determines discourse. Foucault's work is transplanted onto a theory of discourse and society which includes ideology. However, Foucault was very much opposed to ideology; ideology does not determine discourse but are two separate ways of explaining the human world (Mills 1997: 29-47). In CDA, there is the existence of truth beyond the distortions of capitalist ideology. In postmodernism, such truth can be never achieved for we are all constituted by language and language as a form of mediation can never arrive at *the* truth. Intertwined with this notion of ideology is the notion of power. As with ideology, the language in use model does not take power into account as a contextual factor. CDA, on the other hand, relates language to power where power as a monolithic entity is located in the relationship between social structures and economic production. This neo-Marxist position then sees power as something that can be held, lost and won. Foucault deliberately chose a model of power that, if not rejected, played down the significance of this dialectical-materialism (Sheridan 1980: 210). For Foucault power is not a materialist entity in the possession of the bourgeoisie but it "is both a complex flow and a set of relations between different groups and areas of society which changes with circumstances and time" (Danaher et al 2000: xiv). What is then of interest to Foucault is how power/knowledge operating in discourse not only constitute subjects but all the 'truths' which help to legitimise the practices of modern society; that which

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of *D*iscourse and not *habitus* in this thesis because *D*iscourse links with Foucault's theory of biopower which is used in this thesis (see Chapter 3.4.1.1).

he termed as *biopower*, the means by which subjects not only know themselves but behave in a way that is most efficient for society (Foucault 1998: 140-143) (see Chapter 3.4.1.1). Yet power is not solely negative as in neo-Marxist terms but it is productive, it produces what we are and also produces resistance (Kendall & Wickham 1999: 50-51).

The final two precepts deal with what constitutes research: where meaning is located and how analysis of this meaning can be undertaken. Pennycook (1994b) identifies the location of meaning in language in use in the relationship between the linguistic form and context in which it is used, while in CDA it is in the relationship between linguistic form and social structure; both then are concerned with how meaning is given to linguistic forms. In Foucault/postmodernism meaning is located in the *D*iscourse itself (ibid.). Thus *D*iscourse, outside of language, is way of creating and organising meaning, which, as the discussion of text implies, is realised through various forms of representation including language. This has a profound impact on analysis because while language in use and CDA are concerned essentially with analysing linguistic form, Foucault/postmodernism is not. Indeed Foucault was not a discourse analyst *per se* but a "historian of the present" who analysed Western society partly through the exploration of the development and functioning of discourses (Foucault 1991: 30-31; Kendall & Wickham 1999: 4). Whilst CDA seems to be concerned with both *d*iscourse and *D*iscourse, its analysis is primarily concerned with *d*iscourse. As Widdowson (2000: 21) notes, it over relies on linguistic textual analysis and therefore cannot determine the wider social practices of textual production and reception. Analysis in Foucault/postmodernism with its concern of how *D*iscourses produce social realities tends to be a sociological and historical enterprise which is textual in the sense that it analyses texts but not within the linguistic mode d'emploi of discourse analysis.

The way in which CDA has used Foucault/postmodernism may indeed reflect the fact that it is embedded in the dominant *D*iscourse of mainstream applied linguistics; producing and reproducing its norms. I have adopted a Foucaudian/postmodern *D*iscourse model to maintain my epistemological position and which is commensurate with my research methodology. In this thesis then, both the wider dominant discourse of the profession and the teachers' localised professional discourse are conceptualised as Foucauldian/postmodern discourses. From this point on, I use the word *discourse* to refer to the Foucauldian/postmodern interpretation. If I use the word for any other interpretation I will make this clear in the text.

2.7 Synthesising Terms and Concepts

I have so far established that the group of participants studied are analysed using the heuristic device of a small culture and the findings strongly suggest that this could be described as a professional culture. This culture produced a localised professional discourse which reproduced a wider dominant discourse. These discourses are understood within the terms of Foucault/postmodernism. We can now arrive at the position of synthesis of the terms and concepts (see figure 2-1). The group of teachers' occupational behaviour was

conceptualised and analysed as a professional culture. This professional culture is both localised and reproductive of the wider BANA culture of the TESOL profession (see chapter 3.3.2). The culture studied produced a professional discourse constituting their norms of knowledge, attitudes, ways of thinking, doing and being, which was realised and revealed in their texts and practices. Their discourse was an interplay between their own idiosyncratic, localised discourse and the wider dominant and naturalised discourse of BANA TESOL (see chapter 3.1.1). A dominant and naturalised discourse produces knowledge and behaviour which for its users has become the normal and natural way of thinking and doing; in other words, common sense. It dominates so much that any alternative discourses are see as irregular and almost perverse ways of thinking and doing (cf. Fairclough 1989: 90-92; Fairclough 1995: 12; Mills 1997: 19).

As established in 2.6.2 above, a Foucault/postmodern discourse demands a sociological research methodology rather than the linguistic methodology that has been the mainstay of discourse analysis in applied linguistics (cf. Jaworski & Coupland 1999). What I am doing here is then not so much the conventional *discourse analysis* of applied linguistics but a Foucauldian *analysis of a discourse.* The normal methodology for investigating a culture is ethnography and this is also a suitable methodology for investigating a *D*iscourse (cf. Canagarajah 1999: 46; Holliday 1999: 251-253; Swales 1998). The issue of ethnographic research will be dealt with in chapter 4.

TEACHERS' OCCUPATIONAL BEHAVIOUR

CONCEPTUALISED AND ANALYSED AS

PROFESSIONAL CULTURE

localised and reproductive of a wider BANA culture

PROFESSIONAL DISCOURSE

localised and reproductive of a wider BANA discourse

NORMS OF

KNOWLEDGE; ATTITUDES; WAYS OF THINKING, DOING & BEING

REALISED IN TEXTS AND PRACTICES
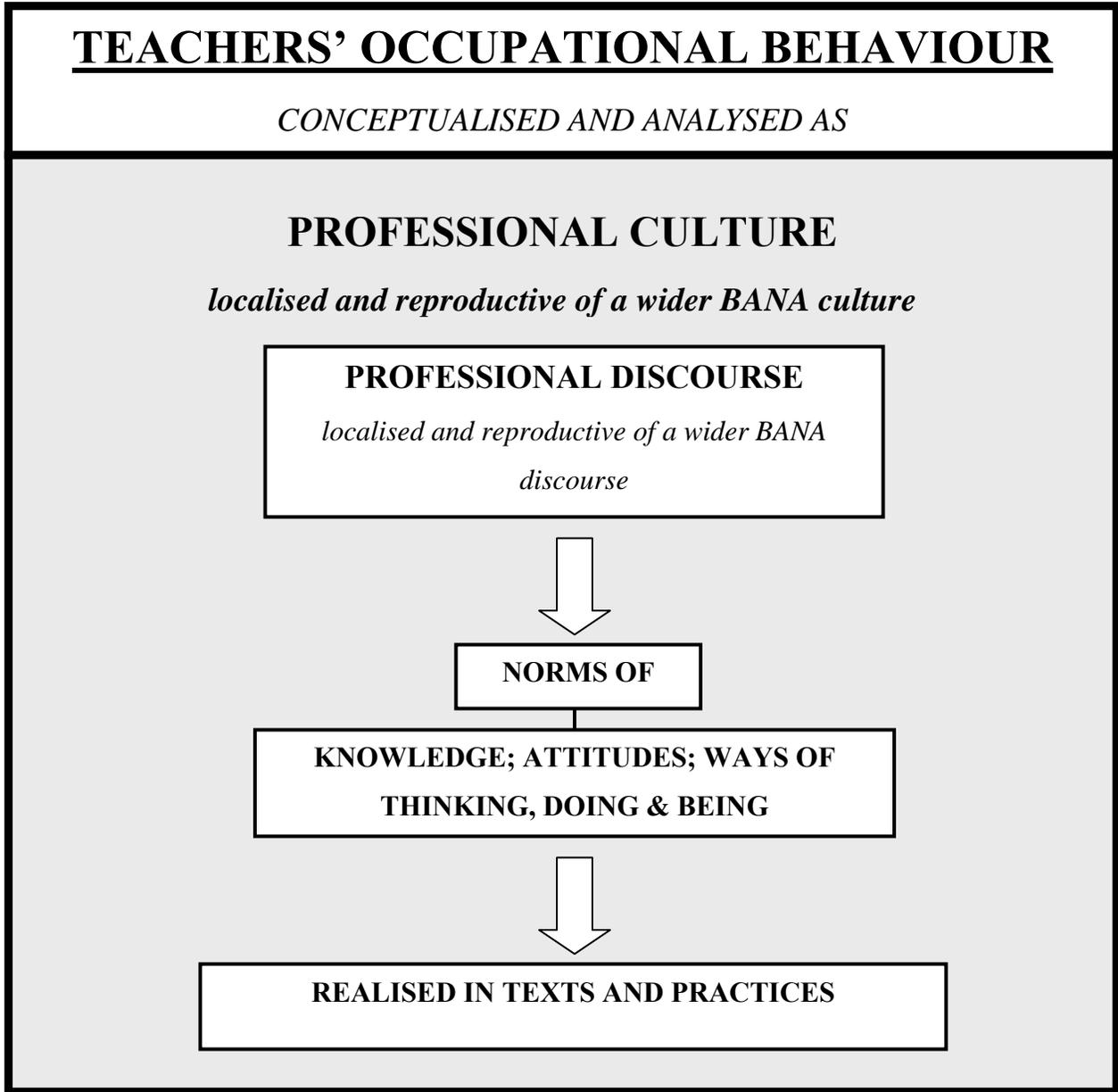
Figure 2-1: A Synthesis of the Terms and Concepts

2.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have set out the epistemological basis of this thesis as well as the terms and concepts which are used to conceptualise and analyse the data. I have established that this work uses postmodernism

as its epistemology and deconstruction as its critical tool. The terms and concepts defined (i.e. professional, culture and discourse) sit comfortably within this epistemology. They have been synthesised in order to arrive at the concepts of professional culture and professional discourse. I have stated that the appropriate research methodology for investigating such phenomena is ethnography. In chapter 4, the form of ethnography used will be made explicit. In the process of defining the epistemology and concepts, certain characteristics of the mainstream applied linguistics voice in the wider dominant professional discourse have also be described in terms of it being modernist and using an essentialised conception of culture. In chapter 3, the dominant discourse will be examined, and this modernist characteristic critiqued.

Chapter 3

3 Deconstructing the Mainstream Dominant Discourse and Pedagogy in BANA TESOL

In a school of 360 children, the master who would like to instruct each pupil in turn for a session of three hours would not be able to give a half a minute to each. By the new method, each of the 360 pupils writes, reads or counts for two and a half hours.

(Bernard 1816 cited in Foucault 1991: 165-166)

Students (parents, guardians, etc.) are presumed to be persons not merely capable of deliberating upon alternatives, and choosing between alternative educational programmes according to individual needs and interests, and the qualities of programmes, but it seems to be the case that it is part of the very nature of being human to both make, and want to make, *continuous* consumer style choices. But the notions of autonomy needed to make choices, and the notions of needs and interests, presuppose that such choices are the student's (or chooser's) *own*, that they are *independent*, and that needs and interests have not been manipulated or imposed in some way upon the chooser. Therein lie problems for the notion of autonomous chooser.

(Marshall 1996: 187)

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to critically examine the wider mainstream dominant discourse of BANA TESOL and its pedagogy. As discussed in chapter 2, the participants in this research displayed signs of a localised discourse particular to the culture of the context that they were working in, but, at the same time, there existed a heteroglossia of two discourses operating through the one discourse as the voices of the wider discourse was present and dominating their own discourse. It is therefore necessary to analyse this dominating discourse and the pedagogy it promotes. From this analysis, I develop a three-part critique of the discourse and pedagogy.

The chapter is structured as follows:

- The aim of the first section is to examine how the TESOL views itself as a profession. What the literature reveals is a certain tension between those (with generally institutional positions) who note the professionalisation of TESOL at an institutional level and those who see it as a low-status

profession. There is, I will argue, a link between the profession's low-status and its pedagogy. This link forms my first critique of the discourse and pedagogy.

- The purpose of the next section is to discuss the current debate within critical applied linguistics on the role of BANA TESOL in International English Language Education. I examine the work of four key academics in this area: Phillipson, Pennycook, Canagarajah and Holliday and construct a framework in which I compare their positions. From this emerges my second critique of the discourse and pedagogy: i.e. the pedagogy can be inappropriate in BANA contexts.

- Using this framework, I then set out my own critical space from which my deconstruction of the discourse operates detailing a postmodern critique of the mainstream discourse.

- The final section applies this critique to the actual phenomena of the pedagogy. I examine the influence of mainstream applied linguistics and learner-centredness. I then critique the fundamental elements of the pedagogy. From this section and the one previous to it emerges my third and most important critique of the pedagogy: the pedagogy and the discourse it derives from are forms of what Foucault calls *biopower*. One noticeable repercussion of this critique is that there is a dissonance between the theory and practice of the pedagogy particularly noticeable in its claims to student-centredness.

Before examining the discourse and its pedagogy, I will firstly introduce the various discourses in operation in BANA TESOL, the politics of the discourses, and I then introduce the mainstream pedagogy.

3.1.1 Introducing the Discourses

Figure 3.1 illustrates this discursive politics. Circle 1 represents the wider discourse which dominates the localised discourse, the focus of this study (circle 3). The wider discourse itself is composed of two competing voices: academic and institutional. By institutional I mean such bodies as private language schools, publishing companies and their products, aid-agencies, examination bodies and inspection bodies. The academic voice is far weaker than the institutional one which possesses a more powerful influence on the mainstream professional discourse as well as its norms and practices (c.f. Phillipson 1992; Pennycook 1994a). The academic voice, i.e. applied linguistics, can be divided into two types: one is part of the mainstream discourse; the other part of the critical discourse (circle 2) which is attempting to influence the ideas of the mainstream discourse.

In order for the mainstream discourse to exist there are sites of discourse production and regulation, *the discursive formation*, i.e. a support mechanism which keeps the truths of the discourse in place (Foucault 1972; Mills 1997: 49; Danaher et al 2000: 35; Foucault 2000d: 302-326; Foucault 2000h). This exists in the mainstream discourse at various levels in text and practices: at the academic level (in books, journals, conferences); at the academic/practitioner interface (in books, journals, conferences and teacher

2

ACADEMIC

Critical Applied

Linguistics

1

ACADEMIC

Mainstream Applied Linguistics

WIDER DOMINANT AND

NATURALISED DISCOURSE

INSTITUTIONAL

LOCALISED

DISCOURSE

3
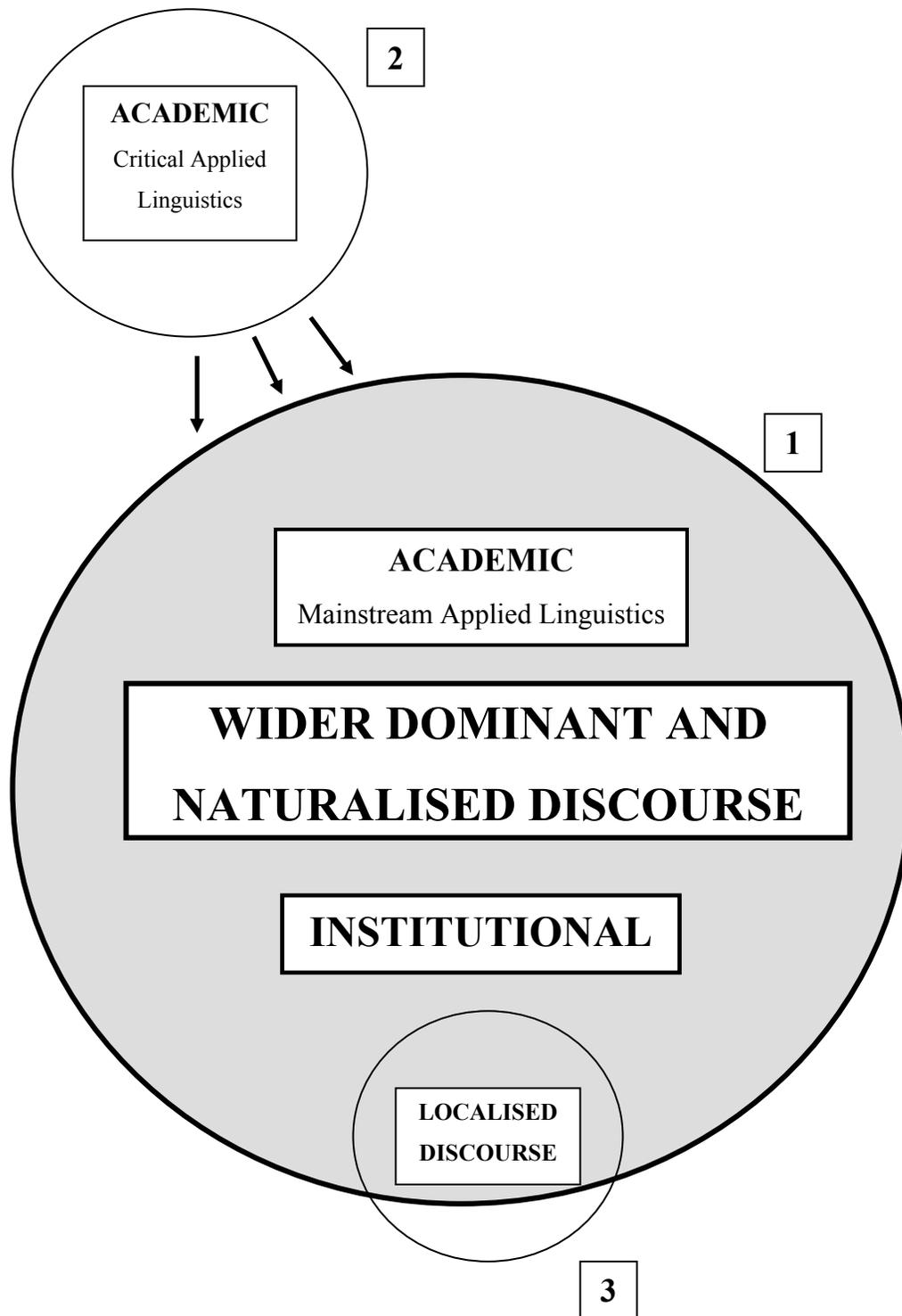
Figure 3-1: The Discourses of TESOL and the Participants

education/training); and at the practitioner level (in books aimed at and produced by teachers, published teaching materials, and professional journals such as the *EL Gazette* and *Modern English Teacher*). However beyond the power of publishers to maintain content, the other regulators of the mainstream discourse are at an organisational level such as professional and academic bodies; inspection bodies and institutional associations; examination bodies for teacher training and examination bodies for language exams. The combination of all these formations creates the norms and acceptable practices of the mainstream discourse that have become professional common sense.

The separation between academic, localised, and institutional discourses has parallels with Friedson's (1988) tripartite division of occupations in a profession (see chapter 2.4). The practitioners are then the teachers with their localised discourse; the administrators are those that the produce the institutional discourse; and the academics are the teacher-researchers divided into the mainstream and critical discourses. In both models power is the key and power resides in TESOL in the administrators and their institutional discourse which dominates the mainstream discourse and the localised discourse of this study.

I accept that such a model of the discourses, like any other model that attempts to represent social phenomena, is an oversimplification of a far more complex reality. There are, for example, many personnel who have multiple roles (and therefore identities) in the profession while critical ideas are beginning to slowly find their way into the mainstream academy. In the study one of the teachers (Sara) was also a text book writer and therefore in that role had an institutional identity. As regards the influence of the critical discourse, Richards & Rodgers (1986) is a classic mainstream text on language teaching methodology which, in its second addition, represents some of the critical voices (i.e. Richards & Rodgers 2001: 244-255). However, the model does serve to illustrate the main voices that exist in this complex mêlée of competing and interrelating discourses.

3.1.2 Introducing the Mainstream Pedagogy

The purpose of this section is to give an overview of the mainstream pedagogy. The mainstream discourse is dominated by one pedagogy (in the discourse's terminology: 'methodology'): *communicative language teaching* (CLT) in its *weak* form. This is not to say that other 'methods' do not exist but because of the strength of the institutional voice in the discourse weak CLT remains dominant.

In Richards and Rodgers' (1982; 1986; 2001) thinking there is a difference between an *approach* to teaching, i.e. "theories about the nature of language and language learning that serve as the source of practices and principles in language teaching" (Richards and Rodgers 1986: 16); and a teaching '*method*' which combines an approach with pedagogic design and procedure (ibid.: 14-29; 2001: 18-34). Richards and Rodgers (1986: 66) argue that CLT is an approach rather than a 'method' that "aims to (a) make communicative competence the goal of language teaching and (b) develop procedures for the teaching of

the four language skills that acknowledge the interdependence of language and communication". This is because it lacks a single text, authority or model (ibid.). However, there are two principal models of CLT: the *weak* and the *strong* forms. The strong form is open to variation (see chapter 8.2), but the weak form has developed into a 'method' in Richards and Rodgers' (1986: 14-29; 2001: 18-34) form: it has an approach to teaching; a design (a syllabus model; types of learning and teaching activities; specific learner and teacher roles; and specific role of teaching materials); and a procedure (classroom techniques, practices and behaviours observed when the 'method' is used).

To understand the principals of CLT, it is first of all useful to understand the nature of communicative competence. This derives from the sociolinguist Dell Hymes' (1972) critique of Noam Chomsky's concept of *competence*. Chomsky (Lyons 1991: 38-39) makes a distinction between a person's language competence, an abstract notion of a universal underlying knowledge of a language, and language performance, the way in which a person actually uses their language in everyday communication. Hymes (1972) argues that the concepts of competence and performance are not enough to describe human abilities with language. For Hymes, *communicative competence* describes the speaker/listener's knowledge of possibility (i.e. grammatically), feasibility (if a possible utterance makes sense), appropriateness to context, and finally *accepted usage*.[11] For applied linguists this concept suggested that language learners needed more than just knowledge of grammar, phonology and lexis but knowledge of the rules of communication within a speech community, i.e. a cohesive group of people who share one speech variety in common (see Gumperz 1972). It thus acted as a springboard for work which developed the concept of communicative competence as an aim of pedagogy (e.g. Munby 1977; Williams 1979; Savignon 1983; Angelis & Henderson 1989; Davies 1989; Spolsky 1989; Stalker 1989; Allen 1992; Shaw 1992). Two further key developments in pedagogic understanding of communicative competence were subsequently made. Firstly, Widdowson (1978: 3) defined a difference between *usage* "that aspect of performance which makes evident the extent to which the language user demonstrates his knowledge of linguistic rules" and *use*: "that aspect of performance which makes evident the extent to which the language user demonstrates his ability to use his knowledge of linguistic rules for effective communication". The second development was by Canale and Swain (1980) who developed an interpretation of communicative competence with four dimensions: grammatical competence; sociolinguistic competence; discourse competence; and strategic competence. The first competence resembles Widdowson's *usage*, while three others are elaborated versions of his notion of *use*.

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[11] Note the phonocentrism of this debate: Hymes and Chomsky are both concerned with spoken language, i.e. utterances (see 3.5.1 below)

Communicative competence suggests the *what*; but the division between the weak and the strong occurs when one analyses the *how*. Simply put, the weak version concerns *learning to use* while the strong version concerns *using to learn* (Howatt 1984: 279).

> The weak version…stresses the importance of providing learners with opportunities to use their English for communicative purposes and, characteristically, attempts to integrate such activities in a wider programme of language teaching. In order to avoid the charge that communicative activities are merely sideshows, efforts are made to ensure that they relate to the purposes of the course as specified in the syllabus, hence the importance of proposals to include semantic as well as purely structural features in a syllabus design…The 'strong' version of communicative teaching, on the other hand, advances the claim that language is acquired through communication, so that it is not merely a question of activating an existing but inert knowledge, but of stimulating the development of the language system itself.
>
> (ibid.)

The weak version requires students to learn the language i.e. the *usage* (i.e. grammar, phonology and lexis) as discrete systems and apply what has been learnt into communicative classroom activities that develop *use* so that the "the basic aim of a language teaching course is to promote (competent) *communicative performance*." (Howatt: 286-287). In the strong version, it is argued that all aspects of communicative competence including *usage* derive as an outcome of the communicative activity. A syllabus is constructed around a series of communicative tasks in which students apply their existing communicative competence to develop English communicative competence (ibid.). The strong version was a central part of CLT's development in the late 1970s/early 1980s and is evident in key works of that period arguing that language learning takes place in communication (e.g. Allwright 1979; Brumfit 1979; Johnson 1979; Breen & Candlin. 1980; Canale & Swain 1980; Morrow 1981) and that language should be treated as discourse – i.e. *language in use* (see chapter 2.6) – rather than isolated structures and sentences (e.g. Widdowson 1978; Allen & Widdowson 1979; Widdowson 1979; Candlin 1981). Theoretical support for the strong version still exists in applied linguistics predominantly in second language acquisition research and theory, notably in the promotion of task-based language learning (cf. Prabhu 1987; Foley 1991; Fotos & Ellis 1991; Nobuyoshi & Ellis 1993; Skehan 1994; Willis 1994; Skehan 1996; Bygate 1999).

Whilst the strong version has had a certain success in contexts which have specific communicative purposes as typified in English for Specific Purposes,[12] there is a certain caution towards the strong version

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[12] English for Specific purposes (ESP) concerns the teaching of the language used in a specific area of life. This tends to be for occupations and academic subjects (see: Robinson 1980; Kennedy & Bolitho 1984;

in the TESOL profession with the weak version having become standard practice (Howatt 1984: 279). In my own professional experience, I have only been encouraged to teach using a stronger version of CLT in English for Academic Purposes/study skills courses in higher education institutions. Indeed, Holliday (1994a: 165) argues that this version has been popularised so much by BANA that it is often believed to be the only form of CLT that exists; a view which is particularly strong in the TESEP sector. A possible reason for the popularity of the weak version is that it relates more directly to the 'methods' that preceded it such as the behaviourist influenced audiolingual 'method' as well as structural and direct methods because it shares with them the direct teaching and learning of *usage* through structures (Holliday 1994a: 172) using familiar teaching techniques such as teacher gesticulation and elicitation (Holliday 1997a: 411- 412). There exists then a tension between the academic part of the mainstream discourse where support for the strong approach is found and the institutional part that propagates the weak version. However, as already indicated the dominance of the institutional voice has helped to maintain the dominance of weak communicative language teaching.

3.2 TESOL's Self-Perception of being a Profession

The purpose of this section is to demonstrate the tensions within TESOL concerning its status as a profession. Without over generalising, there is a tendency for those who have institutional positions to be far more optimistic about the status of TESOL as a growing profession,[13] while it is perceived as a low-status profession particularly by scholars representing the critical voice and actual teachers (including the teachers in this study; see chapter 6.6.2). I agree with the second perception and I believe that this low status is linked to the mainstream pedagogy.

Bowers (1986) perceives the state of TESOL as follows:

Hutchinson & Waters 1987; Robinson 1991; Jordon 1997; Dudley-Evans & Jo St John 1998; Benesch 2001; Flowerdew & Peacock 2001).

[13] This is the academic and institutional background of some of the authors reviewed. At the time of writing, Alatis was editor of the journal *TESOL Quarterly*; Bowers was the British Council's Director of English Language Services; Duff was Director-General of International House (one of the largest British private language school companies with schools in Britain and across the world); Maley was the Director-General of the Bell Educational Trust (another large British private language school organisation); Swales was a Professor of Linguistics and Director of the English Language Institute at the University of Michigan as well as a co-editor of the journal *English for Specific Purposes*; Brumfit, a Professor of Education at the University of Southampton; Coleman, a senior academic at the School of Education at the University of Leeds. Both Coleman and Brumfit were actively involved with the *British Association of Teaching Qualifying Institutions*.

So one of the major achievements of our profession has, it seems to me, been this internal achievement: Whatever our effect upon our learners, we have emerged as an independent, recognizable professional grouping with its own systems of mutual recognition and regulation and internal communication, its given knowledge and its largely agreed areas of inquiry, its gods and its devils. We have built ourselves a profession.

<div align="right">(ibid: 397)</div>

Referring to activity in Britain, Bowers (ibid.) argues that rise in the number of universities offering courses in 'TEFL' (from Diploma to PhD); the increase in accredited private language schools; the number of publishing houses maintaining an 'ELT' list all provide evidence of this emerging profession. Alatis (1987), looking back at the development of the American professional association *TESOL* (the British equivalent is *IATEFL*: the International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language), also sees a growth in professionalisation: Maley (1992: 98-99) and Swales (1993: 290), from a more critical position, see the emerging signs of a process of professionalisation in the global development of teacher organisations and conferences; in the growth, regulation and structure of teacher qualifications; and in the growth of textbooks, teachers' books, journals, papers. Another indirect sign of professionalisation is the development of complex professional language that can be impenetrable for outsiders (Woodward 1996) and the rise of teacher qualifications, which acts as a means of gate keeping into the profession (Edwards 1997: 251).

What is even more revealing about how Bowers (1986) perceives TESOL's professionalisation is demonstrated in the following quote.

The ELT profession, in Britain as here in America, is big business. And through training, career, and appointment procedures, through publications, research, and conventions, and through accepted practices and formal systems of recognition, this business increasingly sees itself and projects itself as in the fullest sense professional.

<div align="right">(ibid: 398)</div>

'ELT' not only has all the activities that typifies a profession but it is also a 'business', not a part of education in the TESEP sense. This 'business', in Bower's thinking, is beneficial for all who are part of it as the nature of the profession is development.

By providing a society with a reasonable number of reasonably competent speakers of English, we are assisting in the transfer of technology, the flow of information, and the expansion of manpower; we, the technologically and commercially developed nations of the English-speaking world are providing ourselves not only with English-speaking customers

but also with collaborators and potential competitors. We do not - if we ever did - force
English on a reluctant client, however much from time to time the individual enforced learner
may encourage the impression. No, we react to a grown and growing universal demand.

(ibid: 398)

Thus the fundament of the TESOL 'industry' is to supply the non-English speaking world with 'native-speaker' teachers that not only aids development for the rest of the world but aids economically the English-speaking world. Hedge, Brumfit & Coleman (1995) [14] and Duff (1997: 270) also concur with this understanding of TESOL as 'business'. For Brumfit (Hedge, Brumfit & Coleman 1995: 176-177) the profession has always been subject to market forces and professional associations exist to help to maintain standards.[15] Duff (1997: 270) also argues that 'ELT' "like every business" needs the highest standards for it to thrive. It is interesting that it is only Maley (1992), in this debate on TESOL professionalisation, who recognises that it functions in both the state and private sectors.

There appears to be a clear understanding from these people that represent the academic and institutional voices of the profession that the British BANA sector is an industry, a business, and for them it has undergone professionalisation. However, this sense of professionalism is at the institutional level: whether employer associations, publishing or teacher qualifications. The self-perception is quite different when one examines the literature from the practitioners' perspective. TESOL may be a profession institutionally, but at the chalk face it certainly is not. Johnston (1997) summarises much of this self-perception.

Teachers in many national contexts - some would say most - tend to be underpaid and
overworked, often operating in difficult physical and psychological conditions. The
occupation of EFL/ESL teaching as a whole lacks the status of the established professions
such as medicine and law. Many teachers work without job security or benefits.

(ibid: 682)

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[14] This article is an interview conducted by Hedge with Brumfit and Coleman.

[15] These employer/institution professional regulating associations include in the UK the following: for the regulating of private English language schools there is ARELS and FELCO; and for regulating higher and further education institutions providing ESOL, there is IELTDHE and BASELT. These associations validate institutions and help with marketing. However, the actual inspections of institutions that enable validation is done by the British Council via these associations. In addition to this, for regulating public and private institutions that provide courses in the training and education of ESOL teachers there is BATQI, and for institutions teaching English for Academic Purposes there is BALEAP. An important aspect of these associations is that they are designed for employers and institutions, not for individual teachers (Maley 1992: 97).

Work exploring British (CfBT 1989), Australian (McKnight 1992; Pennington 1992) and American (Crandall 1993; Forham & Scheraga 2000) ESOL teacher careers suggests that the profession suffers from low morale, low status, low pay, with little recognition of its work from outside of the profession and with no established institutionalised career structure, which results in a high attrition rate. Therefore, the career structure for experienced and qualified teachers tends to be marked by horizontal rather than vertical movement (McKnight 1992: 30; CfBT 1989: 17). Swales (1993: 289) notes a similar pattern in the US, which he argues is partly due to the oversupply of teachers. It should be noted that TESOL is not the only teaching occupation that suffers from low status. Nixon (1996: 59-69), for example, argues that the professional status and working conditions of British university lecturers have declined in the thirty years previous to publication.

The high attrition rate in TESOL is counterbalanced by the permeable nature of the profession, i.e. it is easy to become a member with minimal or no qualifications (Maley 1992: 98-99). This is connected to a commonly held assumption by certain unscrupulous employers, as well as by people outside the profession, that the only necessary qualification to teach English is to be a 'native speaker' (Pennington 1992: 8-9; Crandall 1993: 497-498). Unlike other professions which appear to have impenetrable fields of knowledge, there is a view outside of the profession that TESOL's field of knowledge is the English language itself; something shared by every 'native speaker' (Pennington 1992: 8). The permeability of TESOL has led to the 'backpacker' syndrome whereby an ESOL teacher can be qualified by dint of the fact that they are a 'native-speaker'. With the optional addition of a minimal qualification such as the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES) one-month certificate with its "recognition as an initial qualification for English language teaching to adults internationally" (Cambridge EFLa: No Date) "in any country, at any level, in any type of institution" (Woodward 1998: 5), the backpacker is completely qualified and able to travel and work around the world in what amounts to a short-term career.[16] However, there is a difference between what Duff (1997: 269) calls the "backpacker" and the "committed professional"; or what Clayton (1989: 56) calls the "unreal" teacher and "real" teacher. What this effectively leads to, in my professional experience, is the committed professionals being tarred with the same brush as the backpackers, i.e. having a temporary job, not a real career, which can be done by anyone who can speak English.

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[16] The one month certificate is typified by the RSA/UCLES CELTA (Certificate in English Language Teaching for Adults), which was in fact my first ESOL qualification. Trinity College provides a slightly less popular rival. For insight into British initial and in-service qualifications see the annually published *ELT Guide* (published by EFL Ltd., 9 Hope Street, Douglas, Isle of Man).

There is then "considerable insecurity in ELT about its status as a profession" (Duff 1997: 269). Some even question whether teaching, let alone TESOL, can be put in the same category as the established professions such as law and medicine (Maley 1992: 96; Johnston 1997: 702). Maley (1992: 99) sees TESOL not yet as a profession but presently on a journey towards professionalism, which can be hampered by the "highly 'unprofessional' practices" of some private sector employers (ibid: 97). With such a variety of personnel from the unqualified backpackers to the qualified and experienced, the occupation is more like a 17th century army.

> To take a military analogy: we are not an army of career soldiers, all equally well-trained, battle-hardened, well-equipped and committed. We are more like one of those marauding armies in 17th Century Europe with a core of highly trained and motivated cavalry, surrounded by footsoldiers of sometimes dubious reliability and a host of camp-followers bringing up the rear. This may be a strength rather than a weakness since we are permeable to incoming talent.
>
> (ibid: 99)

Johnston (1997: 702), on the other hand, draws on education literature which questions whether professionalisation is actually a positive thing for teaching (Burbles & Densmore 1991; Welker 1992; Pokewitz 1994) and critical applied linguistics literature which questions the motives of TESOL professionalisation (i.e. Phillipson 1992; see 3.3 below). Whilst teaching may be different from the traditional professions, I believe it does need a sense of professionalism in terms of practice and status. However, like Maley (1992: 96), Swales (1993: 290-291) notes that while TESOL may think of itself as a profession at an institutional level, the teaching conditions do not reflect this.

The problem highlighted in this section is something that is evident from my professional experience and is shown in the participant comments in the findings (see chapter 6). In many respects TESOL could be described as an occupational profession (see chapter 2.4). Whilst it does have trappings of the professionalism, it still lacks many of the key elements that help to define a profession: a career structure, commensurate salaries and above all status. My experience concurs with the literature that it is still considered by many outside of the profession as something anyone who is educated and speaks English can do (perhaps with a little training). This is compounded by two factors, firstly the hordes of 'backpackers' who are soaked up by private language institutions around the world desperate for 'prestigious native speakers', and secondly, the unscrupulous practices of employers in Britain and overseas employing the badly-qualified, offering no stable career structure with such things as permanent, or even one-year, contracts. It is a 'business' and the employers will cut costs at any cost. This is not something that is just germane to the private-sector but appears in public-sector colleges and universities which also have to compete for 'customers' (see chapter 6.4 & 6.5). TESOL has a body of knowledge, a skill and

credentialism that makes it more than a semi-profession. However, it is a profession that lacks status and the power of closure. It is then an emerging profession torn between the educational professionalism of committed practitioners and an institutional business professionalism. There is a link between this strong business professionalism, low professional status and the mainstream pedagogy. The institutional discourse propagates the idea that BANA TESOL is a service industry where the 'customer' (i.e. student) comes first. As an industry it must minimise costs and one of the larger costs are teachers. A pedagogy that is a 'universal method' composed of a set of techniques whose rudiments can be taught to 'native speakers' on an a one-month course has two effects. It allows for the permeability of the profession and, with so many 'qualified' teachers available, employers are in a bargaining position to sack and employ as they wish. *Real teachers* are in a difficult position because they know that their employers can replace them with less qualified teachers while still maintaining their institutionally professional status. This is a situation I have seen happen many times in my professional life.

I will now move on to explore how BANA TESOL and its pedagogy has been problematised within the context of *International English Language Education* (IELE).

3.3 Problematising IELE: the Critical Perspective

3.3.1 Introducing the Critical Perspective

The purpose of this section is to explore work in applied linguistics that problematises the role of BANA TESOL within the wider context of IELE, through the ideas of four scholars: Adrian Holliday, Robert Phillipson, Alastair Pennycook, and Suresh Canagarajah. The common theme in these authors' work is the examination of the relationship between the mainstream TESOL discourse (or professionalism in Phillipson's terminology) and its inappropriate transfer to, and influence on, certain educational contexts, typically, although not exclusively, in the developing world. I put their work into a comparative framework and use this in 3.4 below to establish my own slightly different critical position: i.e. problematising how the mainstream BANA TESOL discourse operates in one institution in the developed world in a BANA context.

By concentrating on these authors, I am not suggesting that they are unique in problematising this issue. There has been a whole range of work done that has problematised aspects of IELE and TESOL. Phillipson, Pennycook and Canagarajah are not the only authors to deal with the global politics of the English language (e.g. Macías 1996; Ghim-Liam Chew1999; Holborow 1999; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000; Lowenberg 2000; Tollefson 2000; Samra 2001). There has also been work that like Holliday, Phillipson, Pennycook and Canagarajah explores TESOL pedagogy from a socio-cultural and political perspective (e.g. Benesch 1993; Tollefson 1995; Block & Cameron 2002a; Benesch 2001; Ibrahim 1999; Grimshaw 2002). Relating to this thesis, there has been work that more specifically problematises CLT pedagogy from

various perspectives. Academics have examined how the pedagogy can be interpreted differently by teachers and students, sometimes leading to student resistance (e.g. Beebe 1994; Block 1994; Ryan 1995). There has been work critiquing the mainstream discourse's obsession with finding the perfect language teaching 'method' (e.g. Prabhu 1990; Kumaravadivelu 1994). A great deal of work has been done on the problems of exporting BANA TESOL pedagogy globally (e.g. Sano, Takahashi & Yoneyama. 1984; Sampson 1984; Burnaby & Sun 1989; Coleman 1996; Li 1998; Govardhan, Nayar & Sheorey 1999). The work dealing with resistance and problematising the export of TESOL pedagogy has generated a related set of literature on creating appropriate pedagogy (e.g. Nolasco & Arthur 1986; Coleman 1987; Ainscough 1997; Kramsch & Sullivan 1996). More specific aspects of the mainstream pedagogy have been critiqued including syllabus and text book content (e.g. Prodromou 1988; Brown 1990; Clarke & Clarke 1990; Sunderland 1992; Victor 1999; Sunderland 2000; Gray 2002); norms of classroom interaction patterns (e.g. Widdowson 1987; Hyde 1993; Lai 1994; Jones 1995a; Hird 1996; Liu & Littlewood. 1997; Flowerdew 1998; Jones 1999); and the discouragement of using students' first language in the classroom (e.g. Eldridge 1996).

I would not argue that all these authors necessarily share the political and epistemological viewpoints of Holliday, Phillipson, Pennycook and Canagarajah. Indeed some of them, I would argue, come more from the mainstream perspective (e.g. Littlewood; Nolasco & Arthur). However, they have all identified in their work certain problematic areas of IELE and TESOL. There are, nevertheless, certain differences between this body of work and the work of Holliday, Phillipson, Pennycook and Canagarajah. First of all, the four scholars' work as a whole has been dominated by these issues and each has developed very sophisticated theories and epistemologies to explain the problems that they have observed. These problems, theories and epistemologies have been cemented not just through a series of papers but in four key books that they have authored (i.e. Phillipson's (1992a) *Linguistic Imperialism*; Holliday's (1994a) *Appropriate Methodology and Social Context*; Pennycook's (1994a) *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language*; and Canagarajah's (1999) *Resisting Linguistic Imperialism in Language Teaching*).

These books, I would argue, have had much more impact than the diverse set of papers cited above even when they are published in book form as collections (e.g. Coleman 1996; Hall & Eggington 2000; Block & Cameron 2002a). The book genre has allowed the quartet the possibility to develop their theories with far greater clarity than an academic paper can allow. I would also argue, admittedly more subjectively, that these books have had a significant impact on the academy. This is something I have noted in my professional life at conferences, seminars and other academic gatherings. More concrete evidence of this impact can be found in the number of book reviews that these books have generated: Phillipson's *Linguistic Imperialism* (e.g. Holborow 1993; Tollefson 1994; Canagarajah 1995); Holliday's *Appropriate Methodology* (e.g. Canagarajah 1996; Ramanathan 1997); Pennycook's *Cultural Politics* (e.g. Hall 1996; Holborow 1996); Canagarajah's *Resisting Linguistic Imperialism* (McDonagh 2000; Johnson 2001). Some

of Pennycook's related papers have also generated commentary (e.g. McCall 1991; Allison 1998). However, more significantly for this study, there is a critical dialogue between the authors relating to their work demonstrating a relationship between their work that will be discussed later in this section.

The common theme between the quartet's work is problematising the export of TESOL pedagogy and expertise to diverse educational contexts globally. However, theoretically and epistemologically there are certain divisions between their work. I would argue that there are two camps: Holliday's work could be placed under heading of the conflict between BANA and TESEP educational cultures; while the other authors' work could be placed under the heading of *linguistic imperialism*, which includes not only a critique of TESOL pedagogy but a critique of the global role of the English language. There are, however, certain epistemological differences in the linguistic imperialism work as Phillipson is neo-Marxist while Pennycook and Canagarajah fall more neatly into the category of postmodernism and post-colonialism. All the authors share certain assumptions as to the failings of the mainstream pedagogy but deeper root causes vary because of analytical and epistemological differences. I will now move on to outlining these authors' theories under these two broad divisions: BANA – TESEP and linguistic imperialism.

3.3.2 BANA – TESEP: A Conflict between Educational Cultures

Holliday's work has been primarily concerned with explaining the problems of transferring TESOL pedagogy to different educational contexts using the theoretical perspective of conflicting educational cultures with the aim of resolving such conflicts (cf. Holliday 1980; 1991a; 1991b; 1992a; 1992b; 1994a; 1994b; 1994c; 1994d; 1994e; 1995; 1996b; 1997a; 1997b; 1998a; 1998b; 2001a; Holliday & Cooke 1982). As shown in the fact that I adopted the BANA-TESEP terminology in chapter 1.1, this thesis is heavily influenced by Holliday's model of conflicting educational cultures, but is also influenced by the ideas of linguistic imperialism.

Holliday (1994a; 1994b) argues that BANA applied linguistics technology (i.e. pedagogy, expertise, personnel, materials etc.) which is transferred to TESEP educational contexts causes problems because it is often inappropriate as it does not address the social and cultural contexts of where it is implanted. In Holliday's work, examples of BANA applied linguistics technology transfer to TESEP contexts have been typically, although not exclusively, in the developing world: the two sectors tend to meet in the following ways:

- when curriculum innovation projects funded and staffed by such bodies as the British Council are set up in TESEP contexts
- when native-speaker teachers trained and experienced in BANA contexts go to work in TESEP contexts

- when TESEP teachers do in-service training in BANA institutions and return to their classrooms and try to implement what they have learnt
- when TESEP institutions use BANA teaching materials and textbooks

In order to understand more clearly why these conflicts occur, it is necessary to elaborate on the differences between BANA and TESEP that I outlined in chapter 1. To reiterate, BANA describes those institutions, their staff and students found typically in private language schools and annexes to universities which provide English, while TESEP describes the staff, students and institutions in state education (see table 3.1). It is important to remember that, for Holliday, these sectors exist globally; they are not regional.

In his theory, the inappropriacy of BANA technology lies in the fact that the technology has been developed in a very different educational culture to where it is transferred to. Mainstream applied linguistics' epistemological tradition of 'scientific' positivism tends to create universal abstract notions of 'methodology', learners and classrooms which does not address the realities of TESEP classrooms (Holliday 1994b). It leaves out important social and cultural factors about students, classrooms, teachers, institutions and society that affect learning. Holliday (1994a: 12-13; 1994b) also argues that in the BANA sector, the pedagogies are designed "with a particularly instrumental approach" (Holliday 1994a: 12) where there is a distinct contract between the institution and typically adult students who specifically want to learn English for instrumental reasons and who are willing, or whose sponsors are willing, to pay for this service. BANA pedagogy is thus developed within a private language school ethos where there are ideal learning resources and motivated students.

In non-commercial TESEP institutions, the learners may not have such a clear instrumental purpose to learn English. Foreign languages are not necessarily the main focus of the students' educational lives being typically part of a wider curriculum. This curriculum can influence the resources allocated to English and the norms of how subjects should be taught, which can affect both student classroom expectations and the pedagogy used by teachers. The teacher's role can also be different because they may be expected, in addition to teaching the subject, to socialise students as members of their society. Such issues as lack of resources and institutional, state educational and community influences all have an impact on the ways English can be taught, which BANA is generally free from. Nevertheless, there is what Holliday (1994a: 12) calls a "hegemony of the received BANA English language teaching methodology" where BANA pedagogy has a very high-status in the TESEP sector that its own pedagogies lack. This high-status is counterbalanced by an attitude in the BANA sector that TESEP pedagogies are substandard. The result of this is the problematic transfer of the high-status BANA pedagogy to replace the 'substandard' TESEP pedagogies in which the difficulties that arise are often blamed by BANA personnel on the 'constraints' of

BANA	TESEP
Location	*Location*
• Tends to exist in private language schools or annexes to university departments • Located all over the world • To a certain extent there is a market ethos where language teaching is considered a commercial product • Students, or their sponsors, often pay for their language teaching • Institutions not in Britain, Australasia or North America tend to be managed or highly influenced by the model created in institutions in these regions	• Found in state education sector • Located all over the world • Institutions non-commercial
Students	*Students*
• Students are mainly adults	• Students typically school pupils or university students
Role of English and the Curriculum	*Role of English and the Curriculum*
• English is typically the main or only part of the curriculum • English normally has an 'instrumental' purpose for students • Students go to educational institution specifically to learn English or a specific type of English	• English is taught as part of a wider curriculum and has wider educational, institutional, and community influences that are quite different to the BANA sector • English may not have a clear 'instrumental' purpose for students • The role of English teachers is not only to teach English but also to socialize the students as a member of their society • The expectations of students is influenced by what they experience in other subjects • What happens in the classroom is influenced by wider state educational policies • English teachers behave not only according to the needs of language learning, but also according to the norms set by other subjects in the curriculum • The logistics and interests of the wider curriculum affect the resources allocated to English such as the number of hours available, the timetable, the class size, furniture, and facilities
Pedagogy	*Pedagogy*
• Teaching 'methodology' has had a hegemonic status over the TESEP sector • Often considers teaching methodologies of the TESEP sector as substandard • Classroom 'methodology' has been developed in a private-school ethos • Has had considerable freedom to develop teaching 'methodology' based on good classroom conditions to suit the precise needs of learners • Difficulties of adopting its teaching 'methodologies' in the TESEP sector is often blamed on social, cultural and political constraints of the TESEP sector	• Teaching 'methodology' lacks the high status of the BANA sector • Is often forced to adopt inappropriate teaching methodologies from the BANA sector • Often less well-resourced, especially in the developing world

Table 3-1: Contrasting TESEP and BANA Educational Sectors (based on Holliday 1994a: 12-13; 1994b)

the TESEP context: i.e. social, cultural and political factors. The reason for this implantation of BANA technology into TESEP institutions is not just due to the high-status of BANA pedagogy but relates to the international demand for English and the concomitant demand for English teachers and English teaching 'expertise' (Holliday 1994a: 78).

To understand more fully the nature of the conflicts that occur in these situations, it is necessary to appreciate the two very different educational cultures that, according to Holliday (1994a: 71-74), respectively dominate BANA and TESEP. Holliday adapts from Bernstein (1971) a model of two contrasting educational curricula which "selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates…educational knowledge" (ibid: 47): the *collection* type "where the learner has to collect a group of favoured contents in order to satisfy some criteria of evaluation" (ibid: 49) and the *integrated* type "where the various contents do not go their separate ways, but where the contents stand in an open relation to each other" (ibid.). TESEP is dominated by an *collectionist* professional-academic culture while BANA is dominated by an *integrationist* culture (see table 3.2).

This division is concerned with how English, as a subject, is perceived by each teacher professional-academic group. Whilst he is "aware of the dangers of overgeneralization, and that these typologies are no more than ideals, which represent extreme polarities," Holliday (1994a: 71) suggests "that these codes represent two prototype professional-academic cultures". The collectionist culture is typified in educational systems where students study separate subjects which have strong boundaries and a traditional status (e.g. British 'A' level pre-university examinations) (Bernstein 1971: 51-53). With this separation of subjects, teachers traditionally have more freedom in how they teach their subjects. There seems to be here certain similarities with theories of professions discussed in chapter 2.4 where traditionally professions have kept strong boundaries around their field of knowledge and are able to maintain a certain autonomy in their practice. Integrationism is typically found in education systems where the subject boundaries are less strong and one teacher can teach a range of subjects (e.g. British primary schools). Holliday then sees parallels in IELE:

> I wish to argue that the professional-academic culture of the TESEP teacher group is essentially collectionist. There is a strong allegiance within this group to the disciplines of literature or linguistics, in which lecturers at the tertiary level might have to be 'specialised', with a doctoral degree…In teacher training, English language teaching methodology often becomes a discipline in its own right, and is taught as a highly formalised content subject, in which a lecturer is 'specialised' - a 'methodologist' - to doctoral level.
>
> (Holliday 1994a: 73)

I suggest that the professional-academic culture of the BANA English language teacher group is essentially integrationist. In the last twenty years it has taken on a skills-based, and more recently a discovery-problem-solving, 'heuristic' approach…

(ibid: 74).

TESEP teachers in the secondary sector are similar to modern language teachers in Britain: they are part of a strong departmental structure and have subject status from their knowledge of English grammar and literature (ibid: 73). However, TESEP teachers when looking for expertise on the subject matter face a certain contradiction between the expertise of collectionist universities with their knowledge of linguistics and literature, and the expertise on practical 'methodology' offered by integrationist BANA (ibid.).

Collectionist Paradigm	Integrationist Paradigm
• Separate subjects	• Inter-disciplinary
• Strong subject boundaries	• 'Blurred' subject boundaries
• Didactic, content-based pedagogy	• Skills-based. discovery-oriented collaborative pedagogy
• Rigid timetabling	• Flexible timetabling
• Hierarchical, subject-oriented, departmental structure	
• Staff identities. loyalties and notions of specialisation oriented to knowledge of subject	• Staff identities. loyalties and notions of expertise oriented to pedagogic and classroom management skills
• Mainly vertical work relations. between staff within their own subject	• Horizontal work relations between staff in different subjects through shared. co-operative. educational tasks
• Classroom practice and administration is invisible to most staff	• Classroom practice can be team-oriented and is open to peer observation and discussion
• Oligarchic control of the institution	• Democratic control of the institution

Table 3-2: Collection and Integration (From Holliday 1994a: 72; based on Bernstein 1971: 61-3, Reynolds and Skilbeck 1976: 38)

Holliday (1994a: 75) argues that one of the reasons why BANA is intergrationist is because TESOL is a new, low-status discipline (i.e. profession) without a long-standing academic tradition sharing much in common with the British post-war skills-based primary and secondary modern education sectors.

BANA's professional development has been concerned more with pedagogic effectiveness and sophistication rather than subject content with a willingness to draw on a whole range of disciplines to meet this end, e.g. linguistics, literature, modern languages, education, management specifically, and the social sciences and humanities more generally (ibid: 75-77). The BANA and TESEP sectors of IELE then have not only developed in entirely different educational contexts but have very different professional-academic cultures. Whilst BANA considers the implanting of its pedagogy into TESEP contexts as beneficial, it can have more damaging effects than just pedagogical inappropriacy.

> Although BANA integrationism claims a democratisation of language learning, its destructiveness of integrationism is also clear, where it insists on the breaking down of existing departmental structures and subject conservatism in its orientation to a skills-based, discovery-oriented, collaborative approach.
>
> (ibid: 78)

Holliday (1994a: 160-178) offers as a solution to these problems the development of a more socially and culturally sensitive appropriate 'methodology' that utilises the strong form of communicative language teaching (see chapter 8.2.1.1). As previously mentioned, it is important to note that while Holliday (1994a) prefers not to narrowly define BANA and TESEP as pertaining to specific regions, many of the examples he draws on in his work concern conflicts between BANA personnel and institutions from the developed world and TESEP personnel and institutions in the developing world. Other academics see these conflicts as being not just cultural but political in the sense of the relationship between rich, developed Western states and poorer developing states. If Holliday's thesis can be described as a *BANA-TESEP culture* problem, then the second thesis, which will now be dealt with, can be described broadly under the title of *linguistic imperialism*.

3.3.3 Linguistic Imperialism: A Conflict between the Centre and the Periphery

I use linguistic imperialism to describe the theories that underpin the work of Robert Phillipson (e.g. 1986; 1988; 1991; 1992a; 1992b; 1996; 1999)[17]; Alastair Pennycook (e.g. 1989; 1990a; 1990b; 1994a; 1995; 1996; 1997a; 1997b; 1998; 1999a; 1999b; 2000; 2001) and Suresh Canagarajah (e.g. 1993a; 1993b; 1993c; 1994; 1999; 2002). Whilst the ideas of these three academics do not form a unified, coherent theory (and as will be seen there are certain disagreements between them), they do share a viewpoint that the problems in IELE is more than just a conflict of educational cultures but is related to global social, cultural, political and economic inequalities.

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[17] He has also published thematically related work with Skutnabb-Kangas (e.g. Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1995; 1996; 1999)

The linguistic imperialism argument can be summarised as follows: the English language is exported by *Centre* countries (i.e. developed and capitalist Western English-speaking countries such as the USA, Britain, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand) to countries in the *Periphery* (i.e. the developing world) for the maintenance and development of economic, political, social and cultural power. This explains why there is so much aid from the Centre promoting English abroad (e.g. by the British Council). The exporting of English is not a universally beneficial product but discriminates against other languages and forces inequality between people of the periphery (e.g. for chances of life advancement, you need English which is not available to everybody). The English language itself is not a neutral means of international communication but is culturally embedded in the Western/Anglo-Saxon world and its values. As part of this export of English, there is a TESOL profession which believes that it provides a universally neutral and beneficial service, but the technology it transfers (teaching materials, curricula, 'methodologies' and personnel) are pro-Western, not universal nor non-ideological. There is then a present and historical link between TESOL and colonialism.

> It seems to me having been involved for many years with teaching English as a so-called second or foreign language, that there are deep and indissoluble links between the practices, theories and contexts of ELT and the history of colonialism. Such connections, I want to suggest, run far deeper than drawing parallels between the current global expansion of English and the colonial expansion that preceded it. Rather, I want to argue that ELT theories and practices that emanate from the former colonial powers still carry the traces of those colonial histories both because of the long history of direct connections between ELT and colonialism and because such theories and practices derive from broader European cultures and ideologies that themselves are products of colonialism. In a sense, then, ELT is a product of colonialism not just because it is colonialism that produced the initial conditions for the global spread of English but because it was colonialism that produced many of the ways of thinking and behaving that are still part of Western cultures. European/Western culture not only rode on the back of colonialism to the distant corners of the Empire but was also in turn produced by that voyage.
>
> (Pennycook 1998: 19)

Linguistic imperialism theory shares with Holliday's TESEP–BANA thesis a critique of the inappropriateness of TESOL technology in certain educational contexts but differs on the causes. For Holliday it is purely a pedagogical issue; for Phillipson, Pennycook and Canagarajah it is a pedagogical issue but it also a power issue of the oppressive imposition of a Western language and pedagogy with a certain ideology (Phillipson) or discourse (Pennycook and Canagarajah).

3.3.3.1 Phillipson's Linguistic Imperialism

The starting point of Phillipson's linguistic imperialism is that the continual maintenance and development of English globally is something that is propagated through Western capitalism to help maintain its economic and political hegemony.

> A working definition of English linguistic imperialism is that the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages. Here structural refers broadly to material properties (for example, institutions, financial allocations) and cultural to immaterial or ideological properties (for example, attitudes, pedagogic principles). English linguistic imperialism is one example of linguicism, which is defined as 'ideologies, structures, and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language'…English linguistic imperialism is seen as a sub-type of linguicism.
>
> (Phillipson 1992: 47)

Phillipson (1992a) argues that, as a part of English linguistic imperialism, the export of TESOL (what he calls ELT) expertise to the developing world has been plagued with difficulties. He cites a range of research on the problems of development projects in the Periphery where the promotion of English, inappropriate curricula, pedagogies and text books "raise not only intellectual questions about the nature, premises, and practice of the ELT profession, but also ethical issues about the responsibility of the West for what we have contributed to the Third World" (ibid: 13-15).

Part of this problem is the nature of TESOL professionalism where "methods, techniques, and procedures…including the theories of language learning" are considered "sufficient for understanding and analysing language learning" and where there is an attitude of English being the naturally the most important language (ibid: 48). For Phillipson, Centre TESOL does not take into consideration broader social, economic and political issues in its understanding and analysis of language learning; it "*disconnects* culture from structure by limiting the focus in language pedagogy to technical matters" (ibid.). Consequently, this 'technical' pedagogy is often inappropriate to the contexts it is exported to. It can be seen that Phillipson does share with Holliday a belief that TESOL pedagogy suffers from being socially and culturally insensitive. They both consider that there is an underlying attitude from Centre (i.e. BANA for Holliday) applied linguistics and TESOL that they have a universally-applicable and sophisticated expertise and knowledge for teaching English which the Periphery does not, and therefore the Periphery needs and would benefit from this expertise and knowledge.

For Phillipson, this professional transfer to the developing world helps to sustain a dependency on the technology and professionalism of the Centre: the availability of cheap products (such as text books) from the Centre ensure the reproduction in the Periphery of the institutions and practices of the Centre and prevents the Periphery finding more appropriate local solutions (ibid:62). What is also transferred is a professional ideology which has "an accepted definition of what legitimate behaviour, skills, and knowledge characterize the professsion" (ibid).

> ELT aid consists of the transfer of a language, a preferred approach to teaching and learning the language, a certain type of training, know-how, and skills. It merges elements of linguistic and educational imperialism, and spans structure and culture. It is comparable to the transfer of technology in the sphere of economic production. In both areas - education and production - there is serious concern about the viability of the exercise. One can therefore have doubts as to the extent to which ELT professionalism has in effect been successfully transferred, for instance where Periphery ELT people have become adept at writing textbooks or syllabuses or handling classroom work according to Centre professional norms. Irrespective of the degree of 'success' of such an operation, if English is adopted as a school subject, and particularly where English is the medium of education, serious consequences ensue both for English and for local languages. These consequences are of a structural kind, affecting publishing, jobs in schools and higher education, and the relationship between education and the community around it. There are also consequences of a cultural kind, among them attitudes to different languages, and the norms, values, and activities of the classroom. These micro-level consequences are intimately related to the macro-level of a global imperialist structure and the relationship between Centre countries and Periphery countries.
>
> (ibid: 64-65)

For Phillipson, these problems then are not just at a level of appropriate classroom pedagogy but have wider micro-level consequences in terms of education in the Periphery that relate to macro-level global imperialism. Phillipson does not provide an immediate practical solution to these problems. As a structuralist neo-Marxist, there is the implicit suggestion that real change can only be effected through a change in the global political-economic structure. However, he does see more immediate signs of change in the development of a "critical ELT" (1992a: 319) although he does not elaborate on what this could mean in the classroom. It is also important to note that unlike the other authors in this critical quartet, Phillipson's subsequent work from *Linguistic Imperialism* has been more concerned with the global spread of English rather than the spread of TESOL pedagogy (e.g. Phillipson 1996; 1999; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1995; 1996; 1999). Consequently, his voice has been absent from the ongoing debate between the rest of the quartet on the problematising of TESOL pedagogy and the potential solutions offered.

3.3.3.2 Pennycook and Canagarajah's Linguistic Imperialism

Pennycook's interpretation of linguistic imperialism has two principal themes that share much in common with Phillipson's concerns, being both about the imposition from the Centre of English and TESOL. Firstly, he deals with the limitations in the dominant ways of thinking about English language teaching in applied linguistics; what he calls the discourse of English as an International Language (EIL); and secondly, the cultural and political implications of the spread of English; what he calls the worldliness of English (Pennycook 1994a: 5-7). It is the first theme which is of more concern in this thesis, but, in Pennycook's view, the second must be taken into consideration because there is an "intimate relationship between the spread of English and the spread of applied linguistic knowledge" (ibid: 166). Pennycook, like Phillipson, problematises the global spread of English suggesting that it is related to "inequitable economic systems and the dominance of certain forms of culture and knowledge" (ibid: 34-35), but argues against Phillipson's deterministic model of the domination of English (and TESOL), believing that there exists the possibility for resistance, appropriation and change, despite the cultural power of the dominating Centre discourses (ibid: 179).

In his exploration of the discourse of EIL, Pennycook is not attempting to demonstrate, *à la* Phillipson (1992a), the expansionist tendencies of TESOL even though there may be truth in this argument. What he attempts to do is to explore the formulation of applied linguistics as a discourse, in the Foucauldian sense, which plays a dominant role in the larger domain of the discourse of EIL. He is interested in how a dominant discourse both controls and produces thinking about language teaching.

> To paraphrase Said…somewhat, it might be said that without examining applied linguistics as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which British and American culture has been able to manage - and even produce - English language teaching politically, sociologically, culturally, ideologically and scientifically since the end of the nineteenth century. Moreover, so authoritative a position has applied linguistics had that I believe that no one writing, thinking or acting on language teaching could do so without taking account of the limitations on thought and action imposed by applied linguistics.
>
> (ibid: 127)

This discourse, like Phillipson's professional ideology, tends to look at the spread of English as natural, neutral and beneficial and its language teaching practices as also neutral. Pennycook argues that all of these beliefs are questionable. He is concerned not so much with "the *effect* of teaching (i.e. the learning of English) but rather the *process* of teaching" with classroom practices as cultural practices that "are constantly being supported as the newest and best ways to teach English" (ibid: 166). Echoing Phillipson and Holliday, Pennycook argues that the beliefs, assumptions and practices of language teaching are considered in the discourse to be universal truths but often have weak theoretical foundations and do not

take into account the social, cultural, political and economic factors of the context into which they are transferred (ibid: 166-167). They are developed in a very different Western educational context and circumstances, which means that they are largely inappropriate to much of the world. There are a number of Western assumptions that are believed as universal truths and culturally inappropriate (Pennycook 1994a: 167, citing Nayar 1989).

> They are clearly assumptions based on a particularly Western view of education and grounded in teaching practices in the comfortable surroundings of private language schools and university-based intensive English programmes. They include a view of classes as small and full of students who share similar approaches to learning, are self-motivated, find informal interaction comfortable and are from literate cultures. Teachers are expected to be informal, to enjoy their teaching, to have easy access to a range of teaching aids and technologies, and to be free from much outside pressure.
>
> (ibid: 167)

As with Phillipson, this is analysed as being more than just a question of pedagogical inappropriacy because as applied linguists spread its "views of language teaching as scientific, modem, new and better", these views reflect the cultures and ideologies of the Western contexts from which they derived (ibid: 168). This makes the classroom a site of cultural politics, in which battles over social and cultural practices are fought. As a potential solution to these problems, Pennycook (ibid: 295-327) argues for a critical pedagogy as an alternative to the dominant pedagogy (see chapter 8.2.1.2).

Canagarajah's interpretation of linguistic imperialism has much in common with Pennycook's. However, Canagarajah (1999: 5) identifies his work as being different to Pennycook's (as well as Phillipson's and Holliday's) because, unlike them, he is a scholar who comes from the Periphery and so has an insider's perspective which better represents the interests and aspirations of Periphery communities. (Although it should be noted that at the time of writing this thesis, he no longer teaches in the Periphery, i.e. Sri Lanka, but at the heart of the Centre in New York at Baruch College, The City University of New York). However, he is theoretically very close to Pennycook drawing on postmodern and post-colonial theory. Like Pennycook, Canagarajah identifies a relationship between TESOL and educational structures and practices of colonialism (ibid: 12). In *Resisting Linguistic Imperialism*, he also argues that the English language can embody ideological and cultural values which are alien to the periphery communities, and he questions the appropriacy of Centre pedagogy. Canagarajah (1999: 9-11) uses an ethnographic vignette to illustrate his arguments. In it he describes an English lesson in an Sri Lankan university given by Mrs K. She uses an American TESOL course book in which there is text about the life of an American student Peter. Ravi, a male student in Mrs K's class, is highly resistant to the lesson and the course book.

As the foregoing passage seeks to show, the English language itself can embody ideological and cultural values alien to these communities. What happens in the sort of classroom context familiar to teachers such as Mrs K., therefore, raises questions about the relevance and appropriateness of the teaching material, curriculum, and pedagogies developed by the Anglo-American communities for periphery contexts. The contrast between Peter's well-organized, goal-directed life and the mental and social chaos surrounding Ravi could scarcely be more marked. The fact that their learning opportunities are poles apart increases the dissonance between the values represented in Mrs K.'s imported reading material and the culture of her students. As a result, the more she depends on faddish pedagogies promoted by Western teaching experts, the more her students are likely to disengage from the learning process. We are left with the most disturbing question, which is how far these many and varied influences may be shaping periphery communities according to the preferred cultural practices, ideologies, and social relations of the center.

(Canagarajah 1999: 12)

Canagarajah is then concerned about the extent to which Anglo-American curricula and pedagogies are helping to shape Periphery communities according to their preferred cultural practices, ideologies, and social relations. However, a major theme of his book is that there is opposition on the part of both students and teachers to the pedagogy and the Western form of English it propagates, which can be tapped to help create a more appropriate resistant critical pedagogy (see chapter 8.2.1.2).

3.3.4 A Critical Framework

I will now bring together the work of the quartet of scholars into a critical framework in order to clarify the differences and similarities between the theories of Holliday, Phillipson, Pennycook and Canagarajah, which will act as a starting point for my critique of dominant mainstream discourse. Table 3.3 summarises the nature of the quartet's work which has been discussed so far. As already demonstrated, the common theme of the scholars' work is problematising TESOL pedagogy with its interconnected professionalism and discourse. They all agree that the pedagogy which derives from the Centre or BANA is generally inappropriate to the contexts it is transferred to but differences occur at the level of analysis, epistemology and developing solutions, which can be clarified by examining the criticisms they make of each other's work.

	Holliday	Phillipson	Pennycook	Canagarajah
Cause of conflict	Conflicting educational cultures	Linguistic imperialism propagated by global capitalism	Linguistic imperialism caused by an expansionist Centre and complex cultural politics	Linguistic imperialism caused by an expansionist Centre and complex cultural politics
Models to explain conflict	'integrationist' BANA versus 'collectionist' TESEP	Centre versus Periphery	Centre versus Periphery	Centre versus Periphery
Basis of division of types in model	Cultural	Geopolitical & economic	Geopolitical, economic & cultural	Geopolitical, economic & cultural
Analytical basis of theory	Early work liberal-tendency (e.g. 1994a) but later work (e.g. 1997) more post-modern/post-colonial	Structuralist/ Neo-Marxist	Post-modern/post-colonial	Post-modern/post-colonial
View of TESOL curriculum and pedagogy transfer from the 'West'	Inappropriate	Inappropriate	Inappropriate	Inappropriate
Problematises the global expansion of English	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sees global expansion of English oppressive	No	Yes	Yes, but there is the possibility of resistance and appropriation	Yes, but there is the possibility of resistance and appropriation
Solution to conflict	Appropriate methodology & problematising culturist 'us'-'them' discourses	Change to global political system & undefined Critical ELT	Critical pedagogy	Critical pedagogy

Table 3-3 A Framework for Comparing the Theories of Holliday, Phillipson, Pennycook and Canagarajah

While Holliday sees the causes of this conflict being due to conflicting educational sectors and their concomitant cultures, linguistic imperialism sees it as being either due to the covert agenda of global capitalism (i.e. Phillipson) or an expanding Centre with a complex cultural politics that works in the Centre and Periphery at the micro and macro levels (i.e. Pennycook and Canagarajah). Both Pennycook (1994a: 56-57) and Canagarajah (1999: 40-44) criticise Phillipson's analytical approach for being structuralist and neo-Marxist because it tends to be deterministic: explaining human actions as being the result of the macro

political-economic system. The purpose of linguistic imperialism, according to Phillipson, is the maintenance of global capitalism.

> While…[Phillipson's] work on the institutions that promote this linguistic imperialism is of great importance, and while he has performed a valuable service by putting the phrase 'linguistic imperialism' into play in ELT circles, his adherence to a version of structural imperialism leaves us at a problematic impasse. The unfortunate conjunction between structuralism and neo-Marxism in world order theory has tended to reduce human relations to a reflection of the political economy, assuming that culture, language or knowledge can be handled like any other commodity.
>
> (Pennycook 1994a: 56)

For Pennycook (ibid: 56-57), Phillipson's neo-Marxist explanation contains no insight into how English is used, or how it is appropriated and used in opposition in the developing world. Similarly, Canagarajah (1999: 42) argues that such a deterministic model ignores the micro-level complexities of how linguistic imperialism works in the classroom; how English can be used to empower and further interests of local communities; and how there is actually resistance to English going on in the Periphery. Canagarajah (ibid: 41) also criticises Phillipson theory of language which sees English as a neutral vehicle that is used by power structures to create linguistic imperialism. For Canagarajah, inequalities are also brought about by the actual language itself: it encodes ideologies and possesses power to reproduce politico-economic structures, which has echoes of the linguistic relativism of the Saphir-Whorf hypothesis (see chapter 2.5.1) as well as postmodern discourse theory (see chapter 2.6). Therefore, the dominance of English is "not only a result of politico-economic inequalities between the center and periphery, it is also a cause of these inequalities" (ibid.). Both Pennycook and Canagarajah reject structuralist neo-Marxism in favour of postmodern and post-colonial theory which can accommodate localised use, appropriation and resistance of both language and pedagogy in the Periphery with concomitant development of critical pedagogy.

The Centre-Periphery and the TESEP-BANA models used to explain the conflicts have been the source of criticism and counter-criticism between the quartet. Canagarajah (1996; 1999: 40-45, 188; 2002: 136-139) is particularly critical of Holliday. Canagarajah mistakenly sees BANA-TESEP being synonymous with the geopolitical Centre-Periphery distinction leading to the false assumption that Holliday argues all Centre education is integrationist and all Periphery education is collectionist. Pennycook also falls into this trap.

> …Adrian Holliday, in his key book, on 'Appropriate methodology', problematizes simplistic cultural dichotomies while at the same time putting into play broad dichotomous frameworks of collectionist vs integrationist orientations suggesting that language educators in the public

sector in the less industrialized countries are "essentially collectionist", rendering them predefined before they have had a chance to move.

(Pennycook 1999)

In response to Pennycook's criticisms Holliday points out that "these definitions are sociological ideal types - heuristic devices - rather as different organizational cultures in management studies - not as prescribed stereotypes but as models" (Personal communication: E-mail 25th December 2001). He goes on to state that he uses the integrationist-collectionist dichotomy to problematise integrationism not to argue that collectionism is an inferior aspect of the 'other', which Pennycook hints at, to represent an educational culture which is perceived negatively by integrationism (ibid.).

Holliday is critical of linguistic imperialism and its Centre-Periphery model. He argues (1994a: 98-99) that Phillipson's linguistic imperialism is over-simplistic and naïve because in many aid projects in the developing world, the fundamental decision making is in the hands of local personnel. In addition to this, the Centre-Periphery model tends to create massive over-generalised cultures which in reality are not homogenous (Holliday 1997a: 415-416). According to Holliday (ibid.), Phillipson and Pennycook's claims that the cause of the adoption of 'Western' teaching practices and the English language by the non-Western is their powerlessness is inherently patronising and seems to otherise the 'non-Western'. In fact, many post-colonial educators actually claim mastery of, rather than oppression by, the expansion of English. Consequently, Holliday's work has not been concerned with a critique of the global expansion of English. For Holliday, linguistic imperialism then starts erroneously from the point that there is an *a priori* power difference between regional cultures which perpetuates what Holliday calls an "us-them culturist discourse" (ibid.).

As already stated, the analytical and epistemological basis of linguistic imperialism is structuralist and Neo-Marxist for Phillipson whilst Pennycook's and Canagarajah's works are more post-colonial and postmodern. Holliday's work is more difficult to locate because it has undergone a slow epistemological shift. Canagarajah (1996; 1999: 40-45) argues that Holliday (1994a) lacks a strong theoretical grounding with a macro-level analysis to make sense of his data. It therefore leaves out issues of power, politics and history. However, Holliday does actually use a theory in his work, i.e. a progressivist post-naturalist qualitative research paradigm, but because it starts from the basis that constructs emerge from the data, rather than being imposed from the outside, it does not necessarily mean that it will lead to the macro constructs of linguistic imperialism.[18] Another criticism by Canagarajah (1999: 45) is that Holliday's work

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[18] This research paradigm was not described in *Appropriate Methodology* because the publishers had claimed that this would have been "inaccessible for teachers" (Personal communication: E-mail 25th December 2001). See Holliday (2002) for his most detailed discussion of this paradigm.

is more based on helping aid donors and cultural officers from the Centre than empowering Periphery communities.[19] I agree to a certain extent with him on this matter; Holliday's work up to about 1996 is certainly more concerned with helping the people involved in TESOL development to work more effectively through developing appropriate methodology. It therefore probably falls more into the *liberal ostrichism* camp of applied linguistics research (Pennycook 2001: 29-33) and consequently straddles the critical and mainstream discourses. However, his work after 1996 begins to reveal a subtle move towards postmodernism but still within his post-naturalist research paradigm (e.g. Holliday 1997a; 1997b; 1998a; 1999; 2001a; 2002). Holliday himself has identified this as focusing "less on appropriate methodology and more on becoming aware of the potentially culturist, 'us'-'them' ideology present in professional discourses from the English speaking West" (Personal communication: E-mail 25th December 2001).

This section reveals that beneath the commonalities of the work of this quartet of scholars there are profound theoretical and analytical differences. It is the purpose the next section to take from this work certain strands of ideas in order to apply them to the study of this thesis: i.e. a theoretical perspective on the mainstream discourse from within BANA.

3.4 Problematising TESOL: the Author's Perspective

The question that now needs to be answered is how does the work of four authors who are concerned with the problems of the transfer of TESOL pedagogy either from BANA to TESEP or from the Centre to Periphery relate to a study that concerns the professional discourse of a group teachers working in the BANA sector in the Centre? There are no issues in this study of pedagogical transfer; for the teachers were located in the sector where the pedagogy comes from; i.e. BANA TESOL pedagogy was their pedagogy. There were no real issues either of the colonial imposition of English because the students the teachers teach generally chose to come to Britain to study English. However, the question of the students' attitudes of having to have to learn a dominant language was not in the remit of this study. Whether from the Centre or the Periphery, the students were generally middle class and were willing, or their sponsors were willing, to pay the high fees and living expenses to be at the institution in this study.

Despite this very different set of circumstances, the quartet's work is highly relevant to this study. By examining the problems of pedagogical transfer, their work reveals many of the weaknesses of BANA TESOL pedagogy, professionalism and its discourse. Rather like the anthropologist who goes to live with, and study, a radically different culture and begins to realise things about her or his own culture that were so tacit that she or he was not aware of them, the study of TESOL pedagogical transfer has helped to reveal

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[19] In fact, Holliday (2001b) questions Canagarajah's (1999) claim that his own work represents the voice of the researched because he does not demarcate his evidence from his interpretation of it, which means his proposed accuracy lacks accountability.

many of the weaknesses in the tacit norms of the profession. Indeed, I experienced a similar process during my fieldwork through reading the quartet's work as well as other critical literature (see chapter 4.3). There is often an implicit assumption in the quartet's work that BANA or Centre technology and discourse is suitable for BANA or Centre contexts. My work questions this, not only because students in BANA TESOL classrooms previous educational experience is often in TESEP, but because BANA TESOL pedagogy is in itself problematic for BANA. I would therefore argue that many of the weaknesses and problems of the mainstream discourse identified in the quartet's work are equally relevant to the context of BANA in the Centre.

At a theoretical, analytical and epistemological level this study applies the quartet's work, as well as other critical work, to a BANA Centre context. I now wish to elaborate on how these theories are applied to the analysis of the mainstream and localised discourses by examining some of the variables in table 3.3. I have adopted Holliday's BANA *intergrationist* – TESEP *collectionist* distinction rather than a Centre-Periphery model because BANA-TESEP problematises the profession at the level of educational culture and not at the level of socio-economic and geo-political power, and so can be applied to any IELE context including the one in this study. The simple fact is that a Centre-Periphery model could not be imposed on a study concerned with a Centre institution with Centre teachers, who were part of the Centre profession, and a mixture of students mostly from the Centre with a few from Periphery elites. Using, like Holliday, a progressivist qualitative research paradigm meant that the data led me to the theory and not the reverse: BANA 'integrationist' theory helped to explain the behaviour of the teachers and their relationship to a wider professional discourse; as well as their attitudes towards the TESEP sector (see chapter 4.2).

Linguistic imperialism was incommensurate with my study in terms of its analysis of pedagogical and language imposition. However, it was able to provide very useful insights into the nature and the problems of the mainstream dominant discourse as well as giving epistemological guidance. My adoption of a postmodern epistemology was highly influenced by Pennycook (1994a; 2001) and to a certain extent by Holliday (1997a). I rejected a neo-Marxist analysis firstly because it tends to posit a view of education where the students are being oppressed and indoctrinated into a bourgeois ideology by a colluding teacher body and educational system (e.g. Sharp 1993). In this study, and in my experience as a TESOL teacher, and taking into consideration the conditions of the profession I described in 3.2 above, it could be argued that the teachers were being oppressed not the middle-class wealthy students. Arguably this may be different in English as an additional language situations in schools and in adult education where immigrant children and refugees are definitely not middle class and wealthy. However, even in this case, in my experience in Britain, teachers face a similar low status. The second reason I rejected neo-Marxism is because it is modernist and suffers the same delusion of universal, objective 'science' as the mainstream dominant discourse.

3.4.1 A Postmodern Interpretation of the Mainstream Discourse

The previous section makes clear that I problematise the mainstream discourse because it promotes a pedagogy that in theory is 'scientific', 'universal' and the most effective, but in practice is often inappropriate and contradictory partly because it derives from a positivist research paradigm with a modernist epistemology that denies the relevance of localised social, cultural and political factors. The overriding feature of the mainstream dominant discourse is that it is modernist (see chapter 2.2 & 2.6.2; cf. Pennycook 1994a: 108-142; Holliday 1997a; Pennycook 2001; Grimshaw 2002). The understanding of what constitutes a human being derives from the modernist conception of the self in education which itself derives from psychology (Usher & Edwards 1994: 33-55). The understanding of what constitutes knowledge and how knowledge can be created and developed in the mainstream discourse derives from positivism (Holliday 1996a; Pennycook 1994a: 123-126) and structuralism (Pennycook 1994a: 123-126). There is then an emphasis in applied linguistics research that informs practice on the individual language learner, on the psycholinguistic and psychological, on generating universally applicable generalisations and on using quantitative methods. In this section, I wish to expand Pennycook's and Holliday's postmodern critiques of the mainstream discourse by locating it within wider theories of late modern society proposed by Foucault drawing also on Foucauldian work in education.

Mainstream applied linguistics sees researching language teaching and learning as a 'scientific' enterprise from which technical and universal solutions can be found to improve efficiency. Using Lyotard's (Lyotard 1984; Lyotard 1992; Sim 2001) notion of modernist grand narratives or metanarratives; a key aspect of the mainstream discourse is its metanarrative of being engaged in the progressive search for the perfect 'methodology': a Holy Grail for the perfect 'method' universally applicable and 'scientifically' proven which leads to the most effective forms of second language learning. This metanarrative then legitimises the current project within TESOL and applied linguistics for this search.

An important aspect of this metanarrative that guides the profession is the notion that its current pedagogy is the best so far developed in the world and far superior to that which exists in the TESEP sector. The following quotation typifies this attitude which I have heard many times in many places from many different colleagues.

> …Peter Strevens, at the time chairperson of the International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language, says 'the development of EFL, based in Britain, has outstripped in terms of effectiveness, classroom effectiveness, and methodology and so on, all other branches of second and foreign language teaching anywhere else in the world, in any other language' (Strevens, interview).
>
> <div align="right">(Phillipson 1992a: 242)</div>

There is a certain irony in this in the fact that Britain has a notoriously bad reputation for foreign language teaching and learning (Widdowson 1992: 338; Reynolds 2001). There has then been a linear process of 'methodological' development with each new 'methodology' an improvement of its predecessor. This attitude is typified in Richards and Rodgers (1986; 2001) whose history of 'methods' starts from the much derided grammar-translation and works its way through to the present state-of-the-art 'methods'. However, work that takes a far broader historical analysis (e.g. Kelly 1969; Howatt 1984) reveals that pedagogy goes through cyclical fashions and that what is fashionable now has been practised before (Pennycook 1989). The only difference is that present fashions are supported by a claims to 'science' and so are superior to previously very similar 'non-scientific' pedagogies (Pennycook 1994a: 140).

3.4.1.1 Locating the Mainstream Discourse in Wider Tendencies of Late Modern Society

I now wish to relate the Foucauldian conception of discourse as power/knowledge used in this thesis (see chapter 2.6) with Foucault's theory of how discourses operate in late modern society; i.e. *biopower*. I believe that the mainstream discourse is not an idiosyncratic phenomenon but in fact shares many of the features of this wider theory. While Foucault's work was only indirectly concerned with education (cf. Hoskin 1990), there has been an emerging literature in education which brings a Foucauldian approach and thinking to its research and theories (e.g. Ball 1990; Edwards 1991; Popkewitz 1994; Edwards & Usher 1994, 1995; Marshall 1996; Wain 1996; Popkewitz & Brennan 1998; Olssen 1999). Within critical applied linguistics, Pennycook (1994a: 31-32) also draws heavily on Foucault to develop his critique and model of the dominant discourse of TESOL and applied linguistics. My interpretation of the discourse follows Pennycook's thinking, but I elaborate on the broader significances of this discourse using Foucault, his interpreters, and Foucauldian educational theory.

Foucault's academic output was vast and complex and has arguably been divided into different periods marked by theoretical shifts (cf. McHoul & Grace 1993: viii-ix). I do not have enough space here to partake in this debate. However, I would argue that my interpretation falls within his *genealogy* period when he studied the historical construction of truth through power/knowledge in order to come to some understanding of the truths we have about ourselves today, how we are constituted as subjects and the way in which we control our own behaviour (Megill 1987: 232-237; McNay 1994: 88-91; Danaher et al 2000: 24; Foucault 2000a: 315-316; Foucault 2000c: 369-391; Kendall. & Wickham. 1999: 29-31). My interpretation is largely based on two key books of that period: *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1991) and *The Will to Knowledge: The History of Sexuality Part 1*(1998). Foucault is concerned here with the shift in how people were governed that occurred in the 18th century; a shift in the use of power in which we find ourselves today in late modern society. A shift away from violent coercion of the state to a far more complex use of power in *governmentality*, where the state today manages its human resources for the effective and productive running of society (Popkewitz & Brennan 1998b: 20-21;

Foucault 2000e; Danaher et al 2000: 82-94). This involves the state intervening more into citizens' lives and can be seen in the running of such institutions as schools, universities, hospitals, prisons, the military and of areas of human behaviour such as sexuality. Humans are now not physically coerced into behaving how the state wishes; they are regulated by the state and institutions via discourses that educate them to monitor and regulate their own behaviour; thus power has a form resembling more circularity than hegemony.

What emerges from this is what Foucault calls the *disciplinary society* (Foucault 1991: 209) which is strongly related to the emergence of the social sciences (Foucault 1991: 305). These 'sciences' (particularly those prefixed with 'psycho-') help form the "calculable man" where humans become 'scientific' objects of study in order to have knowledge of how better to run society (Foucault 1991: 193). The social sciences not only make humans objects of study, they also help people to constitute themselves (Olssen 1999: 149). This resembles another construct favoured by postmodern educationalists: the techno-rationality model (e.g. Welker 1993; Usher, Bryant & Johnston 1997). In this model, there is a positivist belief that 'science' can provide the answers to social and political problems (Welker 1993: 84; citing Schon 1983) with a body of knowledge that is universal, learnt and applied (Usher, Bryant & Johnston 1997).

> The technical rationality model assumes that theoretical knowledge must be the foundation of practice because it is research-generated, systematic and 'scientific' knowledge. In the technical-rationality model, theory is conceived as revealing the nature of the world – in other words, it is knowledge about what *is*. This knowledge takes the form of generalised propositions, the only knowledge considered worthwhile and secure. This privileging is taken to the point where every other kind of knowledge is demonised as mere belief, opinion and prejudice.
>
> (Usher, Bryant & Johnston 1997: 125)

The techno-rationality model comfortably sits within Foucault's disciplinary society in seeing professions being governed by a form of 'universal scientific' knowledge. I would argue that applied linguistics is a relatively recent social science that has itself produced the *calculable learner* and *teacher*, and which fits in to this techno-rationality model.

The technologies, discourses and practices that are used to bring about the production and the management of humans is what Foucault calls *biopower* (McNay 1994: 90-91; Danaher et al 2000: 74; Marshall 1996: 114-116; Foucault 1998: 140-144): "the 'macro-social functions' of 'power-knowledge'" (Olssen 1999: 29). Biopower produces *docile bodies*, humans that become self-regulating subjects (Usher & Edwards 1994: 92; Danaher et al 2000: 75) where the body "may be subjected, used, transformed, and improved" (Foucault 1991: 136). It is interesting to note that from the perspective of education, Hoskin (1990: 31)

observes that etymologically *docile* derives from the Latin *docilus*, that is to say *teachable*. Biopower works through disciplinary institutions where specific discourses operate (ibid.:138-139); institutions such as prisons, barracks, schools, hospitals and factories all work in the same way to educate humans to regulate their own behaviour. As such all of the institutions resemble each other far more than is commonly realised (ibid.: 227-228).

At the centre of the operation of disciplinary institutions, is the concept of *discipline* sharing at the same time the meaning of punishment and coercion as well as a body of skills and knowledge of a particular group, a discipline (Knight et al 1990: 133; Foucault 1991: 135-228; McNay 1994: 91-95; Danaher et al 2000: 50-52). Discipline functions through discourse in order to effectuate governance (Usher & Edwards 1994: 84) where there is a meticulous control of the operations of the body and the imposition of docility-utility (Foucault 1991: 137). An educational profession like TESOL and its academic discipline of applied linguistics can be seen as a form of Foucauldian discipline with its 'scientific' knowledge base, skills and means of regulation (cf. Ball 1990b). Indeed, Popkewitz (1994) links the concept of a teacher profession and pedagogical knowledge together with discipline and power/knowledge.

Discipline functions by using a series of techniques, i.e. *technologies of domination*: it manages people through *the art of distributions*, *the control of activity*, *the organisation of geneses*, and *the composition of forces* (Foucault 1991: 141-167). The *art of distribution* concerns the control of space where the principles of *enclosure*, *partitioning*, and *functional sites* design spaces for people and activities (Foucault 1991: 141-149). Enclosure means the totality of an institutional space in which discipline functions such as factories, barracks, prisons and schools. Partitioning describes how such spaces are divided up.

> Disciplinary space tends to be divided into as many sections as there are bodies or elements
> to be distributed. One must eliminate the effects of imprecise distributions, the uncontrolled
> disappearance of individuals, their diffuse circulation, their unstable and dangerous
> coagulation; it was a tactic of anti-desertion, anti-vagabondage, anti-concentration. Its aim
> was to establish presences and absences, to know where and how to locate individuals, to set
> up useful communications, to interrupt others, to be able at each moment to supervise the
> conduct of each individual, to assess it, to judge it, to calculate its qualities or merits. It was a
> procedure, therefore, aimed at knowing, mastering and using. Discipline organizes an
> analytical space.
>
> (ibid.: 143)

The analytical space of education is the classroom; that space in which the behaviour of students can be controlled and monitored by the teacher. Functional sites describe the spaces within a partitioned site where individuals are distributed each having a function where they can be observed and assessed (ibid.: 143-

145). In education, functional sites can be seen in how the architecture of the classroom is designed in order to achieve pedagogic effectiveness and control. These sites are not fixed but can vary with different ranks for people and networks of relations established (ibid.: 145-147). The creation of analytical space allows the characterization of the individual and, at the same time. the control of the multiplicity; what Foucault calls *cellular* power (Foucault 1991: 149).

The control of activity is the coding of activities through timetables (Foucault 1991: 149-156). In educational terms, this is not just the case of dividing up the day into specific types of lessons but also means the sense of the division of an actual lesson where precise activities are demarcated by time; what would be more familiarly known as the lesson plan. In both cases, this concerns the constitution of "totally useful time" (Foucault 1991: 150); i.e. time in the educational day is precisely detailed and quantified for the maximum and most effective pedagogic use.

The organization of genesis concerns how discipline is the machinery for adding up and capitalising time (ibid.: 157). This is achieved in four interrelated ways. Firstly, there is the division of a duration into successive or parallel elements. Foucault cites the example of the development of military training which isolated the period of training from the period of practice (ibid.: 157-158). In this system, parts are taught in isolation: when one is mastered, the soldiers move on to the next. Time is therefore broken down into separate adjustable threads. The second way is to "Organize these threads according to an analytical plan – successions of elements as simple as possible, combining according to increasing complexity", and the third is to "Finalize these temporal segments, decide on how long each will last and conclude it with an examination" (ibid.: 158). The final way is described by Foucault in terms of military training:

> Draw up series of series; lay down for each individual, according to his level, his seniority,
> his rank, the exercises that are suited to him; common exercises have a differing role and
> each difference involves specific exercises.
>
> (ibid.)

For Foucault, this disciplinary time was imposed on pedagogical practice. In such educational technologies, there is a linear time oriented towards a terminal, stable point.

> But it must be recalled that, at the same moment, the administrative and economic techniques
> of control reveal a social time of a serial, oriented culumative type: the discovery of an
> evolution in terms of 'progress'. The disciplinary techniques reveal individual series: the
> discovery of an evolution in terms 'genesis'. These two great 'discoveries' of the eighteenth
> century – the progress of societies and the genesis of individuals – were perhaps correlative

with the new techniques of power, and more specifically, with a new way of administering time and making it useful, by segmentation, seriation, synthesis and totalization.

(ibid.: 160)

At the centre of this seriation of time is the procedure of the what Foucault (ibid.: 161) calls the *exercise* which I would argue equates with my notion of *task* (see chapter 5.2.2). For Foucault (ibid.) exercise "is that technique by which one imposes on the body tasks that are both repetitive and different, but always graduated." Exercise bends behaviour towards a terminal state which makes possible a perpetual characterisation of the individual. From its origins in religious practices as means of ordering Earthly time in the pursuit of salvation, exercise is redefined in later modernity.

It was gradually, in the history of West, to change direction while preserving certain of its characteristics; it served to economize the time of life, to accumulate it in a useful form and to exercise power over men through the mediation of time arranged in this way. Exercise, having become an element in the political technology of the body and of duration, does not culminate in a beyond, but tends towards a subjection that has never reached its limit.

(ibid.: 162)

The composition of forces is how discipline works as a whole in an institution "in order to obtain an efficient machine" (ibid.: 164). The body is constituted as part of this multi-segmenting machine while the constitution of time as combinations of activities are also pieces of this machinery. The functioning of discipline through these techniques can be summarised thus:

…it might be said that discipline creates out of the bodies it controls four types of individuality, or rather an individuality that is endowed with four characteristics: it is cellular (by the play of spatial distribution), it is organic (by the coding of activities), it is genetic (by the accumulation of time), it is combinatory (by the composition of forces). And, in doing so, it operates four great techniques: it draws up tables; it prescribes movements; it imposes exercises; lastly, in order to obtain the combination of forces, it arranges 'tactics'. Tactics, the art of constructing, with located bodies, coded activities and trained aptitudes, mechanisms in which the product of the various forces is increased by their calculated combination are no doubt the highest form of disciplinary practice.

(ibid.: 167)

Bearing in mind Popkewitz's (1994) linking of pedagogical knowledge and discipline, I would argue that these characteristics in discipline realise themselves in the TESOL in the 'scientific' breakdown of pedagogy into 'methodology' where pedagogic techniques (e.g. lesson planning; teacher and student bodily

movement and position; student and teacher interaction; curriculum and syllabi; classroom design and furniture layout; pedagogic exercises, drills and tests) are all designed in minute and precise detail in order to achieve 'effective' language teaching and learning. Punishment in this paradigm does not have the direct purpose to repress but to normalise (Foucault 1991: 183). Departure from the norm, the anomaly, is the problem, the offence (ibid.: 299). In the mainstream discourse, punishment is not meted out through physical coercion but more subtle means are sought to help students conform to behavioural and language norms in such areas as error correction (cf. Bartram & Walton 1991).

Another important element of technologies of domination is *examination* where "the techniques of hierarchical observation and normalising judgement combine" (Sheridan 1990: 154). Examination means more than the educational sense of testing but all those procedures in which human behaviour is observed, analysed and recorded for the process of normalising (Foucault 1991: 184-192), and, as such, is a key element of biopower in education (Jones 1990: 96-98; Marshall 1996: 158-159; Popkewitz & Brennan 1998b; Olssen 1999: 29; Kendall. & Wickham. 1999: 136-138). Examination helps to normalise humans by making each person an individual 'case' where differences from the norm are marked out and recorded (Foucault 1991: 192). Examination is still very much today caught up in disciplinary technology even if it has the veneer of 'science' in integrating itself with such sciences as psychology and psychiatry (ibid.: 226-227) and it is very much part of the process of education.

> In education this process can be discerned in the increased scope and impact of assessment procedures, evaluation and appraisal mechanisms, for instance, curriculum vitae, education certificates, standard assessment tests, records of achievement, school reports, appraisal forms. Teachers and lecturers are increasingly both agents of and subject to the disciplinary process of individual measurement and assessment, both in their work with students and the practices they are subject to…
>
> (Usher & Edwards 1994: 102)

These processes apparent in general education are also very much evident in the practices that the mainstream discourse encourages (see chapter 7.2.3.3).

In contrast to these technologies of domination that exist in discipline, people are also governed by *technologies of the self* : ways in which humans can tell the 'truth' about themselves typically through professionally-controlled confession (Marshall 1996: 97-99; Olssen 1999: 32; Foucault 2000f: 177-178). Confession is then another means used for the production of truth (Foucault 1998: 58-67); a form of self-examination (Simola *et al* 1998: 67).

…next to the testing rituals, next to the testimony of witnesses, and the learned methods of observation and demonstration, the confession became one of the West's most highly valued techniques for producing truth. We have since become a singularly confessing society. The confession has spread its effects far and wide. It plays a part in justice, medicine, education, family relationships, and love relations, in the most ordinary affairs of everyday life, and in the most solemn rites; one confesses one's crimes, one's sins, one's thoughts and desires, one's illnesses and troubles; one goes about telling with the greatest precision, whatever is most difficult to tell. One confesses in public and private, to one's parents, one's educators, one's doctor, to those one loves; one admits to oneself, in pleasure and pain, things it would be impossible to tell anyone else, the things people write books about. One confesses – or one is forced to confess.

(Foucault 1998: 59)

The confessional does not just take its religious form but occurs in "interrogations, interviews, conversation, consultations, or even in autobiographical narratives" (McHoul & Grace 1993: 80). In contemporary education, confession acts as a key aspect of pedagogy (cf. Edwards & Usher 1995) and as a means by which pupil identities are constructed in schools (Orner 1998). In TESOL this operates for example in classroom interaction, tutorials, text production and examination (see chapter 7.2.3.4).

To help conceptualise how biopower operates through discipline, Foucault uses Bentham's *panopticon* as both a model and a metaphor (Foucault 1991: 195-128; Foucault 2000b: 58-59; Danaher et al 2000: 53-57). The panopticon**,** a design for a prison, consists of a tower surrounded by an annular building (Foucault 1991: 200). The tower has wide windows facing out onto the annular building, which itself is divided into prison cells. Each cell has two windows: one facing the tower corresponding to its windows; the other at the opposite end of the room facing outwards. The design of the panopticon allows light to pass through the cells from the exterior windows so that the guards in the central tower can then observe each individual prisoner. The cells are then "like small cages, so many small theatres, in which each actor is alone, perfectly, individualized and constantly visible" (ibid.).

Each individual, in his place, is securely confined to a cell from which he is seen from the front by the supervisor; but the side walls prevent him from coming into contact with his companions. He is seen, but he does not see; he is the object of information, never a subject in communication. The arrangement of his room, opposite the central tower, imposes on him an axial visibility; but the division of the ring, those separated cells, imply a lateral invisibility. And this invisibility is a guarantee of order. If the inmates are convicts, there is no danger of a plot, an attempt at collective escape, the planning of new crimes for the future, bad reciprocal influences; if they are patients, there is no danger of contagion; if they are

madman there is no risk of their committing violence upon one another; if they are schoolchildren, there is no copying, no noise, no chatter, no waste of time; if they are workers, there are no disorders, no theft, no coalitions, none of those distractions that slow down the rate of work, make it less perfect or cause accidents. The crowd, a compact mass, a locus of multiple exchanges, individualities merging together, a collective effect, is abolished and replaced by a collection of separated individualities.

(ibid: 200-201)

In the panopticon, humans are not only separated as individuals for observation and control, but humans are self-regulators of their behaviour for they are never aware of when they are being observed, they just know that there is a possibility that they are being observed. The panopticon is then "a generalizable model of functioning"; it not only describes an architectural form of biopower that can be applied in different ways and institutions in disciplinary society whenever "one is dealing with a multiplicity of individuals on whom a task or a particular form of behaviour must be imposed", but it also describes a metaphor for how we all behave as self-regulating subjects in late modern society (ibid.: 205). This is not just those found in the metaphorical annular building for even the observers can be observed (ibid.: 207) as typified in education by external and internal inspection.

It would seem that structure completely dominates over agency in biopower. However, in Foucault's theory of power, power is not wholly negative but can be productive and so there is always room for the possibility of resistance (Foucault 1991: 290-292; Foucault 1998: 95-96; Foucault 2000g: 292-293; Danaher et al 2000: 80-81). Therefore, it is not just the case of dominant and dominated discourses; but there are battles between discourses and the existence of resistant discourses.

Discourses are not once and for all subservient to power or raised up against it, any more than silences are. We must make allowance for the complex and unstable process whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it.

(Foucault 1998: 100-101)

This can explain the relationship between the various discourses outlined in 3.1.1 above. There is a dominant mainstream discourse but there are also other voices (i.e. a heteroglossia) with resistant and counter discourses. In this study, while accepting the power of the mainstream discourse, it was also evident that there was resistance to it on the part of both the teachers and the students (see chapter 7.2.4).

In this section, I have argued that the mainstream dominant discourse is an example of how power/knowledge discourses operate in late modern society in being part of the operation of biopower. One problem with biopower is that it suggests at once the operation of macro state power and the operation of micro forms of power, what Foucault calls a *micro-physics of power* (Sheridan 1990: 140). Foucault (2000i: 122-124) argues that power relations exist beyond the state because it is unable to occupy every domain of power relations and there are other forms of power relations already in existence. State *metapower* then works in a complex relationship with these other forms of power. Extending Foucault's biopower to understanding the mainstream discourse, I would argue that this discourse is not something that relates directly to the state. However, it does relate to how power/knowledge operates at whole range of levels in late modern society: i.e. state, institutional, professional and personal. Something that is so normal that we are hardly aware of it. In the next section, I will apply the critiques discussed so far in this chapter to an investigation of the nature of this discourse in terms of the pedagogy it advocates.

3.5 Problematising the Pedagogy

In this section I examine some of the most salient features of the mainstream pedagogy using a postmodern critique that takes into account the three themes that have been discussed so far in this chapter: i.e. the low-status of the profession; the inappropriacy of a 'scientific' 'universal' pedagogy; and the relationship between the mainstream discourse and biopower. My critique of the mainstream discourse and its reverberations in the localised discourse consists of three related elements:

1. The pedagogy ideally fits a low-status, 'backpacker' profession because the main elements of it can be reduced to a series of 'universally-applicable' techniques, the rudiments of which can be taught on a one-month training course to 'native speakers'.
2. This 'universally-applicable method' is neither sophisticated nor responsive enough for the complex educational needs and cultures of students in any context, because these educational concerns are hardly accounted for in the 'method'. Consequently, in many BANA cases, it may be inappropriate.
3. There is a dissonance between theory and practice. The pedagogy claims to create certain forms of student-centred learning and to be responsive to students' needs. It claims a democratic, affective classroom. This is a liberal illusion for it masks the subtle operation of biopower.

This section begins by examining the role of applied linguistics research and theory in shaping the mainstream discourse's view of pedagogy. I then scrutinize learner-centredness which is a principal theoretical underpinning of the pedagogy. Finally, I critique the fundamental elements of the pedagogy.

3.5.1 The Role of Applied Linguistics

As has been made clear so far in this thesis, TESOL has had as one of its principal intellectual resources the discipline of applied linguistics (Holliday 1994a: 75; Holliday 1998a; Pennycook 1994a: 126-143; Phillipson 1992a: 174-176). Mainstream applied linguistics is then an important element of the dominant discourse. In chapter 2, mainstream applied linguistics was analysed for its understanding of culture and discourse (2.5 & 2.6), and the broader critique of modernism in 2.2 can also be applied to the discipline. In this section, I summarise Pennycook's (1994a: 109-140) analysis of the development of linguistics and the subsequent development of modernist applied linguistics in order to clarify why it is that the dominant discourse has such a narrow 'scientific' understanding of language pedagogy.

Pennycook (ibid.: 109) argues that the development of European linguistics is a cultural form which sees language as a homogenous unity that is objectively describable as an isolated structural entity. This notion of linguistics as a science developed in late 19th century and is associated with the work of Saussure (Culler 1986), the major player in the development of structuralism (see chapter 2.2). The influence of structuralism is the major defining shift in linguistics whose reverberations in applied linguistics and TESOL still resonant today. Whilst many linguists would argue that structuralism replaced representationalism[20] as linguistics' principal epistemology, it in fact still exists running in tandem with structuralism; there still remains an assumption in the mainstream discourse that "the world described by English is the world as it really is and thus to learn English is essential if anyone wants to understand the modern world" (Pennycook 1994a: 120). However, structuralism's impact has been greater on linguistics and mainstream applied linguistics as the following key beliefs reveal:

1. Language can be dealt with entirely in terms of its internal structure and thus without reference to its cultural, social, historical and political contexts (Pennycook 1994a: 121).

2. As meaning resides in a linguistic system then the definition of meanings resides in the describers of the language. This centralising of meaning is reinforced by Saussure's view that language is a fixed code shared by a homogeneous speech community; which is a guarantor of shared meanings. There is therefore tacit shared meanings by all speakers of English. From this we get the concept of the 'ideal speaker-hearer', i.e. the 'native speaker' (ibid.).

3. There is an emphasis on linguistic competence which reinforces standard language and dismisses other forms as incorrect. This is reinforced by Chomsky's notion of fixed unitary language as an innate system, all variations are then due to vagaries of performance rather than variety (ibid.: 122).

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[20] In representationalism language is a transparent medium that represents the world (material and thought) in one-to-one correspondence; there is then a pre-linguistic material reality or thought (Pennycook 1994a: 119).

4. There is an emphasis on monolingualism. This connects with the notion of a monolingual nation-state; a key European language myth because in fact most of the world is multilingual (ibid.).

5. A belief that speaking is more important than writing, i.e. phonocentrism (ibid.: 121-123). This is because speech comes before writing in the development of language in the child and in societies. Writing is just a visual representation of speech and speech has more functions than writing. This view ignores the fact that the advent of writing changes the nature of language, society and culture. Therefore, the priority of speaking deals with language as some idealised abstract concept (ibid.: 123). Phonocentrism, which implies humans started in some form of oral Eden of pure communication unsullied by writing, can be critiqued as a structuralist tendency towards logocentrism (cf. Derrida 1976; Johnson 1997).

As will be subsequently discussed, all these elements have had significant impact on the mainstream discourse. However, the most pernicious impact is that linguistics through its adherence to positivism and structuralism can make its claim to be a 'science' (Pennycook: 123). This claim excludes other possible knowledges and gives the discourse extreme power. Furthermore, structuralism seeing language as a fixed system for analysis excludes social, cultural and political implications of use; any differences in meaning are cultural differences rather than language being constitutive of culture (ibid.: 124).

Applied linguistics has developed in the epistemological shadow of its disciplinary 'father', linguistics, while it has also wished to claim, like its father, the 'scientific rigour' of positivism and structuralism (Pennycook 1994a: 127-140 and cf. Holliday 1996a; Pennycook 2001). In the early period of its development up until 1960s, there was a three-stage hierarchy with linguistics at the top (Pennycook 1994a: 139-140). Applied linguists were expected to take from linguistics the models of the language to be taught, develop materials and then hand them to the teacher at the bottom of the hierarchy. However, since the 1960s there has been disciplinary shift with applied linguistics claiming a more autonomous position from linguistics with 'scientific' theories of language use (i.e. sociolinguistics, pragmatics and discourse analysis) and 'scientific' theories of language learning (i.e. psycholinguistics and second language acquisition). It is then at the top of its own hierarchy drawing from linguistics when it wished "but otherwise drawing on its own growing body of theory and practice in order to determine both linguistic content and teaching style." (ibid.: 140)

The voice of mainstream applied linguistics in the mainstream discourse is very important. Applied linguistics, via its parent discipline linguistics, has helped to reinforce the idea that pedagogy can have a 'scientific' basis. Applied linguistics has produced theory on every aspect of pedagogy from syllabus design to the particularities of classroom interaction all located within this 'scientific' paradigm where meaning lies within an enclosed linguistic system; and where there is a fixed code held by linguistically competent native speakers who live in monolingual communities; where speaking is the true language

form. This 'scientific' discipline typifies Foucault's theory of a disciplinary society and biopower for applied linguistics is yet another social science that bases its knowledge on a positivist 'psycho-' approach where human beings become measurable language learning machines that can be trained to learn more effectively.

I have now made clear the nature of applied linguistics' role in constructing the mainstream discourse's view of pedagogy. In the next section, I will critically examine learner-centredness.

3.5.2 The Influence of Learner-Centredness

To fully understand the nature of the pedagogy, it is essential to examine learner-centredness. Learner-centredness has become such an intrinsic part of weak communicative language teaching (CLT) that it is almost synonymous with it (Benson & Voller 1997: 10). In examining the mainstream literature, there is a problem of identifying whether learner-centredness in TESOL influenced the development of weak CLT or vice versa. However, taking a broader educational approach reveals that learner-centredness has been issue in mainstream education that predates CLT. It should be noted that the literature sometimes refers to learner-centredness as student-centredness, sometimes as child-centredness. I take all of these to be synonymous.

3.5.2.1 Defining Learner-Centeredness

Learner-centredness in TESOL has a complex web of influences. For example, Yalden (1987: 54-57), from the perspective of the mainstream discourse, argues that student-centredness is amalgam of the following: placing of the learner at the centre of pedagogy; moving away from lockstep teaching;[21] responding to actual needs of students; accepting different learning styles; taking account of the affective element; and moving away from a conscious and analytical study of structure towards a syllabus based on needs analysis of sociolinguistic features of communication. Tudor (1992; 1993; 1996), from the same perspective, has tried to tie these elements together. He sees learner-centredness as "a broadly-based endeavour designed to gear language teaching, in terms of both the content and the form of instruction, around the needs and characteristics of learners" (1996: ix) that can be sourced to four formative trends: the humanistic school of language learning (deriving from general education and psychology); communicative language teaching; learning strategy research; and individualization. (ibid.: 1-33)

Following Tudor, I wish to analyse each of these formative trends. Unlike Tudor, I do not see these influences having equal weight. For me, the primary influence on learner-centredness is humanistic thinking in psychology and education typified in the work of Rogers (1961) and Maslow (1970) (Edwards

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[21] Lockstep describes the procedure whereby the interaction in a lesson is teacher-student, and all the students work at the same pace with the teacher.

& Usher 2000: 129) combined with certain notions of autonomy which are also fundamentally linked with the repercussions of strategy research. I will therefore deal with these areas lastly outlining first of all some of the 'methodological' influences. According to Tudor (1996: 10), CLT has made two contributions to learner-centredness: firstly and most importantly, it has put in the central place of course design the communicative goals of the learner, i.e. the communication students need to carry out in the real world; secondly, it promotes an experiential methodology where learners' real world experience and concerns are given central role in learning activities. Individualisation shares a similar influence in its concerns for a flexible pedagogy to meet needs and progress of students (Tudor 1996: 11-12). Derived from these concerns for learner needs has been the development of the learner-centred curriculum which promotes the active participation of students in the planning, implementation and evaluation of the curriculum (Nunan 1988a; 1988b: 65-66; 1989: 19).

The common concerns of humanistic language teaching are with individual well being: a respect for the individual with the encouragement of friendship and cooperation; the encouragement of positive feelings; and a notion of human self-realisation and self-empowerment (Underhill 1989: 251; Stevick 1990: 23-24). It is linked closely with a concern with the *affective* and the desire for the growth in human potential (Arnold 1999: xiii). *Affect* deals with aspects of emotion, feeling, mood, or attitude that condition behaviour and influence language learning (Arnold & Douglas Brown 1999: 1). In language learning, there is a concern for overcoming negative emotions (e.g. anxiety, fear, stress, anger and depression) that can compromise learning and stimulate positive emotions (e.g. self-esteem, empathy and motivation) that can help facilitate learning (ibid: 2-3). This notion of negative emotions interfering with learning has had theoretical backing in second language acquisition in Stephen Krashen's *Affective Filter Hypothesis* where acquisition can be impeded or blocked by affective factors, such as anxiety, low motivation, lack of self-confidence and embarrassment (Krashen 1982; Krashen & Terrel 1983). In applied linguistics, motivation is also considered to be an important factor in increasing learning effectiveness (Dornyei 1994). However, in humanistic thinking *affect* is not just an issue of effectiveness but educating "learners to live more satisfying lives and be responsible members of society" (Arnold & Douglas Brown 1999: 3) and educating teachers so that "As they come to know themselves better, they will also be able to understand their students better and lead them towards more significant learning and growth" (ibid.: 5).

In Tudor's formative framework, the study of type and effectiveness of strategies that students employ in language learning has led to a rethinking of the role the learner takes in the learning process. Students are encouraged to be more active and self-directive while learner training has been developed in order that students can master the optimum strategies and achieve learner autonomy (Tudor 1996: ix-xi). Work that explores learner differences and the socio-cultural aspects of learner identity has also been important in developing the concept of learners being individuals with individual learning needs (Tudor 1996: ix-xi). The main by-product of strategy research has been learner training (e.g. Wenden & Rubin 1987; Ellis &

Sinclair 1989; Oxford 1989; Willing 1989; O'Malley & Chamot 1990; Wenden 1991; Wenden 1995). Proponents of learner training argue that adult learners are capable of self-direction: they are able to plan and organise their own learning (Hedge 1993: 92). However, in order to reach such a state learners may need to be trained to become more autonomous with:

> …a set of procedures or activities which raise learners' awareness of what is involved in the process of learning a second language, which encourage learners to become more involved in and responsible for their own learning, and which help learners to develop and strengthen their strategies for language learning.
>
> (Hedge 1993: 92)

Tudor (1996: 34-65) argues that learner training is a key part of a learner-centred approach because "as a result of a lack of experience of a participative approach to learning and/or of their expectations about language study, not all learners may be prepared for this role in either strategic or attitudinal terms" (ibid.: 65). Learner-training enables students to develop understanding of language learning. Through it they can acquire the knowledge and skills to study language "in an informed and self-directive manner" (ibid.) This develops *learner involvement* in their studies. Learner training fundamentally seems to be concerned with strategies to help students adjust to unfamiliar pedagogy, i.e. weak CLT (e.g. Bassano 1986), but it also seems to take on the meaning of the process of convincing teachers to use aspects of this pedagogy (e.g. Nolasco & Arthur 1986).

What is crucial to learner training, and to humanistic language teaching, and in fact to learner-centredness as a whole, is developing learner autonomy in students where "an autonomous person…has an independent capacity to make and carry out the choices which govern his or her actions" (Littlewood 1996: 428); and "the ability to take charge of one's own learning" (Benson & Voller 1997a: 1, citing Holec 1981: 3). However, there is a tension between the interpretation of autonomy as property of individuals or of social groups (Benson & Voller 1997: 2-3; Pennycook 1997b: 36). The philosophical concept of individual autonomy is central to European liberal-democratic and liberal-humanist thought (Pennycook 1997b: 36, citing Lindley 1986). This is a form of self mastery: mastery of oneself (internal and psychological); and freedom from mastery exercised other to oneself by others (external, social political freedom). It is based on a belief in a developed self, "a self-conscious, rational being able to make independent decisions" in a democratic state (Pennycook 1997b: 36). In modernity, there is a view of education where 'man' is freed from dependence of an external authority by the process of finding through education what is 'natural' to 'man' (Edwards & Usher 1994: 136). Autonomy and emancipation is achieved via reason.

> Autonomy, therefore, refers to a situation where, through reason, one obligates and controls oneself from a source inside or natural to oneself, from one's authentic self. More precisely, it

is freedom from dependence because what supposedly prevents autonomy is dependence on anything that is external or other to oneself, that is, in effect, unnatural or 'other' to reason.

(ibid.)

Education is the only authority of the 'other' that can recover the natural and develop autonomy (ibid.: 136-137) and education forms the individual as the core of a democratic society (Benson & Voller 1997: 4). In its more radical collective interpretation, educational autonomy can mean the liberation from schooling (e.g. Illich 1971) or helping learners to have tools for social struggle (e.g. Freire 1972). However, within the mainstream applied linguistics it is the individual, psychological interpretation which dominates (Benson & Voller 1997: 5-7) being associated with the technology of self-directed learning (e.g. self-access in TESOL) and the concept of learner-centredness.

Tudor (1996: xii) distils this range of formative influences to argue that there are two central perspectives in learner centredness: firstly, the acknowledgment of students as complex human beings individually and culturally; and, secondly, that language teaching "should seek to empower learners by enabling them to assume an informed and self-directive role in the pursuance of their language-related life goals." For Tudor (ibid.: 33) learner empowerment is "the learner's ability to pursue their language-related life goals in an informed and self directed manner" which is achieved by the interplay between learner training and learner involvement. Learner-centredness in TESOL is more than a component of weak CLT, it is intrinsic to it. Its aims for autonomy, empowerment and self-realisation seem laudable. However, I will now go on to examine some criticisms of learner-centredness, and its associated values and influences with the aim of demonstrating why leaner-centredness is another form of biopower that hides *discipline* with a liberal-humanist mask.

3.5.2.2 Critiques Of Learner-Centredness

Learner-centredness with its associated concepts and influences has become part of the normalised moral high ground in the mainstream discourse supported by beliefs in a liberal, progressive education (Pennycook 1997b: 39). Learner-centredness, humanistic approaches, and the concept of autonomy are in fact all Western cultural constructs, not universals, therefore pedagogic transfer of these concepts is often inappropriate and culturally insensitive (Pennycook 1994a: 173; Jones 1995b; Pennycook 1997b: 38). As Palfreyman's (2001) research indicates, even within one institution in one country, the social-construction of a concept such as autonomy can vary according to a person's position in an institution. Yet, within the mainstream discourse there is almost an evangelical zeal for spreading globally the values of leaner-centredness, where for example Rinvolucri (1999: 210) wishes "to reach the great majority of language teachers out there" to 'humanise' their teaching 'methods'; as Pennycook (1997b: 43) notes, with irony, it provides yet another form of emancipation for the "unenlightened, traditional background and authoritarian classrooms of the world." Being tied up with notions of 'humanism'; there is an implicit assumption that those approaches which are not learner-centred must not be humanist, therefore they must be inhuman. In

the context of global pedagogic transfer there is then an implication that the non-Western is inhuman (Pennycook 1994a: 173).

Learner-centredness, as a Western cultural construct, promotes the notion of student self-actualisation and individual empowerment. At the philosophical core of this is the promotion of individualism, of individualist self-interest, not of the interests of the collective (Pennycook 1994a: 173; Auerbach 2000: 145). In addition to this, the form of individual autonomy that has been naturalised in mainstream applied linguistics is technical and psychological seeped in a 'universal' positivist epistemology (Benson 1997; Pennycook 1997b: 35). It is concerned with the technical skills for students to manage outside the classroom and with independence in the classroom: i.e. students making decisions relevant to their learning within a discovery framework (Benson 1997).

The cultural bias of learner-centredness has several manifestations. Learner strategy research can be ethnocentric because the universals of 'successful' language learning (which heavily influences learner training) is generally based on research carried out in Canada and the United States (Politzer and McGroarty 1985). Within the context of BANA integrationist pedagogic transfer to TESEP collectionist contexts, Holliday (1994a: 88) argues that collectionist contexts do not take easily to integrationist curriculum change of learner-centredness and pedagogic skills which play down the teacher's academic expertise. Learner-centredness is problematic for these teachers because they feel that they have to relinquish authority to allow student autonomy (Holliday 1994b: 7). In such classrooms, students may feel that they are not learning anything and are being treated like children with the teacher making no effort to teach (Pennycook 1994a: 173, citing Ting YemRem 1987).

There is a false dichotomy created in the mainstream discourse between the intrinsically 'good' learner-centredness and intrinsically 'bad' teacher-centredness (O'Neil 1991; Pennycook 1997b: 43). Indeed, a teacher-centred lesson of 'chalk and talk' can be just as successful as a learner-centred lesson of student collaboration (Harris 1996; O'Neil 1999). Success, and lack of it, are not questions of *centredness* but depending on the contextual circumstances and the teachers involved. In learner-centredness, the mainstream discourse seems only able to measure student autonomy through observable evidence of student independence from the teacher in the classroom; autonomy is not seen in the silent, unobserved resistance; nor is it seen in the student who wants and asks for a more teacher-fronted lesson (Pennycook 1997b: 44).

However, there is something far more insidious about learner-centredness than just the case of it being a Western cultural construct that does not travel well. Intrinsic to its application is a contradiction between its aims and its practices that is evident in general education as well as in TESOL. Intrinsic to learner-centredness is its self-perception of promoting freedom of the individual and 'democracy' in the classroom.

Holliday (1994a: 96) argues that these claims are problematic and naïve because in the learner-centred classroom there is actually considerable control of student interaction by the teacher. The students are free to express themselves only within the framework of complex activities designed by the teacher in such a way that their behaviour can be carefully monitored and evaluated. Students unused to the norms of the learner-centred weak CLT classroom have to undergo learner training in order that they conform to what Holliday calls the *learning group ideal* (Holliday 1997a: 411-412). Edwards and Mercer (1987: 156-157, 168-170) also note similar contradictions in the primary classroom where teachers guide pupils in ostensibly child-centred, discovery-based classrooms to the 'right' answers. Thus in order to achieve the status of being a 'free' and 'democratic' individual, the student may require training to become an autonomous part of the *learning group ideal* and perhaps guidance towards the answers that he or she will 'naturally' arrive at. Taking this philosophical discourse of autonomy into consideration, the manipulation evident in learner-centredness has a rational: an autonomous individuality can be achieved through the authority of education. This manipulation of students in learner-centredness has been compared to 'democratic' societies where the behaviour of citizens are made to conform through a "tacitly educating media" (Holliday 1994a: 96); where "authority is masked behind the facades of democracy" (Pennycook 1994a: 174).

I now wish to bring a Foucauldian perspective to this critique of learner-centredness. Knight (1995: 23-24) argues from the vantage point of general education that all the humanistic values of learner-centredness are contradicted in practices which "attempt to produce personalities and subjected and docile bodies suited to the needs of work and the practices of power". A Foucauldian critique then can reveal that with learner-centredness there is also a great difference between appearance and practice; that its practice is a disciplinary practice of biopower. This critique will focus on three particular areas of learner-centredness which are closely linked: autonomy, the influence of humanistic psychology and learner needs.

As made clear in chapter 2.6.2, in postmodern and Foucauldian theory subjectivities are produced by discourses; we are not autonomous rational beings who choose freely how we wish to behave and think: we are all subjects in discourses in which we take up subject positions. Thus the very notion of autonomy, the foundation of learner-centredness, has to be problematised. The self-actualising student or child in the learner-centred classroom is not some form of discovery to its true nature but a product of the discourses of learner-centredness (Walkerdine 1984). In Marshall's (1996: 213) critique of autonomy in general education, he believes that the form of autonomy that presently exists in education is not personal autonomy, but what he calls the *autonomous chooser*, whose choices are "structured through the manipulation of needs and interests by…busno-power"; his version of biopower. Busno-power is where in *busnocratic* rationality and the exercise of busno-power there is the merging of the economic, the social and the activity of government (ibid.: 189). There is an acceptance of ambiguity in traditional liberal philosophy of the conflict between what the learner sees as its real interests and needs; and what educators

see as the learners' 'real' interests and 'needs'. In busno-power, such a distinction collapses and autonomous choosers choose the 'real' interests and needs of the educators, i.e. busno-power (ibid.: 189-190). In Marshall's (ibid.: 192) analysis, this new autonomy not only restricts choice but creates an independence that removes the individual from responsibility to the other, to the community. We are all individualised and not socially responsible.

Usher and Edwards' (1994: 45-51) critique of humanistic psychology is also concerned with this individualisation. For them, humanistic psychology's influence on education is not a progressive force but a Foucauldian *technology of the self*. In Rogers' (1961) humanistic psychology change is theorised as a matter of individual responsibility. If individuals can get in touch with their deepest feelings and become authentic this will engender change at all levels: a good society is a product of good individuals. This psychology is conformist because there is no issue with the existing social order; it denies that the social order is partly constitutive of the subject (Usher and Edwards 1994: 45-46). The pedagogical by-products of humanistic psychology – learner-centredness, negotiated curricula and activity-centred methods – are supposed to encourage autonomy and empowerment.

> This reaction would not be wrong because since learner-centredness is empowering – that's what Foucault means when he refers to discourses as creating 'active' knowing subjects. However, it is a reaction which fails to recognise that regulation works through empowerment. The technologies of the self are designed precisely to empower through *self-control*. In a sense, we position and regulate ourselves more effectively through a 'subjectifying' discourse such as humanistic psychology.
>
> (ibid.: 50-51)

The practice of humanistic psychology in pedagogy allows many more dimensions of the learner to become available for educational scrutiny and intervention; thus opening up space for the exercise of disciplinary power through such disciplinary techniques as the confession and self-examination in the process of "finding your true self" (ibid.: 51). Confessional techniques permit a process of making the student believe that their subjectivity is entirely of their own making; that their educational successes and failures reflect the 'truth' about themselves (ibid.: 52). This process of individualisation, where the students only have themselves to blame, helps to ignore and not question the social. The moulding of subjectivities with certain characteristics that are valuable for psychological discourses is also valuable for the needs of governmentality (ibid.).

The handling of needs in student-centredness is also concerned with this individualisation in biopower. Students are identified as having 'needs' which educators are responsive to (Edwards 1991: 87). In learner-centredness, students are constructed as 'individuals'; each having certain particularities and certain

competences. Their 'needs' reveal the competences that they are lacking (ibid.: 88-89). There is here a relationship between contemporary discourses of learner-centredness and current trends towards the marketisation of learning: a shift towards knowledge being considered as competences and skills where "skilled performance embodied in 'competences' becomes an increasingly significant part of the agenda and an increasingly important and valid outcome of learning" (Usher, Bryant & Johnston 1997: 14). There is then a necessity to 'discover' these 'needs' through such processes as guidance and counselling which probe to discover the inherent needs in an individual to make them become better individuals. These needs belong to an individual who is "decontextualised from the social relations which frame their life possibilities" (Edwards 1991: 95). This is then another form of disciplinary biopower with individualised, examined and confessing self-regulating subjects.

> For Foucault, such 'student-centred' approaches work to evoke a 'confession' from the
> person as an individual with a particular set of skills whose needs are regimented within a
> range of practices reinforcing the identity of that person as an individual with needs. Thus, it
> is not simply a question of counselling not 'really' meeting individual needs. This misses the
> point that counselling is deployed within a power-knowledge formulation which constitutes
> the subject as an individual with needs which can only be articulated through a process of
> counselling. It cannot therefore escape its regulatory role despite the many protestations of
> student-centredness.
>
> (Edwards & Usher 1994: 97)

By basing identities around the concept of individualism we in fact become *disciplined* (Edwards 1991: 90) It is an approach that both assumes and produces a disembodied and abstract individualism where issues of culture and power are removed from the discourses and practices of education (Edwards & Usher 2000: 129). Individualised learning reduces the possibility of collective learning and concerns as students are isolated from one another psychologically (and physically in open and distance learning) (Edwards 1991: 92-93). Open (i.e. self-access in TESOL) and distance learning can also be see as a form of the Panopticon because as students are away from the direct presence of the teacher or lecturer they have to become self-disciplining, aware that they are under surveillance beyond their gaze; consequently learner-centred claims of autonomy fall apart in this analysis (Edward & Usher 2000: 56-57). Autonomy in individualised learning is not about equality but autonomy as consumers of products, educational or otherwise, as part of the process of sustaining capitalism (Edwards 1991: 92).

Learner-centredness has become virtually synonymous with the mainstream pedagogy. Taken in isolation learner-centredness shares many of the problems of the pedagogy: it is based on positivist myth of 'universality' while in fact being a cultural construct. Its claims to promote 'freedom', 'democracy' and 'individual self-actualisation', which are all highly questionable in the light of the manipulative classroom

practices that are promoted in its name, and, more importantly, in the light of it being a form of biopower. The next section will examine the mainstream pedagogy in its functional detail. It should be noted that every element of this pedagogy is seeped in the theory and practice of learner-centredness.

3.5.3 The Fundamentals of the Pedagogy

I wish now to critically explore how the pedagogy operates by examining its fundamental elements, i.e. its view of: teaching 'methodology' and language; syllabus and teaching materials; teachers and learners; the classroom and classroom interaction.

One thing that becomes evident when examining these elements is that there is a tendency in the discourse to divide areas into dichotomies, or as postmodern thinking would put it: *binary oppositions*. We have already seen how learner-centredness is put in opposition with teacher-centredness. This is not a division of possibilities but a privileging of one term over another: put simply, learner-centredness is good; teacher-centredness is bad. Both Foucault and Derrida have noted this tendency in modernism. Foucault (1991: 199; cf. Kenway 1990: 199) argues that disciplinary authorities operate "according to a double mode; that of a binary division and branding (mad/sane; dangerous/harmless; normal/abnormal)." However, it is Derrida who has more fully explored this tendency. Derrida argues that structuring human phenomena into binary oppositions has dominated Western thinking since Greek antiquity (McQuillan 2000: 8) and that it is particularly prevalent in structuralism, as seen in the **speech**-writing binary in the work of Saussure and Lévi-Strauss (Derrida 1976; Johnson 1997). [22] These binaries are marked by one term being privileged over the other; they do not reflect a reality but are constituted by Western discourses and become naturalised divisions (McQuillan 2000: 8). Binary oppositions are a key part of *logocentrism* whereby words communicate fixed meanings: meaning is *present* in words, with fixed, unquestionable origins (Norris 1991: 29-31; Johnson 1997: 4-5; Sim 1999: 34-36). So, for example, the 'other' such as the East takes on a negative set of characteristics as compared to the West: **rational**-irrational; **progressive**-backward; **recognisable**-exotic; **scientific**-mystical, and so on (McQuillan 2000: 9-10). These are then artificial oppositions with fixed identities. For Derrida identities are far more fluid phenomena.

3.5.3.1 'Methodology'

The 'methodology', weak CLT, is based on the notion of *learning to use* (see 3.1.2 above). There is then a division of classroom activities which involve the learning of language as a system and other activities which involve utilising this system in communication. Viewing language in structuralist terms is concomitant with the positivism of mainstream applied linguistics and supports this *learning to use* approach where the language system is treated as structures that ideally are learnt through inductive methods of hypothesis testing and discovery-learning (Benson 1997: 20-21). There is then an **inductive-**

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[22] When mentioning these binaries, the privileged term will always be in bold.

deductive binary. What should be made clear is that language is understood as an unreflective skill for primarily oral use. Therefore, metalinguistic reflection on the nature of *use* or *usage* at a linguistic, cultural or political level is not required. It is not a question of learning about a language, of learning a body of knowledge, but of learning to *use.* Inductive learning with its concern for developing tacit knowledge and skills helps to support this view of language and language learning which promotes "artificial distinctions between 'knowing what' and 'knowing how' that have encouraged forms of language learning in which learners are actively discouraged from thinking *about* the language they learn" (Benson 1997: 26-27). Language learning is then an apolitical activity (Raimes 1983: 545).

The model mostly commonly used in the profession to describe this 'method' is *Presentation-Practice-Production* (PPP). PPP represents how pedagogy can be reduced to a set of techniques; a 'method' which so suits a low-status profession (see 3.2 above). What follows is a summary of this 'method' based on my professional experience and the following teacher training books: Littlewood (1981); Hubbard et al (1983); Gower & Walters (1983); Byrne (1986); Ur (1988); and Harmer (1991):

1. The teacher *presents* a 'structure', i.e. an element from the language system typically based around the verb-phrase, a function or lexis.
    a. It is presented in English via some form of context, that is to say it is embedded in a dialogue or reading text, or brought to light situationally through for example visual aids, demonstration, questioning, gesture or mime.
    b. Students ideally understand meaning inductively via the context of the presentation.
    c. The teacher then focuses on the form of the structure isolating it from its context making, for example, the students orally reproduce it accurately.
2. The students then *practice* the structure in a series of activities to internalise the language through drills and controlled practice activities.
    a. Various forms of spoken drills and, possibly, written exercises where the focus is on accuracy. These tend to occur at a plenary level with the teacher directly in control and the range language the students can produce being limited.
    b. Various forms of controlled practice activities that allow more student choice thus focussing on form and to a certain extent meaning, but the focus still being on accuracy (*usage*). These can occur at plenary level, but tend to be more group orientated. These are what Littlewood (1981: 86) calls 'quasi-communicative' activities.

3. The students then take part in some form of communication, i.e. *production,* where the structure is used 'authentically' with other language to develop fluency (*use*). These are what Littlewood (ibid.) calls 'communicative activities'.

   a. The teacher initiates the activity and leaves the students to work together in groups without any interference.

   b. In this stage, the students have increased *talking time* and can focus their attention on doing a task (e.g. information gap, problem solving or role play) using whatever language resources they have including, ideally, the structure previously taught.

   c. The activity is followed by plenary feedback where students are asked to report back on the outcomes of their task and teacher goes over any language errors that he or she discretely noted down during the activity.

This system shares much in common with previous 'structural' methods which had presentation and practice elements, but in this case there is the *production* stage as an additional type of activity (Howatt 1984:279; Holliday 1994a: 170). PPP should not be considered as the only 'method' in weak CLT. There has actually been considerable criticism of it within the mainstream discourse. Second language acquisition academics have criticised 'methods' that teach structures in a systematic way for using a pedagogic grammatical description of language which cannot mimic natural grammar, nor the natural order of grammatical acquisition (cf. Prabhu 1987; Rutherford 1987; Ellis & Hedge 1993). Related to this, there is a debate between those who either think that any form of grammar teaching cannot lead to acquisition (Krashen 1992; 1993) and those who believe grammar should be taught as form of *consciousness raising* rather than the direct acquisition PPP suggests (Ellis & Hedge 1993; Ellis 1997). More significantly, there has been an ongoing debate on the weaknesses of PPP within practitioner journals aimed primarily at teacher trainers (Scrivener 1994b; Willis 1994; Woodward 1994; Lovelock 1996; Thornbury 1996; Rockwell 1998a, 1998b; Britten 1998; Woodward 1998; Gabrielatos 1998-1999). This debate accepts the second language acquisition criticisms in that it seems to presuppose that language is acquired in a linear fashion working from atomistic parts that are then put together holistically. From a practitioner perspective, PPP is criticised for giving teacher trainees a limiting rigid model to work with that does not allow for growth or development. These critics suggest that there are plenty of other ways to teach a lesson.

Nevertheless, despite these valid criticisms from mainstream academics and practitioners, I consider the shadow of PPP to still be present and working in the mainstream pedagogy for two reasons. Firstly, it still seems to dominate the way in which course books are written (Ellis & Hedge 1993). Secondly, the alternatives that practitioners propose (e.g. Scrivener's (1994b) *ARC* (*A*uthentic use, *R*estricted use, *C*larification and focus); Willis' (1994) version of task-based language teaching; Lovelock's (1996)

contextualisation-focusing-practice-use) still contain many of the elements of PPP (Britten 1998: 24). Rather than offering a radically different approach, what they offer is the same kind of stages and activities as PPP but in different orders which have a more logical rational. Fundamentally, language is either still seen as 'structures' which are analysed inductively or as a set of skills; students take part in forms of controlled practice including drills; and students do 'communicative' tasks in groups. Epistemologically language and language teaching is still dominated by positivism and structuralism. Language is a neutral skill, a competence to be acquired unreflectively and apolitically. Therefore, rather than seeing PPP as being synonymous with weak communicative language teaching, it is best to see it as the archetype of the narrow, 'universal methods' that dominate the mainstream pedagogy.

3.5.3.2 Language

I will now elaborate on the understanding of language being dominated by structuralism, positivism and the logocentric **speech**-writing binary. Language is seen as a transparent reflection of objective reality which, as a predetermined structural code, supports structural approaches to language teaching (Benson 1997: 20-21). This structural code is supposedly based on descriptive linguistic analysis, however while linguistics (and applied linguistics) claims to be a descriptive 'science' that has replaced previous prescriptive studies of language, it is in fact still prescriptive (Pennycook 1994a: 113-117). This is most clearly seen in the way that the model of language used in TESOL are standardised Anglo-Australian-American varieties with their concomitant sociolinguistic norms (Phillipson 1992a: 196-198; Pennycook 1994a: 122; Canagarajah 1999: 86-87). Varieties which the students must unreflectively acquire.

The **speech**-writing binary, as well as other binaries, are evident in the texts designed for teachers in training (e.g. Littlewood 1981; Harmer 1983, 1991; Scrivener 1994a; Nunan 1995; Ur 1996)[23] and in classroom text books (e.g. The *Headway* series; Soars & Soars 1986, 1996).[24] In these training and text

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[23] Harmer (1983) and Littlewood (1981) were the recommended books for my first teaching qualification: the one-month RSA/UCLES TEFLA certificate, which I did in 1991. A second edition of Harmer came out in 1991. They were formative bibles to how I taught until I did my further teaching qualification in 1995-1996, the RSA/UCLES TEFLA diploma, when my new bibles were the recommended books: Nunan (1985) and Leech (1987) – a book on grammar. Scrivener (1994) and Ur (1996) are books I (as well as my colleagues) have used in teacher training.

[24] I use the British *Headway* series as a typical example of 'adult' classroom textbooks in the mainstream discourse. The series comprises of two editions of a range of course books from beginner to advanced level with the associated package that typifies BANA course books: workbooks, teacher's books, teacher and student cassettes, and test booklets. In addition to this, there are supplementary skills books, pronunciation books and videos. However, for the sake of simplicity, I will only refer to one example of the course books: Soars & Soars (1986) and its second edition (1996). In my professional experience, this is one of the most commonly used series. In fact, I have seen it used in every context that I have worked in (i.e. in the UK and

books, language is seen from two perspectives: language as a system (i.e. grammar, lexis and phonology) for *presentation* and *practice* and language as communication (i.e. the four skills: speaking, listening, reading and writing) for *production*. Thus we have a system-**communication** binary and its associated accuracy-**fluency** binary. It would appear that *communication* is privileged over *system* for it is in communication that communicative competence is realised. Yet, because of its reliance on systems of teaching *usage* that predates CLT, teaching the system tends to be the organising basis of course books, with units based around structures (cf. Soars & Soars 1986; 1996).

'Skills' work is either integrated into the PPP model and its variants as part of production or is treated as supplementary to it. Thus we find in Soars & Soars (1986; 1996) separate skills sections where each is treated structurally as a system in itself that can be broken up into a further set of subskills. These can be taught at an atomistic level and then applied holistically. If one replaces the system-communication binary with a binary of teaching language at an atomistic, or at holistic level, it is possible to argue that while the aim of the mainstream pedagogy seems to be holistic, the means is atomistic. Indeed, there is a whole range of text books that concentrate on teaching individual skills as well as others that concentrate on each area of the language system (cf. Keltic 2002). For teachers, there is also a panoply of guides to help them teach these areas: e.g. for speaking (Klippel 1984; Byrne 1986; Bygate 1987; Nolasco & Arthur 1987); for listening (Anderson & Lynch 1988; Ur 1984); for reading (Nuttall 1982; Wallace 1992); for writing (White & Arndt 1991); for grammar (Ur 1988); for vocabulary (Gairns & Redman 1986); and for phonology (Kenworthy 1990; Bowen & Marks 1992; Underhill 1994).[25]

While *language as a system* divides language into grammar, lexis and phonology; in the course book (e.g. Soars & Soars 1986; 1996), it is in fact grammar which takes primacy of place in the structuring of units whether in terms of the verb-phrase of traditional structural analysis (cf. Lewis 1986; Leech 1987) or as functions and notions of systemic-functional grammar (cf. Wilkins 1976; Melrose 1995). Lexis is treated either like the four skills in separate sections or as an adjunct to grammar teaching. While there have been attempts to privilege lexis over grammar in course design (e.g. Lewis 1993, 1997; Nattinger & DeCarricon 1992), I would argue that this is a form of *grammartising* lexis. I would therefore argue that there is in the teaching of the language system a privileging of grammar over lexis. As grammar (and lexis) tends to be

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France). It should also be noted that at one of the larger British TESOL book suppliers, Keltic, it counts in the top twenty-eight besting selling adult courses; described by them as the "original best-selling series that has proved so popular with teachers and students alike" (Keltic 2002).

[25] This list is very revealing because these are the books that I have bought and used over the years as a TESOL teacher. Notice the fact that the largest group in the skills section is in speaking and listening categories; further evidence, if needed, of the primacy of speech. This group gets even larger if you include phonology.

taught orally, phonology as a system is generally not explicitly covered in the course books but is intrinsic to the teaching of the language.[26] As regards the four skills this becomes slightly more complex as there are several binaries in operation. The skills can be divided into oral-aural skills (i.e. speaking and listening) and literacy skills (i.e. reading and writing). Oral-aural skills are privileged over literacy skills. Within literacy skills, reading is privileged over writing, while within oral-aural skills speaking is privileged over listening. However, it is speaking that is privileged over all in the weak CLT classroom (Holliday 1994a: 170).

A final binary that exists in the mainstream discourse as regards language is privileging the monolingual over the multilingual. The speaking bias means the teaching and learning begins with and is dominated by oral work and the monolingual bias means that every aspect of the lesson should take place in the target language, i.e. English (Phillipson 1992a: 185-193; Pennycook 1994a: 135-136); while teaching materials themselves are entirely in English. Even interpersonal communication between students should be in English and teachers use subtle forms of discipline to try to encourage this (Canagarajah 1999: 125). Monolingual classrooms are promoted despite the fact that evidence would suggest code switching has a very important role in the language classroom (Phillipson 1992a: 191; Eldridge 1996; Hird 1996; Canagarajah 1999: 128-129).

3.5.3.3 Syllabus and Teaching Materials

The mainstream discourse's interpretation of syllabus design has been significantly influenced by the notion of *needs analysis*. Its origins lie in English for Specific Purposes in the 1970s and concerns making teaching content fit learner requirements (Gillet 1989: 93). It was first most commonly associated with Munby (1978): i.e. the analyses of the language used in the target situation where the students would eventually be, and then designing a syllabus that corresponded to this language. More recent developments reflect learner-centred concerns with student 'needs'. Thus the student's present communicative competence is measured against that which is needed in the target situation; the student's perceived needs and wants are taken account of as well as that of other stakeholders in the process such as funding bodies; and other factors are brought into the process such as the educational institution, its facilities and people (cf. Hutchinson & Waters 1987; Yalden 1987; Dudley-Evans & St John 1998; White 1988; Robinson 1991). This has been further developed with an analysis that takes a more culturally-sensitive approach to curriculum design (Holliday & Cooke 1982; Holliday 1991b). This concern with student 'needs' is concomitant with the promotion by mainstream academics for a syllabus that is process-oriented. Academics have identified a typology of syllabi that can be summarised as a binary of product-**process & procedural** or what White (1988) calls Type A-**Type B**. The product syllabus is constructed with 'structures' and achievement is measured by what students are able to do at the end of an activity or course (Dubin & Olshtain 1986: 49-50; Nunan 1988b). A process syllabus is typified by Nunan's (see 3.5.2.1

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[26] It can of course be taught through the use of supplementary materials. The *Headway* series offers a range of pronunciation books divided as with course books by level and designed primarily for self-access use.

above) learner-centred curriculum where content and 'methodology' are shaped through negotiation between the teacher and the students while a procedural syllabus relates to task-based language learning (Nunan 1988b). What is identifiable in the Type B typology is the difficult question of responding to students who want a product-type syllabus. It appears that the educator knows what the students' 'real' needs are and this should be encouraged; thus suggesting the contradictory nature of learner-centredness.

The desire by academics for syllabi to be responsive to student 'needs' and more Type B in nature does not correlate, in my professional experience, to what happens at the 'chalk face'. What actually tends to define and structure syllabus content are course books and published supplementary materials (cf. Cunningsworth 1995: v). Even in courses which have some form of needs analysis; once these have been established, published teaching materials are used to structure the needs and the course. What also tends to define content is the backwash effect of examinations which require both the ability to do skills work and grammatical-lexical tasks.[27]

The TESOL textbook can be critiqued for not only propagating the mainstream discourse's view of language and language teaching, but also for its content or subject matter. There has been a debate in TESOL about what the content or subject matter of teaching materials should be (Prodromou 1988: 75; Clarke & Clarke 1990: 42), but implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, the content is the culture of the target language situation presented. These monolingual course books originating from British, American and, to a certain extent, Australian publishers are used all over the world: they are exported to developed countries and are often sold cheaply or given to developing countries in aid packages (Gray 2002). They contain texts typically in the form of dialogues, stories or articles that provide examples of language used in 'authentic' contexts in the target situation. The aim for students therefore is to acquire the social, cultural and pragmatic norms of the Anglo-Australian-American target situation (Clarke & Clarke 1990) promoting a target situation whose norms are inappropriate for students in the Periphery (Pennycook 1994a: 176-177; Canagarajah 1999: 85-87) and questionably for any student who may not wish to conform to them. The books have also been criticised for containing in these norms gender, racial, class and regional stereotyping (Clarke & Clarke 1990; Sunderland 1992). Gray (2002: 157-161) argues that while there has been attempts to rectify some of this stereotyping, because of commercial considerations, the content of these course books tends to be bland avoiding any controversial topics such as politics, religion, racism and sex. Gray (ibid.) also notes that the content has moved away from concentrating just on Anglo-Australian-American contexts towards a content that reflects an aspiring, materialistic cosmopolitan elite: what Brown describes as cosmopolitan English.

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[27] These examinations are typified by the globally popular Cambridge UCLES ESOL examinations such as the *First Certificate in English* (Cambridge EFLb. No date). In 1997, their examinations were administered in 1500 centres in 150 countries totalling 650,000 candidates (Davies et al 1999: 219).

That kind of English assumes a materialistic set of values in which international travel, not being bored, positively being entertained, having leisure. and, above all spending money casually and without consideration of the sum involved in the pursuit of these ends, are the norm.

(Brown 1990: 13)

The TESOL text book, therefore, helps to promote not only a certain view of language and language teaching, but contains a culturally-specific content that is intellectually sterile and reproductive of dominant social structures. It not only helps to create *docile bodies* but also *docile minds.*

3.5.3.4 Learners and Teachers

I wish now to examine how learners and teachers are viewed in the dominant discourse. Within second language acquisition, there has been a tendency to view learners as almost autonomous learning machines (Breen 1986). Whilst in more general terms, the discourse does not quite view students as machines, in the light of learner strategy research and leaner-centredness in general there is a tendency to conceptualise students as individualised autonomous subjects who possess certain learning styles, communicative competences and intelligences. The learner is autonomous and neutral in the sense of being non-political and non-social. Those students whose learning styles do not fit the *learning group ideal*, and who are in Foucaudian terms abnormal and in the need of normalising, are abnormal due either to some problem with their true selves or because of some innate trait due to their nationality. This relates to the language-culture view in applied linguistics influenced by Kaplan (see chapter 2.5.1). Therefore, the student is viewed as the foreign 'other' who needs to be normalised into the pedagogy and who is not quite aware of their true 'needs'. This normalising and directing towards real 'needs' is strangely contradicted by the fact that in many BANA situations, the student (or their sponsor) pays for their tuition; which begs the question of whether the pedagogy should be what the customer wants. It should also be noted that the fact that the student as 'customer' fits in with the general tendency for the marketisation of education.

Despite the fact that students are constituted in such narrow terms, I would argue that the mainstream discourse privileges the student over the teacher. Partly, perhaps because the student is the 'customer' but also within the discourse of learner-centredness, which in its very name privileges the learner. The teacher is not simply a teacher but has a set of different roles. In the learner-centred classroom, the teachers loses traditional authority and power to become a facilitator, helper, a source for reference (Salimbene 1981: 93); a learning counsellor (Yalden 1987: 57-58; Tudor 1993); a monitor; a consultant, an orchestrator, and an *animateur* (Yalden 1987: 57-58). Classroom management is a matter of giving enough input and then allowing the students to participate in activities with the minimal amount of teacher interference. Thus there is maximum student talking time and minimum teacher talking time (Holliday 1994a: 170). The teacher is

there to aid students in their process of learning; they facilitate learning, they do not teach. The teacher is thus pushed to the sidelines with the students at the centre.

The ideal teacher is not just a learner-centred facilitator but also a 'native speaker' of English (Phillipson 1992a: 193-198). The 'native-speaker' is an idealised cultural-construct that has helped maintain and legitimise the Diaspora of 'native-speaker' teachers working around the world and their varieties of English, as well as the monolingual teaching materials they use (Pennycook 1994a: 175-176). As Phillispon (1992a: 194-195) argues, knowing the target language does not make you an intrinsically good teacher: a teacher should be themselves a successful second language learner and should know the language and culture of his or her students. An unqualified or under-trained native-speaker teacher is actually a menace because of their lack of metalinguistic awareness.

3.5.3.5 The Classroom and Classroom Interaction

As is now clear, classroom interaction in the mainstream discourse is ideally dominated by student oral participation where lesson success is partly measured by the teacher allowing for as much student talking time as possible. Thus we have the binary of **student talking time**-teacher talking time. The rationale for this derives from second language acquisition research which suggests that acquisition can be better achieved through the adoption of certain conversation strategies where meaning is negotiated and there is the provision of comprehensible input. Interaction theory (cf. Hatch 1978; Long 1988; Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991) and output theory (cf. Swain 1985) both suggest that comprehensible input (cf. Krashen 1982; Krashen & Terrel 1983) is not in itself enough to facilitate acquisition and that negotiation of meaning is also required. The repercussions of this in the classroom is that there is an encouragement of group work (i.e. students working together in pairs upwards) (Holliday 1994a: 170) in practice and production activities, whilst also practice at plenary level involves the maximum of student participation chorally and individually. In addition to the second language acquisition arguments in favour of group work, there are a series of pedagogic arguments (cf. Long 1977; Long and Porter 1985; Frith & Harris 1990; Brown 1991). Compared to the more traditional plenary lockstep, group work provides more opportunities for students to practise language, the quality of which is better because it is more characteristic of communication that takes place outside of the classroom. Unlike in lockstep which tends to promote accuracy, students are focused on doing something with the language rather than the language itself thus promoting communicative competence. Working face to face with peers, relieved of the need for grammatical accuracy in everything they say, students are more likely to experiment - to use language creatively. It also corresponds to the beliefs of learner-centredness in that it is more responsive to the individual characteristics, competences and needs of students whilst also being responsive to the affective dimension. Group work then provides a non-threatening, relatively intimate setting and a supportive environment that allows students to experiment with the language. It therefore motivates learners because they are more individually involved in lessons whilst also bringing variety to the lesson.

Free practice and production activities done in group work encourage the negotiation of meaning using communication strategies in *information gap* activities, where students need to derive different information from other group members in order to complete a task, and in other problem solving activities (Holliday 1994a: 170-171). Intrinsic to group work is the 'facilitator' who is at hand to 'monitor' the progress of group work and to provide assistance as needed. Another aspect of this classroom interaction is its informality: it should be an enjoyable experience (Pennycook 1994a: 170). This then relates to humanistic notion of concern for the affective dimension: effective learning takes place when students are relaxed and enjoying themselves. There is then a whole panoply of language games, puzzles, role plays, drama activities and discussions that are used in practice and production activities.[28] Once again there is a sense of triviality that typifies the TESOL classroom (Pennycook 1994a: 171-172).
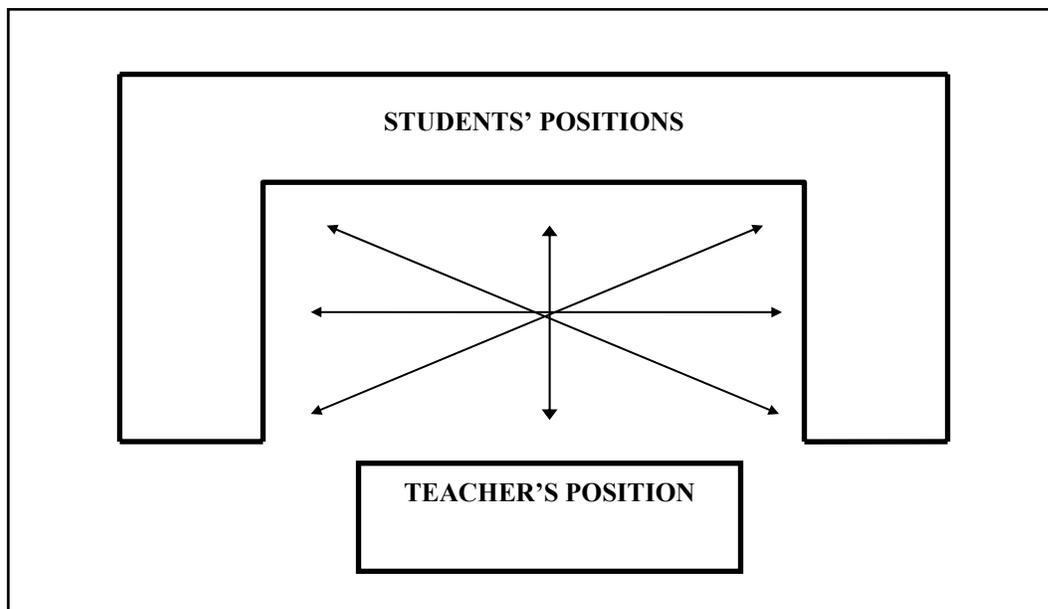
Figure 3-2: The Horseshoe Layout and its Interaction Patterns

In order that maximum student interaction can occur it is necessary for the classroom to have a particular type of furniture which is laid out in a certain way. This in effect means that students sit in a horseshoe arrangement, either with just chairs or with additional tables in front of them, with the teacher's desk and classroom equipment (e.g. whiteboard, tape recorder, television and VCR) between the tips of the horseshoe (see figure 3.2). The rationale for this is that it encourages students to listen to and see each other, it enables the maximum at any one time to see the board, or any visual material the teacher wishes to

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[28] The following are a few examples of supplementary materials that provide these kind of activities that I have frequently used in my career: Maley, Duff & Grellet (1980); Granager (1981); Frank, Rinvolucri & Berer (1983); Klippel (1984); Lindstromberg (1990); Ur (1992).

hold up, whilst it helps to promote more student equality clarifying the teacher's role as an equal (Prodromou 1992: 41-42; Scrivener 1994: 94). The preference for unfixed tables, or just chairs, for students means that the teacher is able to freely move the furniture and students in a class to create different interaction environments for such things as group work (Wright 1987: 59 citing Langeheim 1980), where students can interact with different students and there is a shift in focus from the teacher (Scrivener 1994: 93). Implicit to this layout is that the ideal number of students in a class is small. The management of group work and the other forms of interaction that the discourse encourages becomes more and more difficult the larger the class is. Indeed, in my own professional experience, teaching a class with more than fifteen students was highly unusual.

These norms of patterns of classroom interaction and the type of activities that take place within them have come under severe criticism. *Negotiating for meaning* has been critiqued for presenting a rationalised, technical view of communication (Block 2002), while one of its key pedagogic tools, the information gap has been criticised for being in itself a cultural construct (Pennycook 1994a: 170, citing Ożóg 1989). In the horseshoe layout with its imitations to equality and student-centredness, authority still lies with the teacher because the teacher monitors every move, every utterance in what is in effect a highly-controlled classroom (Holliday 1997a: 411; Biagi 1987: 47).

> The U-shaped seating arrangement is carefully constructed to allow the teacher maximum access and scrutiny, and to engineer different directions in student interaction. Although the students do have the opportunity to interact orally with each other in group activities, the teacher is also a tall dominant figure who often gesticulates and organises.
>
> (Holliday 1997a: 411-412).

When the students are engaged in group work, the role of the teacher is then to monitor their output. The nature of group work interaction also tends to leave out time for students' personal reflection (Stables 1995) Another problem with group work is that it is a culturally-located pedagogic form (Holliday 1994a: 170-171). Different educational cultures have norms about the ways students and teachers, as well as students and students, should interact in a classroom. In the dominant discourse participating orally demonstrates that the students are actively learning and interested in the lessons. Students who do not participate would seem to indicate a lack of active learning and interest and are *otherised* as having bad learning traits (Holliday 1997a: 411-412). There has been a range of work that explores why certain students do not participate in classrooms which often centres around East Asian students being the 'problem' (e.g. Hyde 1993; Flowerdew 1998; Liu & Littlewood 1997). The norms of interaction in the TESOL classroom can be culturally confusing to students who are more used to *transactional* interaction as the form of pedagogic interaction in the classroom, rather than the *interactional* form that typifies students' non-pedagogic, private social talk (Widdowson 1987). The mainstream pedagogy promotes *interactional* talk in group and

plenary work as a means to acquisition. Confronted with such seemingly strange interaction norms where all forms of interaction are managed by the teacher for pedagogic purposes and private, social talk is discouraged, students may tend towards silence (Holliday 1998c).

3.5.4 Deconstructing the Pedagogy

As this chapter demonstrates, the pedagogy that is promoted by the mainstream discourse is problematic in several areas. It simplifies the complex issues of pedagogy into a simplistic 'method'. Developed in the shadow of positivism, the discourse claims that this 'method' is universally applicable, the basics of which can be taught on a one-month course to a 'native speaker'. Teaching is reduced to a series of techniques and stages. Weak communicative language teaching offers the profession a seemingly concrete and scientific applied knowledge with, to a certain extent, support from applied linguistics as well as the credentials of humanism with learner-centredness. As the critical quartet demonstrated, when this technology is transferred around the world it is often culturally, socially and political inappropriate. Pedagogy needs to be culturally, socially and politically sensitive in every context it is applied to, and the fact that it lacks these qualities can make it inappropriate in BANA contexts as well.

A close postmodern reading of the discourse and the pedagogy also reveals many discrepancies between theory and practice. Mainstream applied linguistics' structuralist and prescriptive understanding of language has helped to give credibility to the 'native speaker' concept and to the dominance of Anglo-Australian-American varieties of English. Combined with second language acquisition theories that are phonocentric with models of acquisition based on oral interaction and that produce narrow concepts of the learner, the mainstream discourse has a pedagogy in which *learning to use* takes precedence over *learning to critique*. In weak CLT, language learning is about acquiring a 'neutral' standard variety, not thinking about language, something that is propagated in commercial teaching materials.

Biopower is not only present in TESOL through all the norms of education: timetables, syllabi, the structuring of knowledge, examination and confession; but is present in the very specifics of the pedagogy. The pedagogy *disciplines*. It disciplines the students into behaving in certain ways through a systematic technology of normalised behaviours for each stage of the lesson. The students must learn to conform to the *learning group ideal* and behave in ways commensurate with it. It disciplines the teachers into using a narrow, technical 'method' which requires the lesson to be a series of stages and techniques for acquisition. This *technology of the self* requires the teacher to make sure the students regulate themselves to behave according to the *learning group ideal*, and that the teacher regulates themselves to conform to the teaching ideal.

Learner-centredness helps to sustain in the pedagogy the belief that it is 'democratic', 'egalitarian', responsive to 'needs' and permits personal self-actualisation. Postmodern critique reveals this to be a

shallow ruse; a mask under which the insidious operations of biopower can function. Learner-centredness by a process of individualisation helps to separate the student from the social structure. Through making the student more open to examination and confession, it allows disciplinary power to enter undisturbed. It is also contradictory in the way students have to accept the authority of the educator to train them in how to be autonomous; i.e. you have to be taught how to learn, taught how to be independent learner, taught how to be free. And being so taught, you are able to understand and discipline 'yourself'.

The mainstream pedagogy operates a number of binaries whereby certain concepts are privileged over others. This helps to fix and naturalise norms where the 'other' concept is often made negative and suspect. Like the use of concrete 'methods', this narrowing of what is acceptable helps to keep the pedagogy as a simple unreflective recipe. In the learner-centred orally-dominant classroom, the teacher is relegated to a role of facilitator. Combined with a range of universally applicable recipes, the teacher becomes the deskilled technician applying scientifically-backed practice (cf. Pennycook 1994a: 139-140; Edge 1996; Usher, Bryant & Johnston 1997: 126)

The students may be privileged over the teachers but they are in effect victims of a narrow pedagogy; victims of a learner-centredness; victims of biopower. The learner-centred classroom with its horseshoe shape, group work and oral interaction is a perfect example of the Panopticon. Paechter (2001: 5-6) has also noted the Panoptic nature of learner-centred classroom layouts in British state education. The teacher is able to monitor the behaviour of the students at every stage of the lesson; in both plenary and group work. Students are subtly 'encouraged' to speak only English while every aspect of interaction becomes valid sites of acquisition. There is no personal, private social language allowed. Every utterance can be monitored and evaluated by the teacher; therefore, would it not be surprising if students begin to regulate their behaviour in the light of this fact? Teachers themselves are monitored and evaluated through internal and external inspections (Anderson 1997a). Everybody is disciplined into regulating their behaviour so it conforms to the norms of the pedagogy. Consequently, I would argue that the pedagogy of the mainstream discourse conforms in every way to the criteria of biopower laid out by Foucault.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the nature of the mainstream dominant discourse in order to critique its pedagogy. I have done so because I argue that this discourse and its view of pedagogy is reproduced in the localised discourse that this study centres on. In other words, in order to make sense of the localised discourse, it is necessary to make sense of the mainstream discourse. I therefore examined TESOL's self-perception of itself as being professional at the institutional level but a low-status profession at the practitioner level. I then looked at the view of TESOL from the perspective of critical applied linguistics focussing on the work of Holliday, Phillipson, Pennycook and Canagarajah. From their work I developed my own critique which differs from theirs in that I am not concerned with the transfer of the pedagogy but

how the pedagogy operates in a BANA context. My own critique is also heavily influenced by the work of Foucault and educationalists who have applied his work. From this discussion, I have developed a three-part critique of the pedagogy.

1. The pedagogy ideally fits a low-status, 'backpacker' profession because the main elements of it can be reduced to a series of 'universally-applicable' techniques, the rudiments of which can be taught on a one-month training course to 'native speakers'.
2. This 'universally-applicable method' is neither sophisticated nor responsive enough for the complex educational needs and cultures of students in any context, because these educational concerns are hardly accounted for in the 'method'. Consequently, in many BANA cases, it can be inappropriate.
3. There is a dissonance between theory and practice. The pedagogy claims to create certain forms of student-centred learning and to be responsive to students' needs. It claims a democratic, affective classroom. This is a liberal illusion for it masks the subtle operation of biopower.

I would add further to this that the pedagogy indeed conforms in every respect to Foucault's biopower. In the next chapter I will explain the nature of the study and the research methodology used.

Chapter 4

4 The Study

> Later in the break I went downstairs to the coffee room and had a coffee on my own. John came in when I was recording my notes on the tape recorder. I turned it off, and he made a joke about catching me recording. I apologised and said that I felt like a spy. He said "Oh, it's your job."
>
> (Participant Observation 3.9: Wednesday 29th July)

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe how the study of the teachers' culture and localised discourse was undertaken. This is achieved firstly by explaining the research methodology used and rationalising the reasons for choosing this methodology. Secondly, I describe the whole research process from entering the research location to analysing and writing up the findings. This chapter has the following structure.

- The first section of this chapter defines and gives a rationale for the research methodology used: *progressivist applied ethnography*; a mode of investigation that is commensurate with the epistemology of this thesis.

- I then give an overview and rationale for the research process I used, i.e. its design and procedure. The rest of this chapter describes how this research process was actualised drawing on the relevant literature as necessary to support my actions.

- I first describe the initial focus of the research and explain why it changed.

- I then go on to describe the selection of the research location and negotiation process that was necessary in order to enter it to do the research. I describe the research location and I discuss the issue of being an *insider* in qualitative research as I was researching my own culture and institution.

- I go on to describe the four forms of data collection that were undertaken and rationalise why I did them and drawing on the literature to explain the methods that I used for each type. The four types are as follows:
    - Classroom observations.
    - Teacher interviews.
    - Participant observation.
    - Group interviews.

- After describing these forms of data collection, I briefly classify the types of data collected and explain the system of coding used for referencing them in the findings chapters.

- I then consider how I tried to conduct the research based on the ethics of ethnography and qualitative research. I examine one area of ethics in the fieldwork which was problematic.
- The next section deals with how the data was analysed using an approach of *grounded theory methodology* that was commensurate with *progressivist applied ethnography.*
- After this, I deal with two issues of the writing process: the structure of the thesis and textual matters in the findings chapters.
- To aid the reading process of the findings chapters, I finally provide a brief description of the research setting.

4.2 Rationale for the Research Methodology: Progressivist Applied Ethnography

The purpose of this section is to give a rationale for the research methodology used in this study, *progressivist applied ethnography*. I will briefly define what I mean by ethnography and applied ethnography, and then discuss how the form of applied ethnography I used falls within the *progressivist* paradigm.

Ethnography, a branch of qualitative research, has its origins in anthropology and originally involved the study of unknown 'ethnic' cultures, but as a methodological tool has expanded into the social sciences in general to be used as a means to study any cohesive group of people in any social context (Vidich & Lyman 1994; cf. Atkinson *et al* 2001). This expansion of ethnography, and qualitative methods in general, into the social sciences has included education (Van Lier 1990: 41-44; Lutz 1993: 107; Gordon *et al* 2001) as well as applied linguistics and TESOL (Watson-Gegeo 1988; Van Lier 1990; Davies 1995; Lazaraton 1995; Holliday 1996a). There is then an emergent body of TESOL work that uses ethnographic and other qualitative methods (e.g. Holliday 1991a; Crago 1992; Canagarajah 1993b; De Moraes Garcez 1993; Beebe 1994; Boswood & Marriot 1994; Atkinson & Ramanothan 1995; Bailey & Nunan 1996; Flowedew & Miller 1996; Holliday 1997b; Canagarajah 1999; Palfreyman 2001; Grimshaw 2002). It is also interesting to note that these methods can now be found as one research possibility in second language teaching research manuals (e.g. Chaudron 1988; Nunan 1992). However, compared to education, this has been a relatively late entry, and quantitative methods still dominate (Van Lier 1990: 38-39; Lazaraton 1995: 456; Edge & Richards 1998). This is perhaps unsurprising considering that applied linguistics and TESOL are so dominated by positivism (see chapter 3). In being interpretative, ethnography is intrinsically subjective with its role being to contribute to a wider picture of a situation rather than trying to identify 'generalisable' facts about human behaviour (Holliday 1997b: 2). In ethnographic research, the ethnographer is non-prescriptive allowing meaning to emerge from the social setting being observed and interpreting it without imposed preconceptions and models from outside the social setting (Holliday 1994a: 181). Qualitative research's concern with the located, the provisional, the contingent is in direct opposition to a positivist epistemology that suggests 'universal' and predictable truth. Consequently, I believe one rationale for taking an

ethnographic approach is that it situates this work in an epistemological position that is commensurate with its overall postmodern critique of the mainstream discourse.

Traditionally, ethnography as a practice is concerned with the descriptions of cultures where the researcher attempts to participate in the culture being studied (Spradley 1980: 3; Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 1; Atkinson *et al* 2001b: 4-5). The ethnographer carries out fieldwork observing and trying to interpret the meaning of the behaviour in the culture, even if the observed (i.e. the *participants*) are not aware of the meaning of their own behaviour (Spradley 1980: 6-7). It is the means with which to study *small cultures* and is thus commensurate with studying the small culture of a group of teachers working together in one institution (see chapter 2.5.2). Another reason why it is commensurate with the epistemology of this thesis is that it can accept the notion of reflexivity: the fact that researchers are part of the social world they are studying, and therefore should include their own role in the research (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 21-22)(see chapter 1.2.2). This, unsurprisingly, is particularly the case in postmodern approaches to ethnography (Vidich & Lyman 1994: 40-42; Lather 2001: 484-486). This study, however, is not *an ethnography* in the pure anthropological sense: a holistic description based on a long period of participant observation from which the ethnographer produces a monograph. Prior to entry, I had an initial research focus on a particular aspect of the culture studied, its pedagogy. Therefore, it was not an anthropological study of a culture *per se* but an example of *applied ethnography*; a study using an ethnographic approach (Holliday 1997b: 214).

There are many conflicting paradigms and schools in ethnography and qualitative research more generally (Guba & Lincoln 1994; Vidich & Lyman 1994; Atkinson *et al* 2001a). Unfortunately, there is not enough space to permit a discussion and evaluation of them all here. I consider from amongst them that this work conforms to ethnographic and qualitative work theoretically based in critical theory, constructivism, postmodernism and feminism; what Holliday (2002: 17-22) calls *progressivist* and Pierce (1995) calls *critical* research. This work emphasises that reality and science are socially constructed; researchers are part of their research settings; research must be reflexive using a self-critical dialogue; and the aim of research is to problematise and reveal hidden realities (Holliday 2002: 18).

From the *progressivist* school, this thesis is particularly influenced by critical and postmodern ethnography. I shall briefly outline the differences between these two forms and the possible common ground that exists between them in order to give a rationale for placing my work in both these categories. Critical ethnography **"**is an ideologically sensitive orientation to the study of culture that can penetrate the non-committal objectivity and scientism encouraged by the positivistic empirical attitude behind descriptive ethnography and can demystify the interests served by particular cultures to unravel their relation to issues of power" (Canagarajah 1993b: 605). It involves the application of critical theory to ethnographic data to historically, socially and economically contextualise it (Fontann & Frey 1994: 369). There is then an

attempt to broaden the horizons of ethnography into the political, attempting to undermine existing oppressive systems and social inequalities directing "work toward positive social change" (Carspecken 1996: 3). Critical ethnography in its broadest sense can be seen to have originally been neo-Marxist in orientation, but certain scholars have moved on to applying postmodern theory (Kincheloe & McLaren 1994: 141-144). Postmodern ethnography is also similarly concerned with power, domination and resistance, but there is also a concern for the social location of truths and the problems of the textual representation of truth (Rabinow 1986: 256-258; Vidich & Lyman. 1994: 38-42) where the researcher is unmasked in reflexivity (Marcus 1994). In the postmodern ethnographic text there is a denial of the presupposition of the independence of form and content (Hastrup 1992: 116 citing Tyler 1987: 198). According to Tyler (1986: 125-126), postmodern ethnography is a cooperatively evolved text that provides a possible reality; it is a dialogical production of a discourse that is fragmentary for its elements are based on a fieldwork which is itself fragmentary. Postmodern ethnographies are therefore concerned with the *textual*, moving away from attempts at objective representation towards a mode of dialogue which brings the researcher into the text (Gordon, Holland & Lahelma 2001: 197).

There is a tension between critical ethnography and its concerns with social change, and postmodern ethnography's suspicions of any metanarratives of social emancipation (cf. chapter 2.6.2). With its concerns for the ludic and textuality, where the signifier-signified relationship is problematised, postmodernism is considered by many critical ethnographers to reject any form of social transformation thus descending into a form of nihilism; something particularly noted in the work of Lyotard, Derrida and Baudrillard (Kincheloe & McLaren 1994: 141-144; Carspecken 1996: 15).[29] The questioning of modernist metanarratives, however, does not necessarily mean the abandonment of the political; indeed the work of Foucault allows for such potentiality (Callaway 1992: 45), and there is the existence of a resistant postmodernism that does aim for a social transformation (Kincheloe & McLaren 1994: 143-144; Carspecken 1996: 15). What postmodern ethnography can also contribute is a *polyvocality*, that is to say the voices of participants not as a means of representing their truths, but to show how they construct their discourses and identities (Gordon, Holland & Lahelma 2001: 197-198). In fact, there has then been a synthesis in educational research between postmodern and critical approaches where resistance, textuality and reflexivity can all be accounted for (Gordon, Holland & Lahelma 2001: 197). It is therefore possible to have a progressivist applied ethnography that can draw on both approaches as, I would argue, this thesis does.

I believe it to be possible for a progressivist applied ethnography based on critical and postmodern ethnography to be used for studying a culture and the operations of a phenomena that can be understood as a Foucauldian discourse which allows for the application of macro theory (e.g. biopower and discipline)

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[29] However, it should be noted that the later work of Lyotard and Derrida does have signs of political engagement (Sim 1999; Sim 2001).

onto micro data. [30] The imposition of Foucauldian theory onto qualitative data findings is not an anomalous or unusual research practice. Foucauldian work tends to be located in the qualitative paradigm (cf. Haw 1996; Miller 1997; Prior 1997; Kendall & Wickham 1999; Faubion 2001: 50-51) and, more specifically, work has already been done which applies Foucauldian theory to ethnographic educational data (Ryan 1989) and to qualitative applied linguistics data (Grimshaw 2002).

To summarise, my rational for using *progressivist applied ethnography* as a research method is as follows.

- It is epistemologically commensurate with the postmodern critique of the mainstream discourse.
- It therefore rejects positivism as a valid epistemology preferring an interpretative, subjective approach.
- It is a suitable means to study a small culture and its discourse.
- It allows for reflexivity and the issue of textuality. Therefore, both the ethnographic text and the participants texts are understood as social constructions of various discourses that have to be taken account of.
- It sees research as socially located and political, not descriptive, apolitical and 'neutral'.
- It allows for the possibility of applying critical macro theory to micro findings.

The rest of this chapter is devoted to describing how the research was carried out.

4.3 The Research Process

My research design and the procedure, what I call the *research process*, was drawn principally from Spradley (1980), Lincoln and Guba (1985), Denzin and Lincoln (1994c), Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), Holliday (1996a) and Carpspecken (1996). Being aware that in postmodern critique seeing research as a process tends to be limiting in that it promotes a view of research as mechanistic, linear, finite and decontextualised (Usher 2001: 52), it was still necessary to adopt some form of process for how the research would be conducted. This process needed to avoid an *a priori* mechanistic method being more of a

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[30] In applied linguistics, there is a strong relationship between *discourse analysis* and ethnography with ethnography either being interpreted as one means of text analysis (Titscher *et al* 2000: 90-103), or as a complementary means to study social practices and structures in tandem with *critical discourse analysis'* study of text (Fairclough 1995: 9-10; Chouliarki & Fairclough 1999: 61-62). In fact, Widdowson (2000: 22) argues that lack of ethnographic analysis of how texts operate in society is a marked weakness of *critical discourse analysis.* Swales (1998), interestingly, has developed what he calls *textography*, a synthesis of discourse analysis and ethnography. However, to my knowledge, there is very little work that applies Foucauldian discourse and theory to ethnographic or qualitative findings (Grimshaw 2002 being an exception).

framework in which a process can be responsive and evolve according to the research setting and the data it produces. This process is cyclical, starting out with a broad remit and then focusing as the issues emerge (Davies 1995: 444-445; Spradley 1990: 33-34). The research design is thus emergent; it develops in the field "as a function of the interaction between inquirer and phenomenon" (Lincoln & Guba 1985: 41).

The emergent design will become clearer by my describing the process that took place (see figure 4.1). The research started out with an *initial focus*, i.e. a set of issues and questions I wanted to explore regarding a specific area of TESOL pedagogy in practice and theory from the perspective of both teachers and students. I then selected a research setting and through a process of negotiation entered it to conduct fieldwork. My first piece of fieldwork was a series of lesson observations involving one class and three teachers which included the collection of any relevant documents. The initial findings from these observations saw a shift in focus towards the pedagogy in general and how it related to the teachers' theory and practices. To explore this in more detail, I conducted individual interviews with each of the teachers I observed. While this provided rich data on how the teachers theorised and constructed their teaching, it revealed very little about how they constructed their pedagogy *per se*. I therefore decided to emerge myself within the culture through the process of *participant observation*, i.e. I became a teacher working in the culture for two months, observing and participating in the culture, and collecting any relevant documents. This third form of fieldwork again generated some very rich data on the culture, but it still did not answer certain questions about how the teachers theorised and understood their practice. Therefore, in my fourth and final piece of fieldwork, I conducted a series of group interviews with as many of the teachers as I could, what I called *the video discussions*, where the teachers were shown a videoed extract from a lesson and then asked to discuss it. This final piece of data helped to answer the questions that remained. The data from the four pieces of fieldwork provided a *thick description* of the professional culture (Holliday 2002: 77-78 cites this thesis as an example of using thick description). Each type of fieldwork was a means to enrich the data by exploring the themes of the research in specific areas, thus a process of following leads set by the findings and provisional theory-building until a point of what Glasser and Strauss (1967: 61) call *theoretical saturation* was achieved, a concept that is somewhat similar to *thick description* (Seale 1999: 94). However, it should be noted that Strauss and Corbin (1994: 274) see thick description having an emphasis on description rather than conceptual density. I was then able to combine the findings together for a final deeper analysis. This analysis also used TESOL, applied linguistics and postmodern literature and theory. I was then able to develop my three-part model of discourses in TESOL (i.e. mainstream, critical and localised) and my critique of the mainstream discourse (chapter 3) and the localised discourse (chapters 5-7).

INITIAL FOCUS

SELECTING AND ENTERING THE RESEARCH LOCATION

**(1)
CLASSROOM OBSERVATIONS
& DOCUMENT COLLECTION**

EMERGING FINDINGS & INITIAL ANALYSIS LEADING TO REFOCUS

**(2)
TEACHER INTERVIEWS**

**EMERGING FINDINGS & INITIAL ANALYSIS
QUESTIONS STILL NOT ANSWERED**

**(3)
PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION
& DOCUMENT COLLECTION**

**EMERGING FINDINGS & INITIAL ANALYSIS
QUESTIONS STILL NOT ANSWERED**

**(4)
GROUP INTERVIEWS:
'THE VIDEO DISCUSSIONS'**

**ANALYSIS OF THE DATA
&
APPLY FINDINGS TO WIDER THEORY**

Figure 4-1 The Research Process

The description I have given of the research process may give the impression that it smoothly and logically developed in a cyclical pattern of data collection and analysis that led to the application of wider theory from the literature. Being reflexive, I must admit that the research process was not quite so simple. In reality, social (and natural) research is a far messier process (Walford 1991a) and my work is no exception.

The role of TESOL, educational and social science postmodern theory that represents the critical discourse in this research was not something that came at the end of the fieldwork during the analysis of the data but was in an ongoing dialogic process with my own mainstream discourse and norms as a member of the profession I was critiquing. This process is illustrated in figure 4.2. The left-hand column represents my career as a teacher and student; the right-hand column represents the way the critical and mainstream discourses constituted me as a member of the profession and as a critical researcher. As a teacher and teacher trainee, I was constituted by the mainstream discourse through my training, the literature, the exams I taught (and did), the syllabi and so on. I then moved on to be an MA student while still practising my profession part-time. During this period, I was exposed to more of the mainstream literature which I felt comfortable with, but I was also exposed to the critical applied linguistics literature which (particularly in the work of the critical quartet – see chapter 3.3) I found difficult to connect to my own BANA practices and theory. Nevertheless, it began to have an effect on my perception of the mainstream profession; I began to feel that it was not as perfect as I thought it was and I began to question some of my assumptions about its 'methodological' superiority as well as the limitations of a positivistic epistemology. This process continued as I started my PhD (while still remaining a part-time teacher). However, it was in the fieldwork where the findings of the lesson observations helped me make connections between the critical literature and the mainstream literature. There was from this point a theoretical shift whereby I started to critique the mainstream literature and the findings from a critical perspective. During the analysis and writing stages this critical perspective was enriched by postmodern theory in education and the social sciences. It was during this final process that all the connections had been made and the three-part discursive model could be constructed with a postmodern critique of the localised and mainstream discourses.

The rest of this chapter is now devoted to describing this research process in more detail. It should be borne in mind that this is a reflexive process.
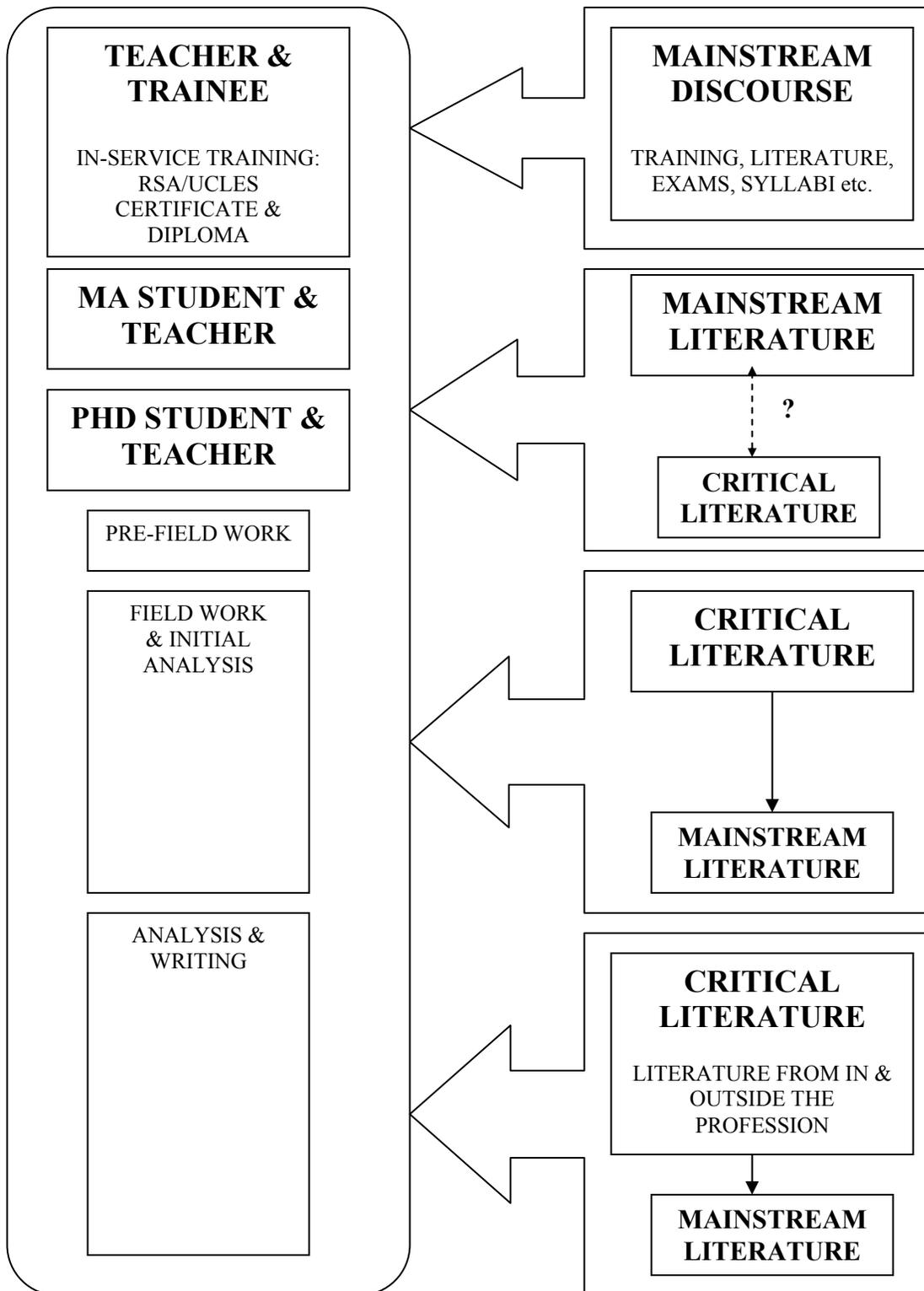
Figure 4-2: The Theoretical Development of the Thesis

4.4 The Research Focus

My original interest was to investigate one aspect of the mainstream pedagogy[31], group work. I was interested in the pedagogy *per se* but I needed to focus on one area because of the bureaucratic exigencies of doing a PhD where there is a requirement for a detailed proposal. My initial focus was the following:

- To investigate socio-pedagogic and psycho-pedagogic arguments concerning the practice of group work.
- To analyse how students actually learn and practise second languages in group work in one social context, and to evaluate this evidence in terms of socio-pedagogic and psycho-pedagogic theory.
- To see how actual classroom procedures and events in one social context compare and relate to socio-pedagogic and psycho-pedagogic theory and prescription.
- To investigate how group work is used in second language learning classrooms in one social context, and how this relates to socio-political critiques of methodological imperialism.
- To ascertain if a link could be drawn between how students behave in groups and the theories on group dynamics in social psychology and the theories of social behaviour in sociolinguistics

Evidently, there was a radical shift from this focus to a refocusing on the pedagogy as practised and theorised by teachers, and its relationship to professional discourses. As noted in the previous section, this refocusing began to take shape during the period of classroom observations as the findings started to emerge. The initial focus was only a potential route that could be taken and was not set in stone. It was a set of possibilities, not fixed absolutes. As my approach to the classroom observations was to note everything I saw, to start with a *tabula rasa*, it was unsurprising if categories and themes emerged that diverged from the original proposal. The change in focus was something I considered to be a possible eventuality and not problematic because of the non-prescriptive nature of ethnographic enquiry where emergent themes can alter the focus of research (Measor & Woods 1991:60-64; Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 29-31; Holliday 1996a: 236).

4.5 Selecting and Entering the Research Location

The fieldwork took place at an institution of higher education in England that will be referred to as *the Institution*. This was not its actual name. As part of the negotiating process, it was agreed between myself

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[31] What I referred to then as 'methodology'. It should be noted that I was using the term 'methodology' throughout the fieldwork. It was only afterwards during further immersion into the critical literature and through reflection that I realised that this was part of the dominant discourse helping to reproduce a narrow view of teaching.

and the participants that there would be total anonymity. Therefore pseudonyms are used for all the names of people and places in the research setting. The Institution had a *Department* where ESOL was taught throughout the year. It was chosen as the location not only because it represented a typical provider of ESOL but because I was an insider. That is to say I had previously taught there part-time, and continued to teach there throughout my PhD. The experience of my MA dissertation had given me insights into the problems of developing relationships with participants and gatekeepers in an unfamiliar research setting (Anderson 1997b). As I was known in the Department not only as a colleague but also as a researcher, because I had previously conducted an MA project there, I concluded, in retrospect correctly, that negotiating access there would be less problematic than trying to enter an unfamiliar location. I considered that my familiarity in the Department amongst the teaching staff as a colleague and researcher meant that my presence could be perceived as non-threatening. I was also aware that other people had previously conducted research there and so there was a certain familiarity and acceptance of research taking place. There was another practical consideration: the location was very near to where I lived allowing easy access, which can be an important factor in choosing a site (Punch 1994: 86).

This choice however was problematic in the sense that I was an *insider* and could therefore be too 'native' to analyse the culture the way an outsider would. Being an insider or an outsider has its advantages and disadvantages. While being an insider can make it easier to understand the perspectives of your participants (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 103-112; cf. Canagarajah 1999) helping to give an emic understanding (Hornberger 1994: 689), it can be difficult to distinguish events because they are so familiar while it is also possible to give a too over-sympathetic account (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 103-112) with shared biases (Hornberger 1994: 689). However, the insider-outsider binary tends to omit the multiple subjectivities and identities possible in the postmodern (Griffiths 1998: 137-139). For example, if I had gone into a different institution, I could have still been labelled an insider because I am a TESOL teacher and therefore a member of the wider professional-academic culture (Holliday 1997b: 214). On the other hand, in my position as a PhD research student, I was also an outsider who had "gone over to the academy" (Griffiths 1998: 137). Nevertheless, I would argue that I was more of an insider than an outsider, and so it was necessary to wash my mind clean; to simultaneously "know a setting, and to make it unfamiliar" (Measor & Woods 1991: 69, citing Woods 1986); and to intellectually poise myself between familiarity and strangeness (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 12). An insider can explore their own culture; it is a matter of the intellectual approach that is taken and of managing your *inside-ness* through an ongoing reflexive process which in my case was aided by my research diary (see 4.12 below) and my *outside-ness* as a member of the academy.

I will now briefly describe the social situation chosen. The Department was part of the Institution which offered a range of graduate and postgraduate degrees, diplomas and courses. The Department had two areas of concern: higher education and further education. The higher education section provided ESOL teacher

training and education while the further education section provided second language courses in ESOL (what the Department described as 'EFL'; see chapter 1.1 on why I do not use this term) and modern languages. My focus was then exclusively on the ESOL provision of the further education sector. This provision was divided into two parts: the general course (the main multinational term-length courses that took place during the academic year); and the summer school (two-week multinational courses which took place during July, August and September). There were also closed courses that occurred throughout the year usually made up of students of one nationality sent by one foreign institution, organisation or agency. These tended to be shorter than the general course term. I decided not to focus on this type of course for the classroom observations because it would not offer, unlike the general course, enough time to enable the development of a deeper understanding of the culture of one class. The multinational classes on the general course would also be more typical of British private-sector ESOL learning group ideal (see chapter 3.5.2.2).

Entry into the social situation involved negotiation with a gatekeeper, i.e. the person who had the power to allow or disallow my entry (Punch 1994: 86-87). This person was Jaclyn, the director of the general and summer courses. In the autumn of 1997, I had a meeting with her to discuss the possibility of doing the research which at that time was just a series of classroom observations planned for the spring term of 1998. She agreed to this and suggested that it would be a good idea for me to go to the last staff meeting of that term (10th December 1997) so that I could explain to the teachers what the nature of my research would be and how I wanted to go about it. Jaclyn also decided that no observations would take place in the first week of term because a week would be needed for the classes and the teachers to settle down. At the staff meeting, I explained my purpose which was to look at how the lessons operated. I did not wish to say that it was about group work partly because I did not want this to influence the way they did their lessons and partly because I knew that I would be looking at the whole lessons and not just group work. I knew from my professional experience and MA research that classroom observation can be stressful for teachers so I tried to alleviate this by indicating that the observations were not an evaluation of the effectiveness of their teaching. The teachers agreed to my observing them.

4.6 Classroom Observations

4.6.1 Theorising the Observations

The standard form of ethnographic fieldwork is participant observation where the researcher fully participates in the lives of the people being studied (Spradley 1980; Atkinson & Hammersley 1994: 248; Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 1; Atkinson *et al* 2001b: 4-5; Emerson *et al* 2001: 352). It was only the third form of fieldwork which conformed to this ideal type. However, participant observation can be subdivided into various types according to the researcher's role in the field vis-à-vis their relationship to the participants (Atkinson & Hammersley 1994: 248-249). Classroom observation can be described as a form of participant observation, but under the sub-classification of "observer as participant" where there is

"comparative detachment: objectivity and sympathy" (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 104 citing Junker 1960: 36). I was detached from the participants with a more clearly defined role as an outside observer but, I was not a complete observer, separated from the observed, because the participants were aware of me and I interacted with them in and out of the lessons. Spradley (1980: 58-62) classifications of participant observation includes *passive participation* where the ethnographer "is present at the scene of action but does not participate or interact with other people to any great extent" and "moderate participation", where "the ethnographer seeks to maintain a balance between being an insider and an outsider, between participation and observation." My role as observer veered between these two classifications because the students had been taught by me during the period of classroom observations, and I was known to the teachers. Yet in the way the actual data gathering was structured, it was more passive.

4.6.2 Negotiating the Observations

My intention was to observe one class only with the various teachers that taught it during the spring term of 1998 in order to develop rich data of how the pedagogy operates in one context. During the meeting with Jaclyn (see 4.5), she suggested that I attended the first staff meeting of the spring term (7th January 1998) to negotiate who I would observe and when. At this meeting, it was decided that I would observe a class called 'Roses.'[32] This class was chosen because it had the most consistent teaching staff, i.e. the teacher (Sara) who had them for the first lesson (9.00 - 10.30 am) had them for five times a week, unlike other classes which shared their first teachers. The second morning lesson (11.00 - 12.30 pm) was shared by two teachers: Simon from Monday to Wednesday; Sandra from Thursday to Friday. We negotiated a timetable where I would observe one lesson a day, alternating from one day with the 9 am class, to one day with the 11 am class. Consequently, the class with Sara would be observed two to three times a week, while Simon's would be observed once or twice a week, and Sandra's once a week. I had thought of perhaps observing the afternoon Option classes (Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays), where the students were mixed with students from other classes, but it turned out that I only had enough time to observe the morning classes. The observation timetable in practice had a certain amount of flexibility in the sense that some observations had to be cancelled because of other commitments. Such changes did not appear to be a problem with the members of staff, who did not object to me observing on days that were different to the original timetable. I communicated my proposed times to observe and subsequent changes directly to the teacher involved either by personal contact or e-mail.

In total, there were eighteen classroom observations that took place in January and February. These were far fewer than were originally planned. During the period of the observations, it became clear that the

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[32] Every class on the general and summer courses were given names from some aspect of British life and culture in order to avoid labelling classes by level. This, in my professional experience, seems to be a common practice in British private-sector TESOL.

observations were providing far more data than I would have originally imagined possible. In fact it finally produced nearly twenty-eight thousand words, which provided enough useful data. Once I realised that there had been a thematic shift away from group work, I realised other forms of data collection were required.

4.6.3 Researcher Behaviour

I had decided to take on the traditional role in the classroom observations of the observer in the background taking notes during the actual lessons. In my experience of being observed teaching, by both researchers and evaluators, observers tend to sit like this in the classroom unobtrusively, often at the back and out of sight of the students. How the researcher presents themselves is an important issue (Fontana & Frey 1994: 367). The unobtrusive classroom observer dresses in a way that does not draw attention and sits in a discreet position in the back or at the side of the classroom so that his or her presence will be less noticed (Wragg 1994: 14-15). I started the observations taking consideration of Wragg's advice. I sat discretely at the side trying to make as little impact as possible dressed somewhere between the teachers (smart but casual – e.g. for males chinos and shirt) and the students (casual – jeans and trainers). I considered that my dress fitted in and I was not aware that it affected my relationships with the participants.

Adopting this *unobtrusive* role did not mean I did not take my presence into account. While naturalistic observation may be one of the least intrusive research techniques (Adler & Adler 1994: 382), I was well aware that my presence could affect what I observed but did not consider this to lessen the validity of the findings; reactivity can not only be accepted and monitored but can provide data in itself (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 18). I monitored my presence by asking the teachers if they felt it had an effect on them and the students, as well as noting during the observations any behaviour which seemed to be in reaction to my presence. In fact, as the students and the teachers got used to me observing, the participants began to exploit my presence which in itself helped to enrich my data. This could be seen for example in the students asking me questions and the teacher using me as a teaching resource in classes (e.g. Observation 1.13: 29/1/98). With my own increasing confidence and with my becoming part of the furniture, I felt it was not obtrusive to move about in the classroom to observe particular groups of students (e.g. Observation 1.5: 16/1/98). The fact that I had taught the class in the first week of the term also helped to *normalise* my presence for the students. Throughout that term I would teach 'Roses' again as well as other general course classes, which all helped to enrich the data and normalise my presence.

4.6.4 Collecting the Data

4.6.4.1 Field Notes

The process by which I collected data when observing the class was writing field notes. Writing field notes either during or after observing a culture is a standard method of collecting data within ethnography

(Spradley 1980: 64; Clandinin & Connelly 1994: 422; Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 175; Emerson *et al* 2001: 353). It is also a common method of data collection during classroom observation (Wragg 1994: 15-16), particularly in classroom observations that employ an ethnographic approach (Day 1996: 45). This seemed the most effective way of recording classroom events starting from a perspective of a *tabula rasa*. As Wragg (1994: 16) points out, other methods of collecting data such as audio-visual recording are more suitable for deeper analysis of particular elements of a lesson such as the interaction between a group of students. My notes were intended as descriptions of what I saw in the classroom, accepting that these observations were a subjective picture based on my personal history and thinking. Anything that went beyond the pure description of that culture such as critical comments or potential themes that emerged during the observations were noted in a separate research diary that acted as an ongoing critique of what I was doing and observing. This method is used in ethnography so that observation and comment can be kept apart (Spradley 1980: 71-72; Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 191; Emerson *et al* 2001: 354). The actual process of writing the notes followed a pattern of taking *condensed* or *jotted* notes, i.e. short notes written at the time of the observation, and then later write them up into a fuller text, the *expanded account* (Spradley 1980: 69-71; Emerson *et al* 2001: 356-360). During each observation I made rough notes on paper which I copied up and expanded on in a notebook as soon as was possible after the lesson. I later transcribed them onto a word processor. These field notes can be found in Appendix 1; the system of coding them for the findings chapters is outlined in 4.10 below.

Writing field notes did pose several problems that had to be considered. In some ethnographic research it might be advisable to take notes directly after the observations, or to go somewhere private during the observations to take notes, because the observations may be covert, or taking notes might unduly disturb the culture, or just be physically difficult to do (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 176-177; Emerson *et al* 2001: 356-357). Indeed the "conduct of note-taking must be broadly congruent with the social setting under scrutiny" (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 177). Certainly in the context of the class being observed having observers in the class taking notes, whether for teacher assessment or research reasons, was quite normal and the participants were all, at one time or another during the lessons, in the process of writing things down. This meant that my observing and taking notes should not have been an alien activity for the culture. However, I had to be aware that the participants knew that I was writing about them, and so if they saw me writing, particularly if I had been just observing them, I knew that this could be off-putting for them. This meant that there had to be a certain delicacy on my part in the way I took the notes, taking into account if the participants were looking at me and trying to write when they were not looking at me. This was, nevertheless, only a minor issue because, as far as I could perceive, the participants rarely looked at me during the lessons.

Another problem was ensuring that I was not noting down just what was familiar to me, that I suspended my preconceptions (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 103) making the familiar strange (Holliday 2002:93-

94)(see 4.5 above). This demanded a reflexive process concerning the notes I was writing. For example, the lesson notes for observations 1 to 15 tended to have the following pattern.

- The top of the notes headed with contextual data such as the name of the class, the date, the time of the class.
- The actual notes divided into numbered stages with each stage being given a title and the time it started.
  - The title generally described the broad theme or objective of the stage, for example, a skill or sub-skill, or a language point.
  - The text below the title being a linear description of what the teacher and students were doing.
- Diagrams to represent the physical elements of the classroom, seating patterns and participants.[33]
- There were also sometimes points about the lesson in general, participant behaviour and the classroom environment as well as descriptions of events that happened before the lesson proper had started, and after the lesson had finished.

On reflection, what was noticeable about this note structure is that I had unconsciously adopted the format of the lessons plans that I had been trained to do in TESOL teacher training, i.e. I was reproducing the dominant professional discourse and culture within my field notes, and thus imposing *a priori* categories on the data. Measor and Woods (1991: 69-70) also found similar problems where an observer's initial notes reflected her previous experience as a teacher trainer, and so tended to evaluate more than describe. Consequently, from observation 15, the stage structure was dropped in favour of a system which was an unstructured description with references to the time when these descriptions took place in the margin. However, I did not want to ignore the previous notes not only because they contained much useful lesson observation data but because the structure would contribute to the data analysis (see chapters 5.2 & 6.2).

4.6.4.2 Documents

As well as writing field notes from the observations, I considered that documents could also provide data in terms of being able to illuminate the culture I was observing (Davis 1995: 446; Atkinson & Coffey 1997; Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 158). By documents, I mean any written texts that were officially produced by the culture. Whilst Lincoln & Guba (1985: 277) would describe such artefacts as *records* rather than personally-produced *documents*, I agree with Hodder (1994: 393) that the two terms are often used interchangeably and so I prefer to use the *documents* to describe all written texts produced by the culture. I did not have a precise check list of which documents to collect before starting the observations, partly

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[33] The use of visual data is quite common in ethnography (Spradley 1980: 33) and particularly in classroom observation (e.g. Holliday 1991a; 1997b).

because I was not sure what would be useful and partly because I did not know what would be easily available to me. My attitude was to collect any document that could have had relevance. Within the culture studied there was a range of official documents including such things as timetables and completed pre-course questionnaires, syllabi, teaching materials, inspection criteria and so on, much of which helped to develop the picture of the Department voice in the localised discourse.

This collecting also took place during the complete participant observation. However, I did collect some documents after leaving the field for the purpose of filling certain gaps in my corpus of data. This was arranged through two meetings: one with Jaclyn (19th November 1999) and one with Luke (a Department lecturer with management responsibilities; 3rd of February 2000). I had the meeting with Luke because he was able to supply some documentation that Jaclyn could not regarding the criteria for employing teachers at the Institution. The detail of the meetings and what I requested are described in Appendix 5. All the documents referred to in the findings chapters can be found in Appendix 6; the system of coding the appendices is outlined in 4.10 below.

4.7 Teacher Interviews

4.7.1 Rationale for the Interviews

The necessity for interviewing the teachers who taught 'Roses' became evident during the period of observing the lessons and the initial analysis of the field notes because of the shift in research focus. This shift emerged in the analysis particularly in the commonality between the teachers' pedagogy, not so much in their teaching styles, but in the way that they managed interaction which despite being notionally student-centred was very teacher-controlled (see chapter 5.6). I therefore wanted to understand how the teachers conceptualised the practices I had observed. This shift in focus to the teachers' pedagogy also meant that I did not consider the necessity of interviewing the students.

Interviews were chosen as a research tool because they can facilitate the understanding of observations (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 231-232). The objective of the teacher interviews was to understand how the teachers viewed and understood their teaching; the teaching which I had observed. This combination of research methods was a form of methodological triangulation (Seale 1999: 54 citing Denzin 1978) which would be developed with each subsequent piece of fieldwork. In ethnographic educational research, there is a strong precedent of triangulating classroom observations and interviews with teachers and/or students (e.g. Pollard 1986: 30-33; Mac an Ghail 1991: 109; Walford 1991b: 96-97). However, it is necessary to clarify what I mean by triangulation because within qualitative research there is not one clear definition. Those working in realist and empiricist perspective, see it as a means of guaranteeing credibility and validity to naturalistic observation methods, a move towards describing objective reality (Davis 1995: 446; Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 231; Seale 1999: 55). It is thus criticised by ethnomethodologists because it

can only make sense in a positivist framework (Seale 1999: 57). In postmodern epistemology it is not seen as an attempt at arriving at objective reality rather it is an attempt to achieve more in-depth understanding of a phenomena; it is not a form of validation but an alternative to it (Denzin & Lincoln 1994a: 2) which is similar to the postpositivist view (Seale 1999: 60). Silverman (1993:157-158) argues, from an ethnomethodological position that according to Seale (1999: 58) is similar to postmodern relativism, that triangulation provides no guarantee of validity but reveals how different accounts are produced, i.e. the production of meaning in different settings. This for Seale (1999: 58-59) means there is no possibility of relating the analysis of language to events outside of it. For Seale (1999: 61) triangulation can, if used with caution, provide additional evidence to support claims but always accepting that knowledge constructed by social researchers is provisional.

In this sense triangulation resembles more a *thick description*, which shows the different and complex facets of this particular phenomena (Holliday 2002: 78-79) with a many layered interpretation (Seale 1999: 94 citing Geertz 1973); an interpretive act of our constructions of other peoples constructions (James 2001: 246-247 citing Geertz 1973: 9-10). Triangulation then may not produce a complete picture, or may produce differences which may be just as illuminating (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 232). Consequently, discovering if the interviewees responses concur with the researcher's view of the events observed is not necessarily the only way of using triangulation, and, in terms of this research, may not help in the understanding of the teacher culture. Taking postmodernism into consideration, I do not consider the data I was collecting in the interviews as confirmation *per se* of the 'truth' in my lesson observations. Interviews do not mirror reality but help to reveal how participants socially construct their social worlds and experiences (Miller & Glassner 1997: 100; Gaskell 2000: 38-39). The purpose of these, and subsequent, interviews was to understand the teachers' social construction of their professional behaviour how their voices reveal a heteroglossia of their own and other discourses (Johnston 1997: 686-687). Therefore, the interviews helped to enrich the observations, to put a new light on them, but not necessarily 'prove' them.

The interviews are defined in the same way as the classroom observations were defined as a form of passive participant observation. Whilst the classroom observations readily fit Spradley's (1980: 58-62) definition of "passive participation" where the ethnographer "is present at the scene of action but does not participate or interact with other people to any great extent", it could be argued that interviewing the participants does not so readily fit this definition. However, the interviews were an extension of the classroom observations and passive participant observation is the closest definition that exists.

4.7.2 Negotiating the Interviews

One of the first issues that needed consideration was whether to interview the teachers individually or as a group. I decided to interview them separately because I would be dealing with personal, not shared, interpretations and not negotiated agreement or disagreement. Interviewing individually therefore is a better

means to explore the life world of an individual (Gaskell 2000: 48). In order to gain permission to interview the teachers, each one was individually asked by word of mouth or email for permission, as well as a time and a place that was convenient for them. Letting the participant choose the interview location was important consideration as it can give the interviewee more confidence and let them feel in control (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 150). All three agreed to do an interview. Sara was interviewed on the 3rd of June 1998, Simon the 4th of June, and Sandra on the 1st of October. As can be seen from this, the interviews took place some time after the actual period of classroom observation. There were several reasons for this. The original intention was for the interviews to happen shortly after the observation field notes had been analysed so that the analysis could be the basis for the interviews; without having first done the analysis, there would not be a clear idea of what issues would constitute the interviews. The combination of my teaching commitments and Easter holidays meant that the analysis took longer than had been originally provisioned. Another problem was getting a time when the teachers would be free. This meant that it was not possible to have the interviews until the beginning of June. Interviewing Sandra was even more of a problem. She was far more difficult to get hold of as she took a long time in answering her e-mails, and I did not want to appear over-insistent so I tended to wait for a long time before sending a reminder. She was also on holiday in June and part of August, while during the summer school of July and August we were both busy teaching and I was also busy doing my participant observation. Finally, I was on holiday in September. Each of these problems meant that the interview could not take place until the beginning of October.

It could be assumed that the distance in time between the observations and the interviews was problematic because the interviews were supposed to be about a period which the interviewees could have forgotten. This would have especially been the case with Sandra. It became evident in interviewing Sara and Simon that they had a very short-term teaching memory, i.e. they even found it initially very difficult to recall lessons that they had recently taught. In fact, with Simon the interview was concerned with the classes he was teaching at the time of the interviews. Obviously, this was also the case with Sandra. However, even if the participants were not talking about the same class as they had been observed teaching, this did not devalue the data gathered in the interviews. The classes they referred to were ones at the same institution, and consequently the same cultural context, under study. Consequently, even if the classes were different in terms of the students, they were fixed within the same teaching culture, and it is the teaching culture that was the research focus. In other words the consistency was between the teachers and their teaching at the same institution, not the different classes. Indeed, Holliday (1997b) argues that there is a wider TESOL culture, so that a researcher can study incidences in different contexts and draw them under one academic culture. Certainly, if the teachers considered that there were any differences, they made it clear in the interviews.

4.7.3 Interview Methodology

The approach that was first considered to be employed for doing the interviews was respondent validation where I would have presented the findings of the classroom observations to the interviewees and allow the interviewees to comment on them (Seale 1999: 61-72). This can provide not only validity to findings but also credibility (Lincoln & Guba 1985: 373-374) and is a form of triangulation where inferences from one source is checked with another (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 230). Silverman (1993: 159) argues that it is not really a form of validation but rather another form of data to provide insight. I had doubts about this methodology because my initial findings could have been construed as criticisms of their practice, which might have had negative repercussions in the interviews as the participants could have become defensive. It might have also created negative repercussions for the rest of the fieldwork if I had developed a reputation in the Department of being critical of the norms of teaching taking place. It could have been possible to present the participants with extracts of the raw field notes but this would not have provided the stimuli for the interviewees to talk about the emergent themes of the findings.

An alternative approach needed to be sought that could generate interesting data without necessarily confronting the teachers with the findings. An approach which could discover the participants' meanings and how they constructed and saw their world (Measor & Woods 1991: 72). Measor & Woods (ibid.) go on to argue that in order to achieve this, it is necessary for informants to present their values and beliefs with solid examples or through narrative in order to facilitate their ability to discuss these areas. I therefore adopted a form of interview influenced by narrative interviewing where participants are asked to talk about a significant event in their life and social context (Hollway & Jefferson 2000; Jovchelovitch & Bauer 2000) and episodic interviewing where participant are asked to talk about an event which reveals their knowledge of a topic (Flick 2000). The teachers were asked to talk about two lessons they had taught: a lesson they had thought was successful and a lesson they had thought was unsuccessful.[34] This approach of using participants' narratives had the aims of hopefully gaining two levels of insight from the interviewees' contributions. First of all, it was hoped that the criteria by which they measured teaching success, or lack of it. Secondly, the approach could encourage the interviewees to reveal deeper insights into their attitudes, understanding and thinking about teaching, with reference to both the lessons observed, as well as to their teaching in general. This approach was non-confrontational and it allowed the participants to more easily set their own agenda in what they talked about within the parameters I had set.

Ethnographic and qualitative interviews tend either to be unstructured occurring in the process of complete participant observation (Fontanna & Frey 1994) or semi-structured occurring as predefined and planned events (Carspecken 1996: 155; Gaskell 200 0: 38), what Hamersley & Atkinson call a *non-directive* approach:

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[34] I gained this idea from my chair at that time Professor Tricia David.

...in which the interviewee is allowed to talk at length in his or her own terms, as opposed to more directive questioning. The aim here is to minimise, as far as possible, the influence of the researcher on what is said, and thus to facilitate the open expression of the informants' perspective on the world.

(Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 129)

I adopted a semi-structured, non-directive approach because these were planned interviews with a predefined purpose, unlike the unstructured interviews that occurred in the participant observation (see 4.8 below). Each interview started on the topic with further explanations and examples encouraged as necessary without guiding the interviewee to any specific answers. Therefore, the participants could shape the direction of the interview. The aim of questioning was to elicit confirmation, examples, explanation and added description, so it did not conform to a pure narrative interview where such questioning is more controlled (Jovchelovitch & Bauer 2000: 62). The questions were not decided on beforehand but emerged during the process of the interview (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 151-152).

The interviews were audio recorded using a small cassette recorder and a small unobtrusive disc microphone. The interviews lasted between thirty and forty-five minutes. After the interviews, in order to make the analysis easier the interviews were transcribed into a written text using a word processor. The transcribed interviews can be found in Appendix 2; the system of coding is described in 4.10 below. There are certain differences between written and spoken *di*scourse (i.e. language in use; see chapter 2.6) which means that a written transcription of a spoken text is not a direct translation (cf. Duranti 1997: 123-126). There are in existence in *di*scourse analysis transcription systems that try take account of phonological features and other conversational features such as people talking at the same time (Atkinson & Heritage 1999; Ochs 1999). However, these interviews (as well as the group interviews) were analysed for what they said rather than how it was said. Consequently, I did not adopt one of these transcription systems although I do accept that some meaning would be inevitably lost in whatever system is used. Nevertheless, I did try to adopt some level of conformity into how both sets of interviews were transcribed. This system was not developed before the transcription started because it was an ongoing process that was used to solve problems as they arose, and which could not have been easily predicted. It did not represent every nuance of speech, but did indicate some important features.

- Commas represented pauses of approximately half a second or less.
- Commas were also used to mark discoursal boundaries such as the placement of an adverbial filler (cf. Bygate 1987: 18) such as 'I mean', and 'you know' that are said at a slightly different pitch to the surrounding text without there necessarily being a perceivable time pause.

- Three full stops (...) signified a longer pause.[35]
- Non-lexical fillers (cf. Kenworthy 1990: 41) such as 'erm', 'mm' and 'uh-ah' were transcribed when they had some prominence within the text; in other words, they were so distinct that they were noticeable and broke up the flow of the text. They were also transcribed if they seem to play an important part in the meaning of the text.
- Word and phrases in the interviews were often repeated quickly in succession when the speaker was hesitating. Some of these repetitions were omitted when they were repeated very quickly, but again they were included if they were so distinct that they were noticeable and broke up the flow of the text.
- When one speaker interrupted another, the interrupted speech is divided by three full stops.
- Speech marks were used when a teacher was quoting from the students, that is to say giving an imaginary example of what a student would say, or indeed quoting what the teacher may have said in a lesson.
- Any comments about the speech or what was happening beyond the conversation were put into brackets, e.g. (laughs) and (tape stops).

4.8 Participant Observation

4.8.1 Rationale for the Participant Observation

The observations of the classes and interviewing the teachers had provided some rich data. I had a clear understanding of how the pedagogy operated in practice and some insights into the teachers' construction of their practices. There were, however, two gaps in my data. Firstly, the major theories that inform the pedagogy (cf. weak communicative language teaching and learner centredness in chapter 3) were not present in the teacher interviews that had been done. I had the suspicion at that time that these theories were so normalised that for the teachers they were not really worth mentioning. Secondly, the data only gave a partial view of the culture, that is to say the teaching. Although, the fundamental part of this professional culture was its teaching, I considered that I needed deeper insight into how this group of teachers worked together day to day. This could build a deeper understanding of this culture. I therefore decided that a period of complete participant observation where I would work with the participants as a teacher and therefore become part of the culture could provide a deeper understanding of this culture and perhaps provide more insight into how the participants constructed their pedagogy, their working lives and their profession as a whole.

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[35] These time gaps are subjective estimates. Any form of mechanical measurement would have been too time consuming. A comma was essentially a small pause, three full stops a long one.

I describe this part of the fieldwork as complete participant observation; the form of fieldwork that most resembles the traditional conception of ethnography where the researcher becomes part of the culture studied (Spradley 1980: 61; Atkinson & Hammersley 1994; Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 1; Emerson *et al* 2001: 352). However, I was not a true novice to the culture because of my teaching experience there as well as the fieldwork that had already been undertaken. Therefore, I did not experience the problems a real novice can have of trying to make sense at the beginning of the fieldwork of how the culture works (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 99-101). In fact, I had the opposite problem of over familiarity of the culture and as a result I had to once again attempt to suspend any preconceptions making the familiar strange.

4.8.2 Negotiating Entry

As I have made clear so far in this chapter, I was a part-time member of staff in the Department teaching and working there throughout my period as a PhD student. I could, therefore, have taken field notes at any time. However, I considered it to be ethically better to ask permission to do so taking into account that in *ethnography* the 'researched' should be treated with respect as participants and not as research 'subjects'. I therefore had a meeting with the gatekeeper Jaclyn (4 June 1998) where I explained to her that I wanted to explore the teacher culture and 'methodology' whilst teaching there. Jaclyn agreed to this, but had one reservation: as I would be researching the teachers all the time and I would be working with them, it could make them feel that they have no free space in which they are not being observed. Jaclyn therefore decided that they needed a place where they would feel secure and free to say what they want and so the staff room (a lounge with a cafeteria exclusively for members of staff) would be designated as a space where anything that was said or done by the teachers there could not be included in the field notes. The field work was to take place during the July and August of the summer school in 1998. As with the classroom observations, I was asked by Jaclyn to negotiate this matter with the teachers in a staff meeting. This pre-course meeting was on the Sunday before the summer school started. The teachers present agreed to my doing the research, and there did not appear to be any resistance to this. It should be noted that there was not a permanent team of staff for the period of the summer school. Some teachers only taught on one or two of the two-week courses. With such a fluidity of staff, it became difficult to explain to all members my intentions and to negotiate an agreement after this first meeting. However, arriving teachers tended to find out either through talking to me or through the osmosis grapevine. There were, as far I know, no complaints about what I was doing.

The fieldwork was to be based on four two-week 'EFL' courses of the summer school. However, due to a member of staff becoming seriously ill, I was asked to replace him in order to teacher and direct a closed Japanese group (the Tokyo group). This meant the fieldwork continued on to cover the extra week when I was exclusively teaching them.

4.8.3 The Data Collection

The data was collected using field notes and collecting any official documents that were considered useful (see 4.6.4.2 above). The field notes were written in a two-part process. Throughout each day of the observations, I made rough notes in a note book. These notes were sometimes taken in front of the participants. However, this did not seem problematic because writing things down on paper was a normal part of the daily work of the culture. In fact, I also used my notebook for my lesson plans. However, on occasions the participants were aware that I was taking notes, but this did not seem to have any detrimental effects and was in fact treated with humour (see chapter 7.2.4). At the end of each day, either at work or at home, I would orally record the notes into a more a coherent and expanded text onto a small tape recorder. I adapted this system of note taking from Walford (1991b: 91). These notes were later transcribed onto a word processor to create a text that is easier to analyse. The field notes can be found in Appendix 3; the system of coding them is outlined in 4.10 below.

The problem of note writing style and structure, which had been such a strong concern with the lesson observation field notes (see 4.6.4.1 above), was not a difficult issue when writing these notes. This was because I was observing something I had not observed before and which did not have a predefined structure as the lessons did in terms of the way that they happen and in the way that I had been trained to construct them. The complete participant observation notes were narrative descriptions without any formal structure. Although it had been considered, the observation period did not reveal the necessity to use visual aids such as photographs or diagrams unlike the lesson observations.

4.8.4 Researcher Behaviour, Participant Interpretation and Developing Relationships

In the field, the role(s) of the researcher are complex (Wellin & Fine 2001: 328-329) and the researcher's identity can have important effects (Punch 1994: 86-88). Whilst the relationships I had with the participants and the way my role was interpreted by them were important concerns for the classroom observations, for the participant observation they were of even more importance. If I had not maintained and developed good relationships with the participants, they could have been unwilling to work with me as both a teacher and researcher.

One issue that had to be contended was how the participants would interpret my role. Participants tend to locate or place the researcher within their experience (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 80). If the participants had little notion of social research, they could have been quite suspicious about who I was and what I was doing (ibid.: 81). This was not considered to be a problem for the following reasons. Firstly, many of the teachers had experienced being researched, and secondly, several of them had done their own research as master's students. Thirdly, some of them knew me and had been participants in my research

before, for the thesis and in my MA. Those that did not know me could have perceived me as an inspector or spy. However, this would seem to be very unlikely because all their other colleagues knew exactly who I was, and unless they did not communicate with their other colleagues, such misplaced perceptions would seem hard to imagine. In the actual fieldwork, it seemed to be clear that the participants all had, to various degrees, some conception of social research. In fact the problem could have been not unfamiliarity with research but over familiarity with it. It can be problematic if participants are experienced in research because they may feel that they have a knowledge of research methodology, but in fact do not understand ethnography, or they may even be opposed to it (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 81). Fortunately, these beliefs or conceptions did not appear to manifest themselves.

As with the classroom observations, in order to be perceived as 'one of them', I adopted a mode of dress that fitted the norms of the teachers. I also tried to develop a good rapport through the use of neutral small talk with the temporary teachers I was not familiar with (cf. Fontana & Frey 1994: 367); something which can provide data in itself (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 89-90). Developing 'friendships' in the field is a strategy, a way to extract information (Crick 1992: 176-177), although as an insider, I do not think that I behaved very differently to the way I would normally behave at work; I was just more conscious and reflective of what I was doing. Being an experienced teacher helped to create a common point of interest for conversations with the participants and I was aware of the fact that this can also help to ingratiate researchers with participants as long as I did not take on the role of 'expert' (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 90-91 citing Beynon 1983). Other factors such as the researcher's age, sex and ethnicity can also affect how relationships are developed with the participants (Punch 1994: 87-88; Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 92-99). None of these factors, as far as I could perceive, seemed to be an issue in the way that the relationships were developed.

Another potential problem could have been if the relationships I developed with the participants were not equally developed and I had an over rapport with certain groups and individuals. This could affect the researcher's social mobility in the field and the researcher's relationships with other groups or individuals (Walker 1993: 182-183; Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 110-112). Whilst I did not perceive this to be a problem, I did tend to spend more time with the temporary teachers because we shared an office. However, there did not seem to be any detrimental effects because my relationships had already been developed with the permanent staff.

4.9 Group Interviews: 'The Video Discussions'

4.9.1 Rationale for the Video Discussions

After the completion, transcription and analysis of the participant observation data as well as the third teacher interview, it became clear that the data produced so far, whilst rich and illuminating, still did not

provide much detail of the participants' rationale for their pedagogy. In the teacher interviews and the participant observation, I had tried to be as unstructured and unguided as possible in the interviewing the participants. I did not want to impose categories. I wanted them to talk about their theory and practice as they wanted to. The fact that in their working lives as well as in the interviews, the teachers did not rationalise their pedagogy further encouraged my suspicions that this was such a given in their lives, so naturalised, that it was not talked about. I was quite sure what these norms were as I was a member of the profession and saw them indirectly in teachers' practices and thinking. What I lacked was empirical evidence. It was therefore necessary to find a way of encouraging the teachers to talk about their teaching in such a way that they would reveal their rationale.

It was therefore necessary to find a way to interview some of the teachers that would reveal their *givens*. I rejected using my findings in respondent validation for the same reasons as I had done for the teacher interviews (see 4.7.3 above). An alternative would be to present the participants with data or texts that contained material that could provoke discussion but without having the authorship of the material assigned to the researcher. Indeed, presenting interviewees with some form of stimulus for discussion is a typical method of *focus group* interviewing (Flick 2000: 85; Gaskell 2000: 50-51). I therefore decided to use video extracts of a lesson (or lessons) which the participants could watch and comment on. Beebe's (1994) ethnographic study used a similar method for generating comments from both a classroom teacher and some of her students in separate interviews. The video would act as means of asking the difficult questions; it would be a prompt: a method of confronting the participants without the interviewer being critical of their practice. I then needed to decide what kind of lesson to show them. I rejected using a video of one of the participants teaching because the videoed teacher could have objected to being put under scrutiny by their peers, whilst the participants may have themselves reacted to it in a way that reflected their relationship to that teacher rather than to issues of pedagogy. To avoid this problem, one solution could have been to use a video of the actual interviewee with the same interviewee. This would have been however very time consuming in terms of making all the videos and interviewing all the participants separately. In addition to this, the participant may have been more concerned with minor issues of their behaviour on the video, rather than with pedagogy in general. The final solution was to use a video which involved teachers and students in a classroom that was unfamiliar to the participants. Like showing a video of themselves, showing the participants a video of practice that was very similar to theirs may have also led to more concern with small details rather than wider issue of pedagogy. Consequently, I decided to use video extracts from a TESEP classroom where the practice *givens* would be almost the anti-thesis of what the participants would consider good practice.[36]

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[36] The problem of using videos of similar practice and the suggestion to use videos of completely different practice came from my chair at the time Professor Tricia David.

Rather than doing the interviews individually, I decided to do them with several teachers at the same time. Interviewing participants in groups is strongly linked to the idea of a *focus group*, developed by Merton, Fiske and Kendall (1953 cited in Fontanna & Frey 1994: 36) in which the interviewer asks the participants specific questions about a topic after a considerable amount of research has already been completed. There are then certain similarities between focus groups and the 'video discussions' because they were done after all the other data had been collected, but with the difference being that the topic was introduced indirectly via the video. Doing group interviews in practical terms is less time consuming allowing a greater number of participants to be interviewed (Watts & Ebbutt 1987: 27; Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 144); it was therefore possible to interview most of the permanent and temporary teachers who were working at the time of the interviews. The data these type of interviews produce is often richer than what is provided by individual interviews (Fontanna & Frey 1994: 365) and often with a higher level of emotional involvement (Gaskell 2000: 46-47). The participants can actually prompt each other which can help the participants to reveal more than they might individually (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 145) allowing for exchange of views as the participants respond to each other (Watts & Ebbutt 1987: 25 citing Walker 1985). Group interviews ideally suit the research objective of exploring attitudes, opinions and behaviours (Gaskell 2000: 48). In the actual interviews, there was a great deal of prompting and questioning between the participants, which meant that the interviewer's role was less intrusive; in fact the interaction between the participants is just as, if not more so, important than the interaction between the interviewer and interviewee (Watts & Ebbutt 1987: 25-26). My role was as catalyst to stimulate or facilitate a discussion between the participants (Watts & Ebbutt 1987: 27; Gaskell 2000: 46).[37] There is also the advantage that it may make the actual interview situation seem less strange for the participants therefore making them more ready to contribute (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 144). The fact that they were called *discussions* was also an attempt to make the interviews seem less like interviews. The participants could have perceived the term *interview* as a structured event, which may have led them to behaving as if it were an interview of structured questions and answers. However, *group interviews* is the name I now prefer to use for this piece of fieldwork to avoid the connotations with a pedagogic task.

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[37] There is a certain irony here as the 'video discussions' had many similar characteristics to a production task in a weak communicative language lesson not only in how it was carried out but in the name I chose for it (see chapter 3.5.3.1). It appears that I was subconsciously reproducing the mainstream discourse and this could be a tentative explanation as to why both the participants and I engaged in it so easily. The possible difference between the 'discussion' and a classroom task is that I was less in control of the situation being a peer, not their teacher, and I had to negotiate for their permission to do the interviews (cf. Hammersley 1986: 256-257). Nevertheless, as I wanted to "allow free discussion and yet at the same time keep the thread moving in a particular direction so that the needs of the research design were met" (Watts & Ebbutt 1987: 28-29), and so there was present the same 'learner-centred' contradiction of 'freedom' masking control (see chapter 3.5.2.2).

Despite its advantages, there are certain problems associated with group interviews which I had to be aware of. I had to prevent group domination by individuals or subgroups within the group; and encourage recalcitrant interviewees to participate to ensure the fullest possible coverage of the topic (Fontanna & Frey 1994: 365 citing Merton et al 1956). Consequently, I was balanced between two roles: one of directive interviewer and the other of moderator managing the dynamics of the group (Fontanna & Frey 1994: 365). I was also aware that it can be more difficult to control the topic (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 145), although the actual interviews revealed that this was not a problem as the video extract was the means of topic selection which seemed to lay down thematic parameters that the participants generally stayed within. While there was the possibility of distortion because truth may be not the primary concern in group discussions, they can provide considerable insight into participant culture and discourse (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 147) If the discussion created "group think" (Fontanna and Frey 1994: 365), this could be advantageous as this is exactly what I was looking for. The teacher interviews were personal interpretations of each individual's own teaching whilst with the 'video discussions' there was a shared construction of the culture. Group interviews then can expose shared identities as well as factions (Gaskell 2000: 46) and can show the common sense understandings of groups and their collective view (Watts & Ebbutt 1987: 27). They are particularly useful for people who work together or have a common purpose (Watts & Ebbutt 1987: 32).

I describe the video discussions as a form of passive participant observation and this follows the same rationale of calling the teacher interviews and classroom observations passive participant observation.

4.9.2 Negotiating the Group Interviews

The interviews took place in 1999. There were five interviews (see table 4.1). The first included three 'TEFL' MA students at the Institution who had experience teaching 'EFL' in a BANA context, the second and third were full-time teachers in the Department, and the final two were with temporary/part-time members of staff. The initial purpose of interviewing the MA students was to pilot this form of interview. However, I decided to include this interview in the findings not only because the participants were all part of the same wider professional culture, but because they were extremely familiar with the Department having both observed and taught lessons there in their capacity as students and as temporary teachers. What was particularly interesting is that their interview did not in fact seem in any way different in terms of context, pattern and content to the other discussions.

The Video Discussions		
Discussion	**Date**	**Participants**
1	24th May 1999	Margaret Roger Lewis
2	27th May 1999	Louise Nigel
3	2nd June 1999	Janet Simon
4	21st July 1999	Reena Sheila Ian
5	29th July 1999	Dominique Peter

Table 4-1: The Group Interviews

There were then three sets of negotiations: one for the permanent teachers, one for the students and one for the temporary teachers. The negotiation for the teachers followed a similar pattern to the previous negotiations: I contacted Jaclyn and asked for her permission at the end of February 1999. She asked me to go to a staff meeting at the end of term to negotiate this with the teachers (24th of March). I explained what I wanted to do and all the staff agreed to take part. I was finally unable to interview all the permanent teachers because of various constraints such as pregnancy and busyness (on busyness see chapter 6.6.2.2). During the summer term, dates and times were negotiated with the teachers who could still manage it. This was a rather complex procedure. I had originally planned to have a gap between the student interview and *one* full-time teacher interview. However, due to various commitments related to their jobs (as well as my teaching commitments), compromise dates were arrived at with the group divided into two separate groups.

Organising the students was also more difficult than I had imagined it would be. I negotiated with the head of the MA course for permission to do the interviews and asked for a list of students who would fit the BANA criteria. It was then a complex process of emails and meetings with the students to get their permission and negotiate times and places. Some of the people I tried to contact did not reply, some said they were too busy, and one actually dropped out after initially saying she would do it. I finally then had three participants.

Negotiating with the temporary staff during the summer school was easier because I was teaching there in July and was therefore able to establish and re-establish relationships with the teachers. Once again, I asked Jaclyn's permission and again she asked me to negotiate with the teachers in a staff meeting (21st July 1999). Once again the teachers at the meeting accepted doing the interview. This also had to be done individually because as with the participant observation, not all of the staff members were present at the

staff meeting. Again certain teachers did not do the interviews because of busyness while one teacher did not want to do it with the other teachers. Again, it was trying to find a convenient time and place that was the most difficult part of the negotiations.

The discussions took place in classrooms at the Institution. The choice of interview location was made in same way as the choice was made for the first set of interviews, where issues of power and territory were taken into consideration (see 4.7.2). The fact that a video cassette recorder and television would be necessary naturally limited it to the setting of classrooms, and not more informal contexts such as the student union. However, the choice of location was very much the participants' territory as being places where they either taught or were taught.

4.9.3 The Video Extract

In the process of finding an appropriate lesson extract, I watched several lesson videos from different TESEP contexts using the following process.[38] While watching the lessons, I made notes on their content and on the timing of events within the lessons in order to try and find an appropriate sequence of around fifteen minutes. I decided on this length because the extracts had to be prompts; anything longer could mean that it would be a discussion just of the contents of the video. In addition to this, in the process of negotiation the discussions had to be sold to the participants as not lasting too long as the participants seemed always to be short of time and doing the discussions was to some extent an inconvenience to them. Consequently, the whole discussions including watching the extract was envisaged as lasting for about one hour, which would give up to forty-five minutes for the discussion. The appropriateness of the extract needed to be not only in terms of length but also in terms of the content being able to provoke discussion. The extract chosen would also need to start from the beginning of the lesson in order that the participants had some contextual clues as to what was going on. The extract I finally chose was from a video of Hungarian secondary school English language lessons taught by Hungarians. I chose an extract from one particular lesson because it was, in a sense, the most provocative that I could find for every aspect of it was the anti-thesis of student-centred weak communicative language teaching being heavily teacher-fronted (see Group Interview 4.1: Description of the Video Extract in Appendix 4).

I had not originally planned to use just one extract for all the interviews but it was so successful in provoking a discussion on pedagogy in the first interview that I decided to use it for each one. In using the same extract for all the interviews, there was a risk that the participants would talk about it to the other participants. However, the way they reacted and talked about it in each discussions did not seem to indicate that they had discussed it beforehand. The only unforeseen problem arose during the first discussion when Margaret indicated that she had taught in Hungary. However, this was not problematic because she was

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[38] I would like to thank Richard Cullen and Martin Hyde for offering me a range of videos to use.

resolutely within the dominant BANA discourse being highly critical of the practices in the extract. She also provided insights into what was going on which were useful for the other participants and for me for the subsequent interviews. For example she was able to explain the nature of the textbook that was being used and the norms of the TESEP sector in Hungary. There was a final advantage in using the same extract as the more I showed it, the more I became familiar with it and was able to explain the elements the participants did not pick up or understand.

4.9.4 The 'Discussions'

This section deals with how the discussions were actually managed and structured. This was an ongoing, dynamic process in the sense that a formula for doing them was not constructed and then applied, but rather a rough plan of action was developed beforehand and during the interviews the most appropriate formula was developed. Such an approach placed the interviews close to the arena of *creative interviewing* where there are no predefined rules and the interviewer adapts themselves to the situation at hand (Fontanna and Frey 1994: 368 citing Douglas 1985), but they do not quite fit this paradigm as there was a predefined agenda.

The way that the discussions were structured was developed in the first discussion, and this system, because of the fact that it worked successfully, was maintained. It worked as follows. Once the participants had arrived in the room where the discussion took place, I would briefly explain to them the procedure of the discussion: i.e. they were going to watch an extract of a lesson after which I wanted to know what their reactions to the video were and for them to discuss this matter. I also informed them that I was going to fast forward the videotape (when the teacher in it wrote on the whiteboard) to shorten the length of the extract. Matters dealing with how I would notate the data were also explained: whilst the participants watched the video, anything that was said by them would be noted down on paper while the actual discussion would be recorded on audiotape. I then also explained to them that all the data would be treated in the strictest confidence and that in the final thesis, pseudonyms would be used. The extract was then played and the discussion followed it.

The discussion was envisaged as having as little interference as possible from the researcher. Anything said by the researcher whilst the participants were talking would be a reaction to the process of how the participants dealt with discussion. I planned to only interfere in the discussion if the participants had difficulty in continuing the discussion; if the discussion seemed to be going too far away from pedagogical issues; if I wanted participants to clarify their comments; or if I was asked questions by the participants. In order to give myself a means to ask questions during the discussions if the participants had difficulty in continuing the discussion, I had a topic check list which was a summary of the three sets of initial findings that had already been made; a set of *covert categories* which I did not want to explicitly ask the participants about because it could lead the discussion too much (Carspecken 1996: 157).

With the actual discussions, a clear pattern developed where the participants tended to develop the discussion with very few contributions from myself. During the period of unprompted discussion, I made notes of the themes and concepts the participants were bringing up that had relevance to my focus. As their discussions began to lose momentum, I used this list as a means of developing the discussion through asking them questions based on these themes. I tried to get them to explain the concepts they mentioned even if they seemed to be absolute givens within the culture as well as their rationale behind their criticism of the lesson. It is interesting to note that I found it awkward personally to try to get participants to explain concepts which they knew I was familiar with. It was almost as if I felt that they thought I was treating them as non-professionals. I also asked questions which were generally to develop an idea already discussed or to ask about areas that had not been discussed. I attempted to make this questioning non-confrontational because I considered that I could get more from them in this way. The participants never seemed to deviate substantially from the pedagogical issues I was interested in, so it was never necessary to ask questions to steer them back to the subject. The discussions were ended when they seemed to have come to their natural end, i.e. the topics seemed exhausted and it felt as if the participants had nothing more to say. With interview 5, their discussion continued after I stopped the cassette tape, and I noted their additional comments afterwards. After the completion of the interviews, the recordings were transcribed. I followed the same transcription guidelines that I had set for the teacher interviews (see 4.7.3 above). The transcriptions can be found in Appendix 4; the system of coding them is outlined the next section.

4.10 The Classification and Coding of the Data

In this section, I will first classify the types of data collected and then outline the system of coding that is used when the data is referred to and cited in the findings chapters. The data collected for this thesis is divided into the following six categories:

1. Classroom Observations
2. The Teacher Interviews
3. Participant Observation Field Notes
4. The Group Interviews: 'The Video Discussions'
5. Document Meetings
6. Documents

The first four categories, as their names suggest, correspond to the four main forms of data collection carried out (see 4.6; 4.7; 4.8; 4.9 above). The *Document Meetings* refer to the notes taken at two interviews with staff members for the purpose of collecting documents, while *Documents* refer to all the documents collected during the fieldwork (see 4.6.4.2 above). Each category of data is divided into segments using a coding system so that when an extract of data is cited or referred to in the findings chapters, the reader can

immediately tell where it came from and can cross-reference it to its source in the appendices (all the data can be found in the appendices). The system used follows a similar pattern in all six categories of data: i.e. a generic title for the category of data, a code number, a date and/or other specific details (see Table 4-2).

Data Category	Examples of Coding System	Location in Appendices
Classroom Observations	- Introduction to Observations: 12/1/98 - Observation 1.1: 12/1/98 - Observation 1.2: 12/1/98	Appendix 1
The Teacher Interviews	- Interview 2.1: Sara - 3rd June 1998 - Interview 2.2: Simon - 4th June 1998 - Interview 2.3: Sandra - 1st October 1998	Appendix 2
Participant Observation Field Notes	- Participant Observation 3.1: Introduction - Participant Observation 3.2: Monday 20th July - Participant Observation 3.3: Tuesday 21st July	Appendix 3
The Group Interviews: 'The Video Discussions'	- Group Interview 4.1: Description of the Video Extract - Group Interview 4.2: Notes Arising from Organising the Video Discussion - Group Interview 4.3: Discussion 1 - 24th May 1999	Appendix 4
Document Meetings	- Document Meeting 5.1: Jaclyn 19th November 1999 - Document Meeting 5.2: Luke 3rd February 2000	Appendix 5
Documents	- Document 6.1: Example of the Pre-Course Questionnaire Jan – March 1998 - Document 6.2: Example of a Student Profile - Document 6.3: Summer Course Syllabus	Appendix 6

Table 4-2: The Coding of the Data

I will now explain in more detail how the system works in each data category. The classroom observations notes are divided into each lesson that was observed. The code starts with the word *Observation.* This is followed by a numeric code that shows firstly the Appendices it appears in (i.e. 1) and then the actual number of the observation. Therefore the eighteen observations are coded from 1.1 to 1.18. Any notes which were taken in addition to the actual observations are prefixed by a relevant title (e.g. *Introduction to Observations*). The three teacher interview transcriptions start with *Interview,* are followed by a two-digit code that refers to the Appendix number and the number of the interview (i.e. 2.1 to 2.3). This is followed by the name of the person interviewed and the date the interview took place. The participant observation field notes follow the same pattern. The *Introduction,* however, refers to the notes I took prior to the actual day to day participant observation. The remaining thirty-four sets of notes refer to each day the notes were taken (i.e. 3.2 to 3.35). The group interview notes include two sets of notes taken prior to the actual *Discussions* (i.e. 4.1 and 4.2). Each *Discussion* includes a transcript of the interview and other notes taken at the time prior to and following the discussion (i.e. 4.3 to 4.7). The two document meetings are the

transcription of hand-written notes taken at the time of the interview. The coding for the actual documents has the title of each document following *Document* and the code number.

4.11 Ethical Considerations during the Fieldwork

A consideration of ethics is an essential component of qualitative research (cf. Miles & Huberman 1994: 288-297; Punch 1994; Hollway & Jefferson 2000: 83-103; Murphy & Dingwall 2001). During the fieldwork, I made great efforts to act as ethically as I could. I tried to avoid treating the people being researched as 'subjects', but rather as *participants*. I therefore negotiated my entry for each part of the fieldwork with all them. The only people who had little say in the negotiation process were the students in the classroom observations. They were asked just before I started observing and did not object, but this was a really a *fait accompli*. In retrospect, I would have made more efforts to negotiate with them as well. Apart from this problem area, I never consciously forced the participants to do or say anything they did not wish making sure they agreed to everything I was doing at every stage. I also respected the participants right to privacy by assuring them that I would use total anonymity in the final thesis through the use of pseudonyms, making great efforts to change every possible name in the field notes that could indicate where the study took place and who the people involved were (cf. Punch 1994: 92). In terms of the research having any benefits for the participants (Murphy & Dingwall 2001), there are no direct material benefits, although if this thesis does have any impact it would be to raise the issue of appropriate pedagogy and professionalism in TESOL (see chapter 8.2).

There was, however, one area that I still find ethically ambivalent and troubling. I avoided any form of respondent validation in the teacher and group interviews (see 4.7.3 & 4.9.1 above), because I was concerned that my findings would have been interpreted as criticisms of their practices, and ultimately their professionalism, even if my critique was aimed at the mainstream discourse of the profession and not at them personally. In fact, I considered them to be highly-competent teachers who did their jobs with complete integrity. In addition to it being a form of data enrichment, there is an ethical ethos in indicating to participants the character of your research (Adler & Adler 1994: 388; Strauss & Corbin 1994: 280-281). Whilst I made it clear at the beginning of each piece of fieldwork what my general aims were, as the focus shifted I did not specify that it was emerging into a critique of the professional discourse (see Murphy & Dingwall (2001: 342-343) for similar examples to this). Behaving honestly in the field is a supportable aim, but in practice the context makes for ambiguity and difficulty; thus "some deception, passive or active, enables you to get at data not obtainable by other means" (Punch 1994: 91). The nature of the research setting made this more complex because I was an insider, not only a fellow ESOL teacher, but an ongoing part-time member of staff. Revealing my findings could have not only affected my chances of collecting further data, but also my professional relationships (and potentially chances of future employment) as well as my personal relationships, as I counted some of the participants as not just colleagues but as friends. Another problem was that my critique of the dominant discourse outlined in chapter 3 was still in its

nascent stages during the fieldwork. I was not particularly confident at the time of articulating the things I found wrong with the profession that were being revealed in the findings and my reading; concepts which also would not have been easy to explain to people unfamiliar with them (Seale 1999: 63) or for that matter have any interest for them (Silverman 1993: 159). I therefore chose not to reveal the emergent focus of my research. I was only ever really confronted about the themes of my research by two of the participants. Sara asked me what my research was about whilst I was at a pub with her during the participant observation period. When confronted, I evaded the issue. During the group interviews, Nigel asked me if the research was about student-centredness, and I replied that it was partly about that. The participants' reactions to my presence as a researcher will be discussed in chapter 7.2.5.

4.12 The Analysis of the Data

The data from each piece of fieldwork was initially analysed after they had been transcribed. I included as part of these analyses the documents I had collected. In the cyclical relationship between analysis and subsequent fieldwork, I synthesised each analysis with those that had preceded it. After the group interviews, I combined each analysis to make one set of findings. How these findings are structured and organised is explained in chapter 5.1.1. The findings from the analysis of each piece of field work formed part of a cyclical research pattern in that each one indicated the possible direction for the next piece of fieldwork. I will devote the rest of this section to explain the theory and practice of the analysis.

Debates about methods of analysis in qualitative research, as with debates about the various schools and paradigms that exist, are a tendentious area (Denzin & Lincoln 1994a; Guba & Lincoln 1994). My approach to analysis was then not so much to follow one predefined route, but to experiment to find an appropriate method within the *progressivist* school. The analysis was done using *inductive data analysis* (Lincoln & Guba 1985: 202-204) heavily influenced by the various interpretations and developments of Glaser and Strauss' (1967) *grounded theory* (e.g. Lincoln & Guba 1985: 204-208; Silverman 1993: 46-47; Strauss & Corbin 1994; Seale 1999: 87-105; Charmaz & Mitchell 2001). Methodology in grounded theory involves the inductive generation of theory from data (Seale 1999: 91) while the continuous interplay between analysis and data collection (Strauss & Corbin 1994: 273) means that there is an emergent research design (Lincoln & Guba 1985: 209-211; Charmaz & Mitchell 2001: 160). Silverman (1993: 46) succinctly summarises analysis in grounded theory thus:

- an initial attempt to develop categories which illuminate the data
- an attempt to 'saturate' these categories with many appropriate cases in order to demonstrate their relevance
- developing these categories into more general analytic frameworks with relevance outside the setting

There is then a simultaneous involvement in data collection and analysis where theory is developed at each stage of data collection and analysis (Charmaz & Mitchell 2001: 162) and theory is *grounded* by illustrative examples from the data of key concepts (Seale 1999: 88-89).

I am well aware of a number of criticisms of grounded theory which I took account of. It has been criticised for failing to acknowledge implicit theories which guide work at an early stage (Lincoln & Guba 1985: 207-208; Silverman 1993: 47). However, later work in grounded theory has accepted the importance of this (Strauss & Corbin 1994: 277) where tacit knowledge must be taken into account by the researcher (Lincoln & Guba 1985: 208). There are also two key critiques from postmodern perspectives. Firstly, it has a narrow analytic strategy because of a heavy reliance on coding often linked to qualitative analysis software (Silverman 1993: 47; Coffey *et al* 1996), where "the analyst may get lost in coding and category schemes" (Denzin 1994: 508). However, grounded theorising does not necessarily have to follow these coding techniques; other means exist including teasing out word meanings and the global perceptions of whole structures within data (Seale 1999: 103 citing Coffey & Atkinson 1996). Secondly, there is a tendency in some work using grounded theory to have positivistic methodological underpinnings and a 'scientific' writing style (Denzin 1994: 508). According to Seale (1999: 104), grounded theory does not need to be stuck with the label of scientism; it can be open to new ideas and self-awareness. Indeed Charmaz & Mitchell (2001) use a constructivist interpretation of grounded theory and Strauss and Corbin (1994: 276) believe that grounded theory methodology is open to such intellectual trends as postmodernism. For me, a weakness of grounded theory is that it can have difficulty in identifying macro theory within its micro data, i.e. by imposing microscopic analysis and theory generation, wider social, economic and political patterns may not be evident. There is though an argument that researchers can scrutinize "the literature for received theories that might possibly be relevant to the emerging theory developed largely through the continuing conversation with the 'data'" (Strauss & Corbin 1994: 280). In this thesis, I compare the micro theory of the localised discourse with my macro Foucauldian theory of the mainstream discourse (see chapter 7.2.3).

I will now describe the actual process of analysis. As a means to code and categorise the classroom observation field notes, I tried to use Spradley's (1980) *Developmental Research Sequence*, specifically his *domain analysis* and *taxonomic analysis* because it offered a very concrete and easily understandable method for making sense of a large corpus of data. I discovered that this system had some analytical limitations: its mechanistic and prescriptive design tended to make the analysis very atomistic lacking a holistic overview of the data. I also found that trying to keep to its precise procedures of coding tended to dominate my thinking more than thinking about the meaning of the data. These problems reflect the criticisms of grounded theory described above. Whilst it did help to show that the lessons were made up of a web of small structured tasks and interactions between teacher and student, it only gave a limited picture; a surface reflection of complexity. I therefore made a second attempt at analysis using a less constraining approach which was principally derived from Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 204-238); a system I

adopted for all of the subsequent analysis. This approach involved three forms of analysis: an informal analysis using a research diary; an initial analysis for the generation of sensitising concepts (i.e. categories in the language of *grounded theory*); and a deeper analysis where these concepts were developed into concrete and analytic forms.

I had in fact started using a research diary during the classroom observations prior to attempting the Spradley analysis. The diary was used throughout the fieldwork for noting thoughts and ideas, thus acting as a form of reflexivity during the period of data gathering; an informal analysis of what the researcher is doing which helps to develop the research focus (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 206). After the completion and transcription of each piece of fieldwork, I did an initial analysis of the corpus where I coded the data (Lincoln & Guba 1985: 203; Charmaz & Mitchell 2001: 165), which involved a close reading of the field notes, interview transcripts and documents where concepts were generated (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 209-214). This process was aided by the informal analysis in my research diary and for the classroom observations it was also aided by the hunches I had made from the *domain* and *taxonomic* analysis. As I became more and more familiar with the corpus of data, I started the process of looking for evidence of any interesting patterns and whether anything stood out as surprising or puzzling (ibid.: 210). I looked at how the data related to what I might have expected, how it compared to official accounts, and previous theory; and whether there were any apparent inconsistencies or contradictions among the views of different groups or individuals, or between people's expressed beliefs or attitudes and what they do (ibid.).

The analytical concepts/categories arose from the actual participants in the language they used as well as by myself derived from my knowledge, experience, and literature (ibid.: 211; Seale 1999: 89). Researcher categories can link phenomena which the participants did not necessarily see as having a relationship (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 211). My practical method was to note these patterns and concepts in a notebook where each page was headed with a category. I then noted down underneath this category the instances in the data where it occurred giving both a reference and a description of the instance. The patterns that emerged from the classroom observation data, which revealed that the lessons were structured in a particular way with a highly controlled, but theoretically student-centred, classroom, meant that there was a refocus from one aspect of weak communicative language teaching (i.e. group work) to the pedagogy in general and the teachers' relationship to it. These findings then established my investigative path which I was to follow with each subsequent piece of fieldwork and analysis.

The final deeper analysis occurred as the analysis progressed when more analytically significant concepts were created through more selective, focused coding of the data (Charmaz & Mitchell 2001: 167). The system of coding data was an evolving one as new categories demand the re-coding of previous data until I had a stable set of categories and all the data was systematically coded (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995:

213). Once these concrete and analytic categories for organising the data had been discovered, the next stage was to work on those that were central to the analysis by clarifying their meaning, and exploring their relationships to other categories using Glasser and Strauss' (1967) *constant comparative method*: a systematic tool for developing and refining theoretical categories and their properties (Lincoln & Guba 1985: 339-344; Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 213, Baszanger & Dodier 1997: 16-17; Seale 1999: 96-97).

> In this procedure, the analyst examines each item of data coded in terms of a particular category, and notes its similarities with and differences to other data that have been similarly categorised. This may lead to lead to vaguely understood categories being differentiated into several more clearly defined ones, as well as to the specification of sub-categories. In this way, new categories or sub-categories emerge and there may be a considerable amount of reassignment of data among the categories.
>
> (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 213)

This involved an integration of categories and their properties where I noted how properties interact until I reached the point of theoretical saturation in which no new properties of categories appeared and no new interactions occurred (Seale 1999: 96-97).

In order to do this process effectively, it was necessary to abandon the notebook system because it became too inflexible and use blank, loose-leaf A4 paper cut into halves (cf. Lincoln & Guba's (1985: 344-351) index card system). On each one was written a sub-category of a category. As with the notebook system, examples with references were written under the sub-categories. These were arranged into piles representing the different categories. Through the process of bringing up more examples from the data and analysing the categories and sub-categories, new categories and sub-categories were discovered as well as links between them. I also referred to my diary notes as another means of aiding the analysis. I wrote up the arrangement of categories, sub-categories and links in a notebook and then wrote each set of findings on the computer. This set of findings were then compared and linked together with the theory leading in the end to the findings that can be found in chapters 5 to 7.

4.13 The Writing Process

In discussing the writing process there are two issues that need to be dealt with. Firstly, the structure and order of the thesis and secondly some textual issues relating to the findings chapters. In terms of structure, the developmental process of this thesis was as follows: methodology, findings, literature review. However, the actual writing process did not completely conform to this pattern because of the redrafting process, although it did generally follow it. This process reflects the approach of grounded research where the literature review is conducted after an independent analysis (Charmaz & Mitchell 2001: 162). I had

considered writing the thesis using this structure but I realised that the more conventional social science structure of literature review, methodology and findings (cf. Holliday 2002: 48) would be easier to deal with. Consequently, while the influence of postmodern and critical applied linguistics theory actually developed during the fieldwork and analysis, it appears here at the beginning of the thesis.

As regards the issue of the findings chapters, I do not merge my fieldwork notes and interview transcriptions into the prose of my findings as is often the case in standard ethnographies but treat this data as if it was another form of literature by citing from it in the appendices and quoting examples of it within my discussion. This method has been adopted as it helps to show the workings of the research and how subjectivity has been managed through the separating of data from judgements I make about it (Holliday 2002: 119-121, 190-192) and is also commensurate with a grounded approach where examples are used to illustrate the analysis (Seale 1999: 96-97). Finally, as I claim to be influenced by postmodernism, I must take on board the issue of textuality and truth (see 4.2 above). Postmodern ethnography's concern particularly with Derrida's critique of the signifier-signified relationship (see chapter 2.2) means that this work could be considered not as a neutral conveyer of social facts that I observed, recorded and analysed, but just a text open to multiple interpretations that says more about the writer than what is written about (cf. Clifford & Marcus 1986; Okeley & Callaway 1992; Denzin 1994b; Lather 2001). I still am troubled by this epistemology, but because I have not reached a firm conclusion on it, I have not taken this on wholesale as a theory of *this* text and a guiding principle to how it was formed. Instead, I use it within reflexivity as a way of critically analysing and understanding the subject of my research and the way I have constructed it. My theory of *this* text is more social constructivist running closer to Lincoln and Guba's (1985: 84) thinking:

> Events, persons, objects are indeed tangible entities. The meanings and wholeness derived from or ascribed to these tangible phenomena in order to make sense of them, organize them, or reorganize a belief system, however, are *constructed realities.*

I therefore admit that my findings are socially constructed within the critical discourse, but are based on tangible events, participants and objects, and the participants' own social constructions of these events and objects. By laying open my workings bare of how this has been textually constructed, this thesis is open to evaluation and critique (Holliday 2002: 101). I would argue that I may be writing about postmodernism and be influenced by it, but I am not writing a postmodern text. Indeed, Usher and Edwards (1994) make similar claims in their analysis of postmodernism and education.

4.14 Description of the Research Setting

The purpose of this section is to aid the reading of the findings chapters by providing a brief description of the research setting bringing together details already provided in this chapter with other relevant

information. This description concerns the teachers, students and courses. As already stated, the study took place in the Department at the Institution, i.e. an institution of higher education in Britain. The Department was divided into higher-education and further-education sectors in terms of educational provision and classification of staff. This study is concerned with the further-education sector which provided ESOL rather than the higher-education sector which provided degree and higher degree education as well as teacher training. Apart from the head of the Department and Luke, who had management positions, the higher-education 'lecturers' had little impact on the provision of ESOL during the period of the fieldwork.

The study was concerned with the further-education 'teachers' of ESOL. The nomenclature of 'teacher' is not my creation but an Institutional-Department one as revealed in my contract for teaching in the summer of 1998 which was written for "Temporary Summer EFL Teachers" (Document 6.4: Extract from a Temporary FE Contract). The higher-education staff were always referred to as 'lecturers'. The teachers who were part of this study are listed in table 4-3. Whilst technically there was no overall head of the teachers, Jaclyn was the default head in her position as the course director of the general courses in both the academic and summer terms. Other teachers may have been course directors of smaller 'closed' groups and stood in for Jaclyn in her absence but she was the person in charge. The teachers had either permanent contracts or had part-time and temporary 'sessional' contracts. It should be noted that this table is the sum of all the teachers that worked during this fieldwork period. These teachers did not all work in the Department at the same time during this period. Amongst the permanent staff, Sara left and was replaced by Nigel, who had previously been a sessional teacher. However, the greatest flux was amongst the sessional teachers.

Permanent	Sessional
Jaclyn (course director)	Christopher (i.e. the researcher)
Lisa	Brian
Louise	Dominique
Nigel	Eric
Sandra	Esther
Sara	Ian
Simon	Janet
	John
	Linus
	Matthew
	Nathan
	Peter
	Reena
	Sheila
	Sophie
	Terrence

Table 4-3: ESOL Teachers in Department

In terms of students, 'Roses', the class in the lesson observations, contained an array of people that typified the types of students who were taught ESOL in the Department. There is a certain homogeneity in the profile of the students in this class. Table 4-4 shows some of their key characteristics.[39] During the period of observation there were up to thirteen students. The actual class maximum for the Department was fifteen students (Document 6.9: Class Teacher Responsibilities). In terms of gender and geographic origin, the majority of the students were female and from the Pacific Rim in Asia. There was a tendency for a European/Asian bias in students that was noted in the syllabus for the summer general course (Document 6.3: Summer Course Syllabus). In terms of age and reasons for studying English, the students were mostly in their early twenties and had instrumental reasons for studying English. The students, or their sponsors, paid their fees to study in the Department and lived in the town where the Institution was. This required a considerable amount of money. This profile of 'Roses' and ESOL students as a whole in the Department could be summarised as follows: young, generally female, affluent with instrumental reasons for studying English and tending to come from either the Pacific Rim in Asia or Europe.

Name	Sex	Nationality	Age	Date Arrived	Reason For Studying
Fred	Male	French	NA	5/1/98	NA
Laura	Female	Italian	NA	21/1/98	NA
Yin	Female	Taiwanese	26	5/1/98	Job
Tomoko	female	Japanese	22	5/1/98	Did not know
Rosa	female	Spanish	23	5/1/98	Job, travel, communicate with foreigners
Christine	female	Swiss	17	5/1/98	Future job
Satoko	female	Japanese	21	5/1/98	Communicate with foreigners
Keiko	female	Japanese	24	5/1/98	Widen mind
Kei	female	Japanese	26	5/1/98	Job
Hido	female	Japanese	NA	4/2/98	NA
Claire	female	Thai		5/1/98	Future job, communicate with foreigners
Ahmed	male	United Arab Emirates	NA	4/2/98	NA
Yumi	female	Japanese	21	5/1/98	Job
Ali	male	Turkish	NA	5/1/98	NA

Key: NA = information was not available

Table 4-4: Profile of Students in 'Roses'

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[39] Table 4-4 draws on data I gathered from the students during my field work and information from a *pre-course questionnaire* given to the students by Sara, their 9 am teacher (see Document 6.1 for an example of the questionnaire).

The two types of courses: the term-long academic year courses and the two-week courses of the summer school had a virtually identical structure in terms of timetabling (see table 4-5)[40]. A student would receive three hours tuition in the same class in the mornings divided into two lessons: *Language Focus* and *Skills Focus*. In the afternoons, there were Option classes that in the summer occurred within the same class, but in the academic terms were in different classes. Academic year students could choose up to six Option classes per week, while summer course students went to all four of the classes on offer. With each class, there was a separate teacher for the Language Focus lesson and Skills Focus lesson. In summer courses, the Language Focus teacher taught the class' Options, while during the academic year courses the Options were taught by a variety of teachers. In both types of courses, the Language Focus teacher normally had overall responsibility for that class. While the syllabus for the Language Focus and Skills Focus class was the responsibility of the teacher and was officially prescribed in the Department's syllabi (Document 6.3: Summer Course Syllabus; Document 6.11: Academic Year Syllabus), the Options required negotiation between the Language Focus teacher and their students. These lessons tended to be either variations on the morning lessons or different types of project work and content-based lessons such as literature and current affairs (Document 6.10: Option Descriptions).

Title	Content	Time	Day
Language Focus	Grammar Vocabulary Pronunciation	9.00 – 10.30 am	Mon, Tues, Wed, Thurs & Fri
Skills Focus	Speaking Listening Reading Writing	11.00 – 12.30 pm	Mon, Tues, Wed, Thurs & Fri
Options	Tended to be: Projects Content Language Focus Skills Focus	Academic: 1.30 – 2.30 pm 2.35 – 3.35 pm Summer: 2.00 – 3.30 pm	Mon, Tues, Thurs & Fri
Language Laboratory	Self-access: work on language and skills focus	2.00 – 3.00 pm	Wednesday
		Academic: 3.45 – 4.45 pm Summer: 3.45 – 5.45 pm	Mon, Tues, Thurs & Fri

Table 4-5: Summary of Syllabus-Timetable in Academic and Summer Courses

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[40] The information for this table and subsequent description came from the following documents: Document 6.3: Summer Course Syllabus; Document 6.6: EFL Course Outline [for students]; Document 6.7: EFL Course Information; Document 6.8: Information for General Course Teachers Employed on a Temporary Basis; Document 6.9: Class Teacher Responsibilities; Document 6.10: Option Descriptions; Document 6.11: Academic Year Syllabus; Document 6.20: Academic Year Timetable; Document 6.21: Summer Course Timetable.

The Language Laboratory sessions were optional and designed for self-access. However, a teacher was present to aid the students as necessary. There were no lessons on Wednesday afternoons. There was, however, a weekly staff meeting at this time.

4.15 Conclusion

In this chapter I have established the nature of the study I undertook. I have described and rationalised the research methodology used, *progressivist applied ethnography*, arguing that it is commensurate with the overall epistemology and critique of this thesis. I then described and discussed the whole research process that was undertaken: the research focus, selecting and negotiating entry into the research setting, the four forms of data collection, ethical issues, data analysis, and finally issues in the writing process. Throughout this description and discussion, I used the literature to support my actions and adopted a reflexive approach to the issues and problems of doing this research.

The rest of this thesis is devoted to the discussion of the findings of this study.

CHAPTER 5

5 The Nature of the Localised Discourse: The Pedagogy in Practice

Jaclyn pointed out that … she needs real TEFL, i.e. according to Jaclyn, the three Ps.

(Participant Observation 3.24: Wednesday 19th August).

When prayer has been said, the teacher will strike the signal at once and, turning to the child whom he wishes to read, he will make the sign to begin. To make a sign to stop to a pupil who is reading, he will strike the signal once … To make a sign to a pupil to repeat when he has read badly or mispronounced a letter, a syllable or a word, he will strike the signal twice in rapid succession.

(de La Salle 1783 cited in Foucault 1991: 166-167)

5.1 Introduction

This introduction has two parts. Firstly, I will outline how the findings are organised in chapters 5, 6 and 7, and, secondly, I will introduce this actual chapter.

5.1.1 The Organisation of the Findings Chapters

Due to the fact that there is a great deal of complexity in the findings, the way in which they are organised in chapters 5 to 7 requires explaining. The findings fall into two parts. In chapters 5 and 6, there is a micro-level analysis of the data which suggests that the localised discourse in terms of both the teachers' and Department's voice is highly problematic. These findings are, however, written from the perspective of the teachers' voice. Chapter 7, on the other hand, locates the problems identified in the preceding chapters into wider macro-level theory. TESOL is therefore deconstructed in these two levels of analysis.

It should be noted that the division between the Department and teacher voices in the localised discourse is not a completely clear cut case of *management versus workers*. As with the case of the institutional and academic voices in the mainstream discourse (see chapter 3.1.1), certain members of staff had multiple roles and identities. For example, Jaclyn was a manager but also a teacher. The Department voice can therefore be seen as the *official* voice of the Department identified in the texts and practices of staff members who at the time of creating these texts and practices were in a management role and/or were adopting a management identity. The teachers' voice can similarly be identified as those texts and practices

of staff members who at the time of creating these texts and practices were in a teaching role and/or were adopting a teaching identity.

Chapters 5 and 6 are organised on the basis of the various categories that emerged from the data. These are broadly collected into the meta-categories of *pedagogy in practice*, which is the focus of chapter 5, and the *TESOL ideal*, which is the focus of chapter 6. These two meta-categories constitute the teacher voice in the localised discourse. Pedagogy in practice concerns those categories of behaviour which were identified in the actual teaching of ESOL while the TESOL ideal comprises of those categories which go to make up the teachers' construction of their pedagogy and concomitant professionalism. This micro-analysis compares the categories to the dominant mainstream discourse and its norms as well as the Department voice in the localised discourse (see figure 5-1). Evidence of the Department voice was drawn principally from official documents and the behaviour of staff in management roles; evidence of the dominant discourse was drawn from chapter 3.
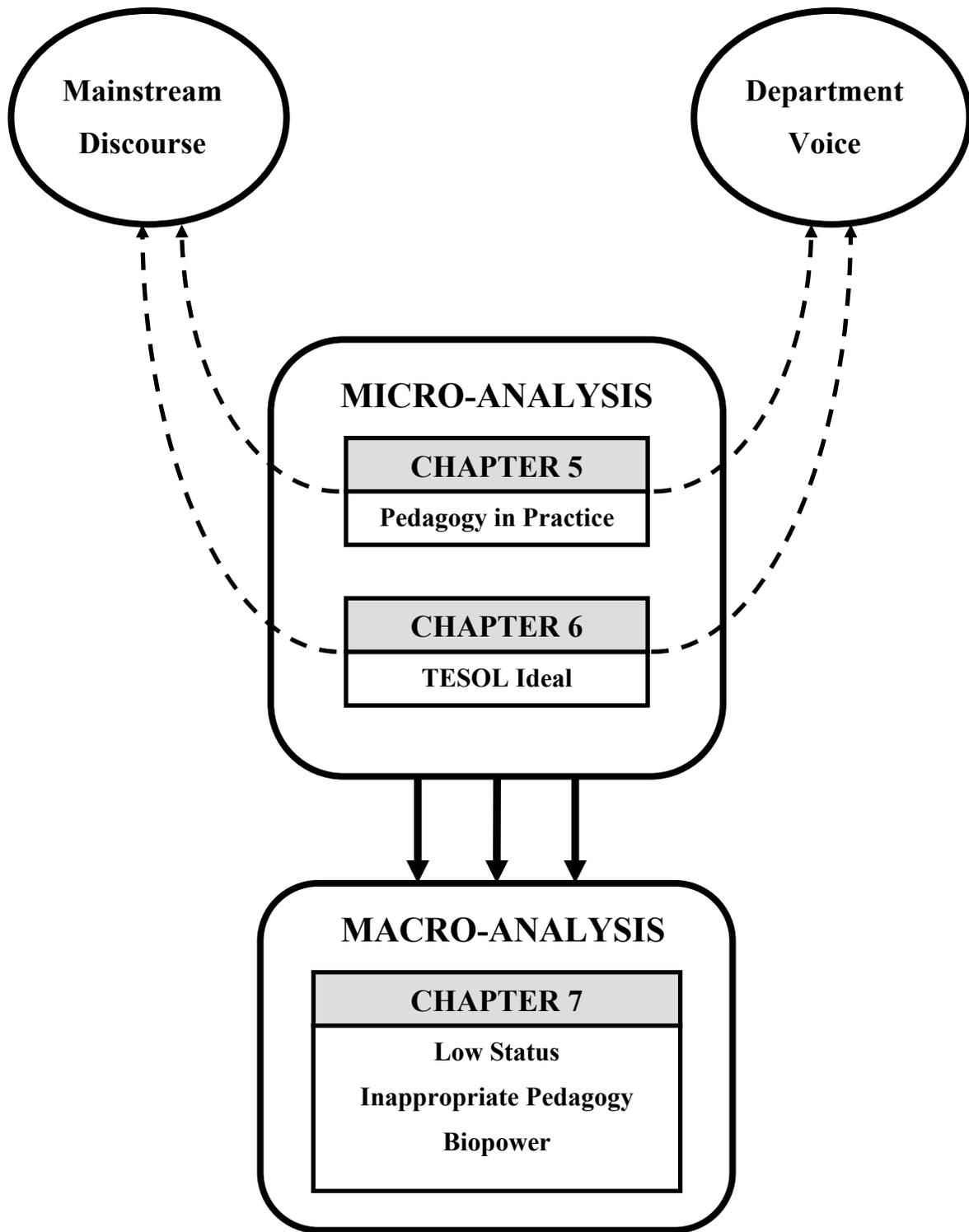
Figure 5-1: The Organisation of the Findings Chapters

There is a further level of organisation which is based on the findings of the analysis of the categories within the chapters 5 and 6. This analysis details the relationship between the categories and certain critical themes that they had in common (see table 5-1). These categories listed in the second column of table 5-1 contained within them further sets of sub-categories. The themes that were evident in these categories, i.e. consistencies; tensions and conflicts; and contradictions, surfaced in the analysis either in the categories' relationship to the Department voice in the localised discourse, and to the dominant mainstream discourse; or emerged in the tensions, conflicts and contradictions that actually existed within the TESOL ideal and teaching practices. These tensions, conflicts and contradictions in their various forms constitute the first level of the deconstruction of TESOL.

Location	Categories	Themes	Analysis
Chapter 5: Pedagogy in Practice	• Lesson Structure • Lesson Content • Teaching the Content: Tasks	Consistencies	Consistency with Department voice Consistency with dominant discourse
Chapter 6: TESOL Ideal	• Structure of the Ideal Lesson • Teaching the Ideal Lesson		
Chapter 6: TESOL Ideal	• Ideal Class • Ideal Teacher	Tensions and Conflicts	Tensions and conflicts with business discourse in Department voice
	• Ideal Student • TESOL Ideal as a whole		Tensions and conflicts with teachers' own business discourse of *student as customer*
Chapter 5: Pedagogy in Practice	• Learner-Centredness	Contradictions	Contradictions within TESOL ideal and pedagogy in practice
Chapter 6: TESOL Ideal	• Learner-Centredness • Superiority		
Chapter 7: Deconstructing the Discourse	• BANA pedagogy and professionalism	Low Status	Pedagogy reproduces low status profession
		Inappropriate Pedagogy	Inappropriate and inflexible in BANA
		Biopower	Example of and resistance to

Table 5-1: The Organisation of the Analysis

In chapter 7, this micro-level analysis is conceptualised as a case study of BANA technology and professionalism within the BANA sector. It is critiqued using the three-part critique of the dominant discourse in chapter 3 (see 3.6): i.e. firstly, the pedagogy helped to reproduce the low-status of the profession; the pedagogy was potentially inappropriate and inflexible within the BANA context it derives from; and thirdly, the practice of this profession with its pedagogy can be seen as an example of biopower, although there was evidence of resistance to it. In this macro analysis I bring in additional findings relating

to biopower and resistance to support my arguments. This macro-analysis constitutes the second level of the deconstruction of TESOL.

What is noticeable in table 5-1 is that there are some categories in chapter 5 and 6 which are the same. In other words, there is a strong similarity between the categories evident in the teaching and in the construction of the TESOL ideal. These were, however, treated separately in two chapters because of the overall complexity in the way that all the findings are linked together. The various categories and sub-categories were linked to the critical themes and analysis in a highly intricate web which would need a very sophisticated computer simulation to model. To take the example of the sub-category of classroom interaction patterns. This is analysed in terms of consistency in chapters 5 and 6 within the categories of teaching the content and teaching the ideal lesson. It is also part of the construction of the ideal learner in chapter 6, which is in tension and conflict with the construction of the student as customer. These relationships are themselves all connected to the contradictions in learner-centredness discussed in chapters 5 and 6. Finally, it is also intrinsically connected to the theme of superiority in chapter 6. It is for this reason that I decided to organise the chapters 5 and 6 on the basis of categories rather than themes. Looking at it from another perspective, it can be seen that the categories identified in chapter 5 in terms of practice are re-evaluated in terms of theory in chapter 6. This is not so much case of repetition but two separate levels of analysis.

5.1.2 Introduction to Chapter 5

This chapter examines the categories that emerged from the data that can be grouped under the meta-category of *pedagogy in practice*: i.e. those categories that are concerned with how the teachers actually taught. The practices analysed here and the teachers' construction of their practices into a TESOL ideal analysed in the next chapter are the two elements of the teachers' voice in the localised discourse. The themes of consistencies and contradictions which arise from the analysis in this chapter derive from the relationship the practices have with the mainstream discourse outlined in chapter 3, and with the Department voice, which also emerged from the data.

The data used for these findings are not a representative sample in a statistical sense of all the teaching that occurred in the ESOL courses in the Department during the period of the fieldwork as they are based primarily on the classroom observations. However, I would argue that the tendencies I observed are probably typical of all ESOL classroom practices in the Department at that time. The consistencies between how the teachers' constructed their practice in chapter 6 and these actual practices would support this claim. It is also supported by the fact that the teachers tended to share a similar background in terms of TESOL education and training as well as teaching experience. The Department's recruitment criteria was largely derived from the prescriptions of one of the strongest institutional voices of the mainstream discourse, the British Council, laid down in its *English in Britain Accreditation Scheme Handbook* (see

http://www.britishcouncil.org/english/handbook.htm [Accessed 23/03/02] for the latest version of this handbook). Its two tier system of *TEFL initiating* and *TEFL qualifying* teachers is built on standard British TESOL qualifications of certificates and diplomas offered by RSA/Cambridge and Trinity College London as well as university Masters (see Document 6.5: Extract from the Handbook). In terms of experience, most of the teachers had previously taught ESOL in private language schools in Britain and many of them had also taught it abroad in various educational contexts. For example Sandra had worked in Cyprus; Sara and Louise in Italy; Linus in Japan; Simon, Esther and Nathan in the Middle East, Matthew and Eric in Africa; Peter in Spain, while I had worked in France. It is finally supported by the fact that the teachers were expected to work within the parameters prescribed by the Department in its syllabi, timetables, teaching materials and in various other official documents.[41]

The main part of this chapter is devoted to a detailed description and analysis of the categories that make up the pedagogy in practice. This is done for three reasons. Firstly, it demonstrate how these practices are highly consistent with both the norms of the dominant discourse and the Department voice. This is discussed as a whole in section 5.5. Secondly, it provides evidence for the contradictions in the practice of learner-centredness which is discussed in section 5.6 and will be elaborated on in chapter 6.7. Thirdly, this description of how the complex technology of BANA weak communicative language teaching (see chapter 3) operates in practice acts as a counterpoint to the teachers' construction of it in the next chapter.

> In chapters 5 and 6, I use text boxes such as this from time to time in order to explain the significance of the data that has been discussed to the major arguments of the thesis; i.e. the three-part critique in chapter 7.2.

The chapter is structured as follows:

- I firstly describe the common lesson structure that emerged from the data. The major feature of this is that the lessons could be broken down into *stages* which contained a pedagogic *task*.
- These stages are then analysed for the content that was taught in them in terms of how language was constructed in them; the teaching materials and syllabi that were used; and the themes and topics that were covered.

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[41] See for example: Document 6.3: Summer Course Syllabus; Document 6.8: Information for General Course Teachers Employed on a Temporary Basis; Document 6.9: Class Teacher Responsibilities; Document 6.10: Option Descriptions; Document 6.11: Academic Year Syllabus; Document 6.20: Academic Year Timetable; Document 6.21: Summer Course Timetable.

- How the language was actually taught is dealt with next. Each pedagogic task is commonly realised in three phases: *task set*, *task realisation*, and *task feedback*. Each of these phases are analysed in terms of what the teachers and the students actually did in them.
- I bring this evidence together to argue that these practices are highly consistent with the dominant discourse and the Department's voice in the localised discourse.
- I finally argue that in the practices as a whole there are contradictions in the relationship between ostensibly learner-centred practices and the manifestation of teacher control.

5.2 Lesson Structure

The analysis of the classroom observation field notes revealed that all the lessons had a similar structure. As a means to describe this structure, I use the term *stages*. Each lesson comprised of a *class beginning* followed by a number of *stages* which were followed by a *class ending* (see figure 5-2). I define a *stage* as a series of classroom activities and events that had one common specific pedagogic goal in terms of the teaching and learning of an element of either *language as a system* or *language as communication* (see chapter 3.5.3.2) with certain identifiable patterns of classroom organisation and interaction.
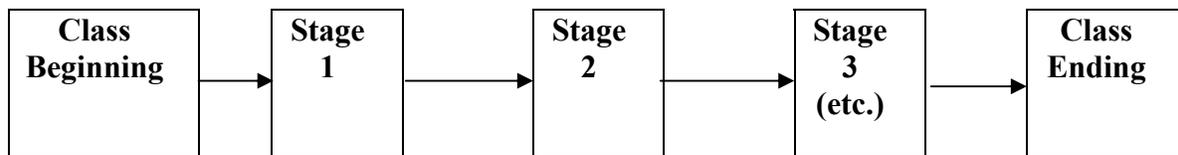
Figure 5-2: The Common Lesson Structure

As pointed out in chapter 4.6.4.1, I used *stages* as an organising device for writing the classroom observation notes, which, on reflection, was a product of my teacher training. Indeed conceptualising a lesson as a series of discrete stages is the normal mode of teaching lesson planning in ESOL teacher training textbooks (e.g. Harmer 1991: 256-275; Scrivener 1994: 44-58; Ur 1996: 213-226). Aware of this problem, I attempted from Observation 1.15 to avoid this device (as the principal reference to the data in this chapter is the Classroom Observation field notes, these are referred to in an abbreviated form, i.e. *Observation 1.15* rather than *Observation 1.15: 2/2/98*). However, in the subsequent analysis of the notes, it became evident that the lessons did follow a linear structure of teaching one area and then moving onto another; a structure that can be conveniently understood as stages. In writing the observation notes in this form, I was reproducing a structure from the mainstream discourse; a means of planning and enacting lessons that was not only being reproduced by myself in my notes, but also by the teachers in their practices as well as their own constructions of lessons (see chapter 6.2). There is then a strong consistency between the teachers and the dominant discourse in how lessons should be structured. I consider it a useful heuristic device to use in the analysis while at the same time being reflectively aware that I am reproducing a norm of the mainstream discourse. Table 5-2 shows the analysis of each lesson in the observation notes using this

stage structure and acts as a point of reference for the rest of the chapter. I do not indicate here the *class beginning* nor the *class ending* as this was a common feature in all the lessons.

It should be taken into consideration that the stages used here do not always correlate with the stages used in the field notes. There are several reasons for the differences between them. When writing the field notes, I had to make quick judgements about whether a particular part of the lesson was a stage or not. In analysing the notes, I did not always agree with my initial conclusions. In addition to this, I had often described various elements of the *class beginning* and *class ending* such as reviewing homework, introducing the topic of the lesson or the giving of homework as different stages.

I will now examine each part of this lesson structure in more detail.

STAGE STRUCTURE OF THE LESSONS OBSERVED			
Observation	**Stages**	**Observation**	**Stages**
1: Introduction	1: speaking 2: listening and reading	**1.10**	1: grammar 2: speaking 3: lexis 4: lexis
1.1	1: speaking 2: speaking 3: reading 4: lexis 5: grammar	**1.11**	1: lexis 2: lexis 3: speaking & writing
1.2	1: lexis 2: writing 3: speaking	**1.12**	1: lexis/grammar 2: lexis/grammar 3: lexis/grammar 4: lexis/grammar 5: lexis/grammar 6: grammar 7: grammar
1.3	1: grammar 2: lexis 3: lexis 4: lexis 5: speaking	**1.13**	1: listening 2: listening
1.4	1: lexis 2: grammar 3: speaking	**1.14**	1: lexis 2: lexis 3: reading
1.5	1: grammar & lexis 2: writing 3: speaking	**1.15**	1: speaking 2: speaking 3: lexis 4: lexis 5: speaking
1.6	1: lexis 2: speaking	**1.16**	1: speaking 2: listening 3: writing 4: listening 5: reading 6: speaking
1.7	1: speaking & lexis 2: speaking 3: reading	**1.17**	1: speaking 2: lexis 3: lexis/grammar 4: reading & lexis 5: lexis 6: lexis
1.8	1: speaking & writing 2: speaking	**1.18**	1: speaking 2: listening 3: pronunciation
1.9	1: lexis 2: listening 3: grammar		

Table 5-2: Stage Structure of the Lessons Observed

5.2.1 The Class Beginning and Ending

Each lesson had a definable beginning and ending. The class beginning was the point just before the lesson started proper where the following three events occurred: the teacher and the students arrived in the classroom; the teacher and the students settled down and got ready for the lessons by doing such things as taking their coats off and putting such learning-related objects as pens and books on the desks; and the teacher introduced the lesson. The teacher sometimes introduced the lesson in terms of the theme or topic (e.g. Observation 1.4) or areas of language (e.g. Observation 1.9). This part of the lesson sometimes included the teacher taking the register (e.g. Observation 1.2); the teacher returning homework to the students or going over orally the answers to homework previously set (e.g. Observation 1.3). The teachers also sometimes discussed an issue not directly related to the lesson, for example in one lesson Sara asked the students about their weekends (Observation 1.10), while Sandra made a comment about the weather (Observation 1.13). From this point, there was a clearly identified shift to the first stage as the teacher would orientate the students to work by setting a task (see 5.4.1 below).

The class endings were determined by the fact that the last stage had finished and the teacher tended to close the lesson by setting homework and/or making comments. After that, the teacher and some or all of the students would leave the classroom. In Observation 1.17, Sara actually explicitly ended the lesson by saying "Ok, I think it's time for coffee" and in Observation 1.18 Sandra ended it by saying "Have a nice weekend!" Whilst, I did not note all the teachers' finishing comments, it seemed clear that the teacher did formally end the lessons with some form of comment which often included the setting of homework. Sometimes this actually meant the teacher would tell the students what they would be doing the following day (e.g. Observation 1.2 & Observation 1.3).

5.2.2 The Stages

As already defined, a stage was a series of classroom activities and events that had one common specific pedagogic goal in terms of the teaching and learning of an element of either *language as a system* or *language as communication* with certain identifiable patterns of classroom organisation and interaction. In this analysis, the setting of homework or the review of previous homework was part of the class beginning or ending. However, on occasions the review of previous homework was included as a stage if it was more than a peripheral part of a lesson (e.g. stage 1 of Observation 1.3).

Despite there being differences in the teachers' teaching styles and what they taught, all of the lessons consistently followed this stage structure. Nevertheless, Sara and Sandra's lesson's did tend to have clearly defined stages while Simon's tended to merge far more. For example, in Observation 1.3, each of Sara's stages (i.e. a review of a homework grammar exercise; three vocabulary exercises; and a discussion), and in Observation 1.14 each of Sandra's stages (i.e. two vocabulary exercises and a reading exercise) could be clearly identified. They had beginnings, middles and ends with transparent pedagogic aims and

concomitant exercises marked by differences in verbal interaction and student groupings. In Simon's lessons, it was not always so easy to mark out these differences.

> It is difficult to divide this class into stages because of Simon's teaching style. This lesson is based on homelessness and is a predominately teacher-led discussion, but with other elements such as vocabulary and reading included…
>
> …As in the previous observation of Simon, the lesson has a smooth oneness, which is hard to divide into distinct stages. Everything seems to be intertwined. Students may be given individual and group tasks, but everything is always fed through Simon who directs the discussion throughout the lesson.

(Observation 1.7)

In contrast to this, I believe an observer would have been able to identify stages in Sara and Sandra's lessons even if they could not hear what was being said. In Observation 1.3 for example, each stage involved Sara giving some form of plenary instructions and/or explanation for each task. The students then did each task in pairs apart from the discussion which the class did in two groups. After each task, Sara gave a plenary feedback going over the answers and any other matters arising. As noted above, Simon sometimes did not adhere to these forms of classroom organisation preferring something looser and more plenary in terms of patterns of interaction. In Observation 1.7, what would nominally count as stages tended to blur together into what seemed to be one lesson-long teacher-led discussion with occasional diversions into other types of activities. However, it was possible to identify at any time what the particular pedagogic purpose was and therefore what stage was going on, i.e. some lexis was taught which evolved into a plenary discussion on homelessness, this turned into a group discussion on the issue, which eventually turned back into the teacher-led discussion, which turned into students reading on their own, finally reverting back to the teacher-led discussion in the feedback to the reading. Therefore, despite differences in teaching style, this stage structure for lessons was a consistent feature.

The various activities and events in each stage can be broken down into a three-part framework (see figure 5-3). As I mentioned above, a stage concerned the students doing something with a pedagogic purpose, which I define as a task. Whilst the concept of *task* tends to have a narrower remit in applied linguistics being often defined as the meaning-focussed activities promoted in task-based language learning (Rudby 1998: 264-265), I use it more broadly to mean any language learning activities that the students took part in and were organised by the teacher. It could be argued that some stages did have more than one task. For example, stage 3 of Observation 1.10 had two lexis exercises dealing with the same items. However, I included these as one task because they were so interrelated and were treated as one task within the actual stage. It should also be noted that some tasks involved more than one element at the same time, for example stage 3 Observation 1.11 was writing and speaking.

TASK SET	→	TASK REALISATION	→	TASK FEEDBACK
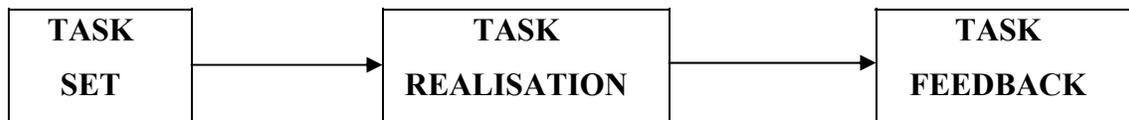
Figure 5-3: The Three-Part Stage Structure

The analysis of this three-part structure which revealed how the teachers taught the language will be discussed in 5.4 below. Before that, I will examine how the lesson content was constructed.

The data suggests a common structure in the lessons observed. The significance of this consistency is that the teachers were reproducing the dominant pedagogy in which a lesson is constructed as a precise set of stages where precise activities take place: i.e. a 'method' (c.f. the *presentation-practice-production* model in chapter 3.5.3.1); a pedagogic construction that is a part of discipline in biopower (see chapter 7.2.3.1).

5.3 Lesson Content

In this section, I describe the content of the lessons observed in terms of the construction of language, topics and themes chosen and teaching materials used. What these findings tend to confirm is that there was a consistency between what the teachers observed, the official prescriptions in the Department voice and the norms of the mainstream discourse.

5.3.1 Analysing the Field Notes for Lesson Content

The content of each lesson was determined in two ways: firstly, what the overall pedagogical aim in terms of teaching an area of the subject knowledge (i.e. English) was for each stage (i.e. in terms of *language as system* or *as communication*); and secondly, what the theme or topic was. The theme or topic was determined as the subject matter of the texts utilised in the teaching which were used in order to teach the area of subject knowledge. I use text in a broad sense meaning any form of written text, recorded speech, or speech generated by the teacher and the students that had this consistent theme or topic. I also noted what teaching materials were used for each stage. I defined the teaching materials used as the principal text that was used to provide instructions, reading or listening texts, tasks or exercises for each stage. These could be broadly categorised as being a course book or supplementary materials, the teacher's speech, text on the white board or on overhead transparencies as well as other audio-visual texts. If I strongly believed that the supplementary materials were the teacher's own creation rather taken from a published source, I described them as such. To act as points of reference, table 5-3 shows the overall analysis of the Language Focus lessons while table 5-4 shows the Skills Focus lessons.

One impression that the two tables might give is that there was a clear separation of the different language elements from stage to stage, i.e. one element was taught in one stage, then another in the following stage and so on. However, in the actual lessons the separation was not always that clear. In the Language Focus lessons for example, stage 4 in Observation 1.1 concerned finding the meaning of words using the text that had been read in the previous stage. Therefore the lexis task was both reading and lexical in nature. Different tasks with different language elements were often linked. For example, stage 1 Observation 1.9 dealt with teaching lexis that came up in the listening task in the stage that followed it.

Another problem with designating one or two language elements to each stages was that while many stages may seem to have had one pedagogic purpose, in the actual doing of a task, other elements came into play. The first lexis task in Observation 1.17, for example, involved a great deal of speaking between the students. There was a similar interrelatedness between the elements in the Skills Focus lessons. For example in Observation 1.2, Simon elicited the various stages in the process of getting a job teaching relevant lexis at the same time. There was here a mixture of teacher-initiated discussion and lexis learning. In addition to this, the vocabulary task acted as preparation for the writing task that followed it. Similarly, Sandra in Observation 1.4 taught lexis in stage 1 and functions in stage 2 for the speaking task that followed them, while in Observation 1.16 the writing task was based on the stimulus of the listening task that preceded it. At a broader level, in every stage prior, during and following a task, there was speaking and listening going in the interaction between the teacher and the students and between the students themselves. Taking these problems of unravelling the elements into account, the language element for each stage was determined as the element that was emphasised and/or appeared to have the principal pedagogic purpose for that stage.

Observation (appendix number)	Content of each Stage		Materials
	9 AM LANGUAGE FOCUS LESSONS **(Teacher: Sara unless stated)**		
	Language as System or Communication	*Theme or Topic*	
1.1	1: speaking	Stress	Course book (Radley & Burke. 1994)
	2: speaking		
	3: reading		
	4: lexis		Course book & paper cut ups (teacher's own)
	5: grammar		Course book
1.3	1: grammar	NA	Course book
	2: lexis	Humour	
	3: lexis		
	4: lexis		
	5: speaking		Speech (teacher's own)
1.5	1: grammar & lexis	NA	Written test (teacher's own)
	2: writing	Learner strategies	Photocopies (teacher's own)
	3: speaking		Photocopies (teacher's own)
1.6	1: lexis	The Press	Course book
	2: speaking		Overhead transparency (teacher's own)
1.9	1: lexis	NA	Course book
	2: listening		
	3: grammar		
1.10	1: grammar	NA	Course book
	2: speaking	Decision making	
	3: lexis	Careers	
	4: lexis		
1.12	1: lexis/grammar	NA	Board (teacher's own)
	2: lexis/grammar		Overhead transparency (teacher's own)
	3: lexis/grammar		Photocopies
	4: lexis/grammar		
	5: lexis/grammar		Speech (teacher's own)
	6: grammar		Photocopies
	7: grammar		
1.15 **(Taught by observer)**	1: speaking	Travel	Course book
	2: speaking		
	3: lexis		
	4: lexis		
	5: speaking		
1.17	1: speaking	Holidays	Speech (teacher's own)
	2: lexis		Board (teacher's own)
	3: lexis/grammar		Course book
	4: reading & lexis		Course book
	5: lexis		Course book
	6: lexis		Course book

Key: NA = not available

Table 5-3: Language Focus Lesson Content

Observation (appendix number)	Teacher	Content of each Stage		Materials
		11 AM SKILLS FOCUS LESSONS		
		Language as System or Communication	*Theme or Topic*	
1: Introduction	Observer	1: speaking	Learner Strategies	White board (teacher's own)
		2: listening and reading	NA	Supplementary textbook: Bell (1990)
1.2	Simon	1: lexis	Getting a job	Overhead transparency (teacher's own)
		2: writing		
		3: speaking		Photocopies
1.4	Sandra	1: lexis	Education	Photocopies
		2: grammar		Speech (teacher's own)
		3: speaking		Photocopies
1.7	Simon	1: speaking & lexis	Homelessness	Overhead transparency (teacher's own) & photocopies
		2: speaking		
		3: reading		
1.8	Simon	1: speaking & writing	Problems of a developing African country	Students working on own projects
		2: speaking		
1.11	Simon	1: lexis	Food	Overhead transparency & pictures (teacher's own)
		2: lexis		
		3: speaking & writing		
1.13	Sandra	1: listening	Ghost stories	Cassette tape in language laboratory
		2: listening		Cassette tape in language laboratory & photocopies
1.14	Sandra	1: lexis	Social class	Paper cut ups (teacher's own) & photocopies
		2: lexis		Photocopies
		3: reading		Photocopies
1.16	Simon	1: speaking	The news	Overhead transparency (teacher's own)
		2: listening		Video
		3: writing		
		4: listening		
		5: reading		Newspapers
		6: speaking		
1.18	Sandra	1: speaking	Transport	Speech (teacher's own)
		2: listening		Cassette tape
		3: pronunciation		Phonemic chart

Key: NA = not available

Table 5-4: Skills Focus Lesson Content

5.3.2 The Pedagogic Construction of English

There was a great deal of consistency between how English was constructed pedagogically in the lessons and the construction in the Department voice. The Department divided English into *language* (to be taught in the Language Focus lessons) and *skills* (to be taught in the Skills Focus lessons), each of these were further subdivided: language into grammar (structures and functions), lexis and phonology; skills into speaking, listening, reading and writing (Document 6.3: Summer Course Syllabus; Document 6.6: EFL Course Outline; Document 6.8: Information for General Course Teachers; Document 6.11: Academic Year Syllabus). This construction was also consistent with how language is constructed in the dominant discourse: a division between *language as a system* and *language as communication* which is structuralist in design (Benson 1997: 20-21).

The overall impression of the lesson content in the Language Focus lesson was that Sara and I generally followed the Department's prescriptive norms. While the four skills were part of the lessons, the pedagogic focus tended to be on grammar and lexis. Skills were generally used as a means to study language as a system rather than as an end in themselves. As illustrated in the Observation 1.9 example above, a skills task such as listening was used partly for teaching and learning a language-as-a-system element, being here lexis. What was consistently absent from Sara's lessons was the explicit teaching of pronunciation. Pronunciation was only dealt with within the context of other tasks. For example whilst going over work from the previous day's lesson during the class beginning of Observation 1.3, she checked Ali's pronunciation. However, at no point did she teach pronunciation as a separate element. Of course it could be argued that Sara may have taught pronunciation when I did not observe her, which is quite possible. However, if one assumes that the three elements of Language Focus classes are taught in equal proportion, pronunciation was noticeably absent. This is perhaps not such a major deviation from the Department's prescriptions. There was a hierarchy of importance in this tripartite division of *language*. For example, in the Language Focus descriptors in the students' Course Outline, grammar precedes vocabulary which precedes pronunciation (Document 6.6: EFL Course Outline) while in another document, it is claimed that teachers are "expected to focus on grammar" in this lesson; the other two elements are not mentioned (Document 6.8: Information for General Course Teachers Employed on a Temporary Basis). This privileging of grammar is also implicit in both the syllabi in terms of order and emphasis (Document 6.3: Summer Course Syllabus; Document 6.11: Academic Year Syllabus). Finally, there is also a consistency between this privileging and the dominant discourse (see chapter 3.5.3.2).

Like the Language Focus lessons, the Skills Focus lessons tended to conform in content to the Department norms. Every lesson dealt with at least one skill. Whilst lexis, and on one occasion grammar in the form of functions (Observation 1.4), was also taught, in each case this was done to provide language input in order to do a skills task. This pre-teaching of key lexis prior to a skills task is very typical of mainstream text books (see chapter 3 footnote 24 & cf. Soars & Soars 1986; 1996). In the lessons observed, there was a

definite oral bias with only two of the lessons not having a speaking stage (Observations 1.13 & 1.14) which was consistent with a bias of oral-aural skills over literacy evident in the Department voice.

This bias was most explicit in the summer course syllabus where one of criteria for the selection of course books was: "possibilities for work on integrated skills with an emphasis on oral and aural skills", and where it was argued that "reading and writing activities should be used chiefly as a means of supporting speaking and listening activities" (Document 6.11: Summer Course Syllabus). While the whole ethos of the summer syllabus was towards oral and aural skills because the summer courses were seen, to a certain extent, in this syllabus as a supplement to the literacy-based learning that students had in their own countries during the academic year, this bias was also subtly present in the EFL Course Outline; a document designed for students on both types of course.

> The emphasis of these classes will be on understanding and using English by listening to, reading about and discussing a wide range of topics and everyday situations. There will also be some written work.
>
> (Document 6.6: EFL Course Outline)

Under this is written "Improve your language skills – listening; speaking; reading; writing" with the following subheadings beneath this "Increase your understanding of spoken and written English" and "Extend your ability to speak and write English". These descriptors suggest the privileging of the other skills over writing. In the academic year syllabus, oral-aural skills are implicitly privileged over literacy where skills are dealt with in the following order: speaking, listening, reading and writing (Document 6.11: Academic Year Syllabus). This bias is also consistent with the dominant discourse (Holliday 1994a: 170 & see chapter 3.5.3.2).

The evidence suggests that the language content of the lessons was reasonably consistent with the Department's prescriptive norms as well as the mainstream norms of how language should be constructed in the ESOL class (see chapter 3.5.3.2). Whilst the teachers did deal with skills in Language Focus classes, and with language as a system in Skills Focus lessons, there was a difference in emphasis that was commensurate with the Department voice. In the Language Focus lessons, skills were sometimes used as a means or an aid to teaching and learning language as a system, while in the Skills Focus lessons, lexis and grammar were used as a means to enable the successful understanding of a text or performance of a speaking or writing task.

5.3.3 Teaching Materials and Syllabi

The use of teaching materials by the teachers was also broadly consistent with the Department voice and with the institutional voice in the dominant discourse. For the Language Focus and Skills Focus classes, the

teachers were expected to use a different course book for each class. In the academic terms, there was a little more flexibility as teachers could just use supplementary materials for the Skills Focus lessons. The use of these teaching materials was, in theory, related to the prescriptions of the two syllabi (Document 6.3: Summer Course Syllabus; Document 6.11: Academic Year Syllabus).

I would argue that both syllabi were *product* in type because they divided and listed each of the subdivisions of *language* and *skills* into further parts which had to be learnt; achievement being measured on how successfully this was done (Dubin & Olshtain 1986: 49-50; Nunan 1988b; White 1988). This is despite the fact that in the academic year syllabus' rationale[42], it is argued that the syllabus has the aim of reconciling product and process syllabi (Document 6.11). This aim is contradicted by the actual content of the academic year syllabus (as well as the content of the summer syllabus). The academic year syllabus gives lists of items of structures, functions, phonology, lexis, themes/topics to be covered in different modules (i.e. levels) and gives a paragraph of objectives for each of the skills "against which learner performance can be measured" (ibid.). Each module is related "to the general requirements of external examinations" offered by Cambridge UCLES (ibid.). The summer syllabus similarly lists structures and skills to be learnt, but, unlike the academic syllabus, it directly relates these elements to specific parts in prescribed course books that had to be used. This meant the teacher was required to teach elements on a particular day of a course using a prescribed book. During an academic term, on the other hand, a teacher would theoretically chose a course book and/or supplementary materials to cover a module in the syllabus but would have the freedom to teach the elements when they wanted. In being *product* in type, the syllabi conform more to the norms of the institutional voice of the mainstream discourse than the academic one (see chapter 3.5.3.3).

Sara's Language Focus lessons were built around the course book she used (i.e. Radley & Burke 1994). While she used the course book in six of her eight lessons observed, she did tend to combine this with supplementary materials. Two of her lesson were wholly based on supplementary materials (Observation 1.5 and Observation 1.12). The use of supplementary materials in no way deviated from the Department prescriptions being positively encouraged by the summer course syllabus as long as teachers stayed within the parameters set by the syllabus (Document 6.3). It was also implicitly encouraged by the fact that the resources room in the Harmer building, the main building for the teaching of ESOL in the Institution (containing offices for teachers, the language laboratory and classrooms), was full of supplementary materials. Supplementary materials are also implicitly promoted in the mainstream discourse. This can be seen in the inordinate number of supplementary materials that are published (see chapter 3.5.3.2). It can

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[42] Both syllabi are composed of two parts. The first parts being rationales for, and explanations of, the syllabi; the second parts being the content to be taught arranged into modules (i.e. levels).

also be seen in my education and training as an ESOL teacher: at each level of my teacher education (certificate, diploma and MA), I had to design supplementary materials.

In many of the Language Focus lessons, Sara combined supplementary materials with the course book and their use was indeed *supplementary* to the book. In Observation 1.1 for example, she copied target lexis from a text in the book onto slips of paper for stage 4, while in stage 2 of Observation 1.6 she used an overhead transparency for discussion questions that were thematically linked to the work being done in the course book, i.e. the press. In the two lessons where she did not use the course book at all, the content that was dealt with did not deviate from the parameters of the book. In one of the lessons (Observation 1.12), the areas dealt with, attributive adjectival order and the present perfect tense, were linked to *language* topics in the course book. In the other (Observation 1.5), she did a test that was based on the work on lexis and grammar from the book the students had covered in their previous lessons. This was followed by a writing and speaking activity on learner strategies (i.e. learner training); again something consistent with the Department norms (see chapter 6.8). It is interesting to note that the content of the book did not necessarily correlate with the content of the syllabus. For example, adjectival order was not in the upper-intermediate module that corresponded to the level of the class (Document 6.11: Academic Year Syllabus). This would suggest that what guided Sara's syllabus for the class was not the syllabus itself but the course book.

The teachers for the Skills Focus lessons did not use any form of text book on a regular basis but used mainly photocopied supplementary materials. I was never aware that the content, whether in terms of language or themes, was directly drawn from the academic year syllabus. In fact, "the news" was the only theme dealt with in the lessons observed which was actually in the list of "Themes/Topics" in the upper intermediate module (ibid.). During one lesson I discussed the issue of themes and topics with Simon.

> I asked him how the syllabus was organised between him and Sandra. Apparently, they do
> not really have a topic list from which they choose; rather it is from informal liaison between
> them and through seeing what each of them has done before on the register.
>
> (Observation 1.8)

It seems, therefore, that there was considerable deviation from the syllabus which helped to confirm my suspicion that the academic year syllabus was a bureaucratic document used for placating external inspectors rather than something that was actually enacted in the classroom. In fact the British Council, the inspectors of the Department, requires syllabi to be part of the documentation it needs to see during inspections (The British Council. No Date (b)). This is substantiated by the fact that during the period of the field work when I provided cover for absent teachers, I was never given the syllabus as a basis for what to teach but given either a course book or supplementary materials (e.g. Taught Lesson 1.13.1: 30/1/68). This

contrasts with the summer syllabus which, based on my experience during the participant observation, was adhered to far more because it directly related the course books used (Document 6.3). Course books, and to a lesser extent supplementary materials, were in fact the principal guiding force for lesson content that was explicitly prescribed by the Department in the summer syllabus, and more implicitly encouraged in the academic terms by the fact that teachers had to use them for teaching. This reliance on published materials, particularly course books, for teaching ESOL is key to the institutional voice in the dominant discourse where powerful publishing houses predominate (Gray 2002).

5.3.4 Themes and Topics

As the Language Focus lessons tended to adhere to the syllabus of the course book, the themes and topics of the lesson were obviously those of the course book. These themes and topics were in many ways typical of standard published 'EFL' course books, i.e. bland, non-controversial and materialistic (Brown 1990: 13; Gray 2002: 157-161), often dealt with in a personalised 'lifestyle' framework. For example, "holidays" in Observation 1.17 was treated as an issue of individual choice and desire where the students had to imagine a holiday destination for themselves. The theme of "decision making" in Observation 1.10 was dealt with at a personal level where in the speaking stage the students were encouraged to give examples of bad decisions they had made in their lives. There were some similarities with the Skills Focus lessons. For example, Simon's "getting a job" lesson was very instrumental in approach teaching the students how to write a CV (Observation 1.2). In Observation 1.11, there was a similar approach to food, where students had to write an international menu for the institution's student refectory. However, in some lessons the teachers did cover certain themes in a way that was different to the typically bland and non-controversial content of mainstream textbooks. This was particularly noticeable in Observations 1.7, 1.8 and 1.14 which dealt with "homelessness", "problems of a developing country" and "social class". Simon actually gave a rationale for having these types of themes during one of these lessons.

> Simon comes over to me to talk about how the theme is unusual for a class, but he is doing it because this is not an exam term. I ask him if he thinks the students like this kind of theme. He does not give a definite answer, but he thinks that it is important that they cover social issues, and it is a useful device to create a debate (the theme of the lesson.)
>
> (Observation 1.7)

Simon implies here that in exam terms the exams affect course content; i.e. there is a backwash effect (see chapter 3.5.3.3). This backwash effect, rather than the prescriptions of the syllabus, appears to be an important cause of bland and non-controversial content. The teachers' thematic deviation could be interpreted as a form of resistance to the Department voice and dominant discourse (see chapter 7.2.4). However, at a broader level it can be seen that the teachers normally followed content of the course books; again suggesting consistency.

5.3.5 Consistency in Lesson Content

The evidence suggests that the teachers did not slavishly follow the prescriptive norms of the Department nor the norms of the mainstream discourse in the lesson content that they taught. However, many of the deviations were well within the parameters set by these norms. The only suggestion of real deviation was in some of the themes and topics chosen by Sandra and Simon for the Skills Focus lessons, but even these were in the context of the relative freedom of a term without examinations. There may have been a desire to resist these norms but there was an acceptance that for most of the time conformity, i.e. consistency, with the norms was necessary.

The consistency in lesson content suggests a reproduction of the pedagogy of the dominant discourse. This reproduces a structuralist construction of language delivered in a generally non-controversial content that focuses on the individual. This *individualisation* is a key part of learner-centred rationale for the pedagogy that will be critiqued (see 5.6 below; chapters 6.7) and is identified as part of biopower (see chapter 7.2.3).

5.4 Teaching the Content: The Tasks

As indicated in 5.2.2, it was possible to identify a three-part structure in each stage that involved a task being set by the teacher; the students doing the task; and finally the teacher providing some form of feedback to the task. The purpose of this section is to provide a detailed description of how the language content was taught by examining what happened in each of these parts. Within these parts, categories of teaching behaviour arise which are highly consistent with the Department voice and the dominant discourse that would suggest that the overall pedagogy practised by the teachers is a form of weak communicative language teaching (see chapter 3.1.2 & 5.5 below). This description will also provide the evidence for the problematic practice of learner-centredness in lessons (see 5.6 below & chapter 6.7).

5.4.1 Task Set

The task set was identified as a point when the teacher spoke to the students as a whole with the aim of preparing students for a task. This tended to involve some or all of the following categories: an introduction; instructions and explanations; the management of teaching materials; and the pre-teaching of language or ideas for the task. While there were neither consistencies nor inconsistencies with these categories and the Department voice, there was the use of certain teaching techniques used in setting the task that were clearly consistent with the pedagogic norms of the dominant discourse.

5.4.1.1 Introduction

At the beginning of many of the stages prior to the teacher telling the students what they would have to do in a task, there was some form of plenary teacher talk that could be described as an introduction. The purpose of this introduction varied and could contain one or several of the following elements. Teachers

often explained in an introduction what the theme or language point of the particular task would be. For example, in stage 6 of Observation 1.12, Sara introduced the grammatical structure that the task concerned (i.e. the present perfect) while Sandra in stage 3 of Observation 1.14 introduced the theme of the reading text (i.e. social class). Sometimes this type of introduction was very precise, for example:

> Sandra tells the students that they are going to listen to a tape and then work on pronunciation and the phonemic script. She tells them that they are going to hear the voices of two people they have heard before and names them.
>
> (Observation 1.18: stage 2)

At other times, there was a certain vagueness. Simon, for example, in stage 4 of Observation 1.16 introduced the task by telling the students that "they are going to do something different now" but did not define at the moment what this would be.

Another common feature in introductions was the teacher setting the scene of the task. This differed from the teacher just saying what the theme of the task would be as it involved either a dramatic element or some form of commentary on the theme sometimes containing a rationale for a task and/or some form of personalisation (see 5.6.1 below). For example, Simon in stage 2 of Observation 1.8 introduced student presentations by pretending that the students were in UN working groups presenting their findings. Simon also set the scene in stage 3 of Observation 1.11. The actual task here was for the students to design an international menu for the student refectory. He introduced this by suggesting that the refectory offered very poor quality food and therefore an international menu would be a good idea. Sara introduced the theme of holidays in stage 1 of Observation 1.17 also using a commentary by saying that she was going to be cruel to the students because they would have to think about pleasant holidays while Sandra introduced the theme of ghosts through an anecdote (Observation 1.13: stage 1).

5.4.1.2 Instructions and Explanations

Instructions and explanations were the most common element of setting a task. This is rather obvious as without them it would be rather difficult for the students to know what to do. There were two elements to instructions and explanations: organising student groupings for the task; and telling the students what and how they had to do a task. I shall deal with these two elements in turn. However, it should be understood that there was no set order for this.

The teachers would tell the students whether they would do a particular task on their own or in groups (i.e. pairs and above). Sometimes students were asked to do a task individually (e.g. Observation 1.17: stage 5) or to do it on their own and then compare their results with a partner (e.g. Observation 1.12 : stage 7). When students were put into groups, the teachers were sometimes very specific about the size of the groups and the people in them. In stage 2 of Observation 1.1, Sara arranged the groups of pairs and one three

deciding exactly who would sit with whom. In stage 1 of Observation 1.4, Sandra decided who was in each pair group but she did not actually move students around but made the pairs from where they were sitting. This second method of making student groups was the most common that I observed. On occasions, the teachers did not tell which students were to be in which groups but instead asked them to form groups of their own volition. In stage 1 of Observation 1.3 for example, Sara just asked the students to "Work with your partner". Interestingly enough such a voluntary approach did not work in stage 1 of Observation 1.10 where only some of the students got into pairs. When Sara realised what had happened, she organised the remaining students into pairs.

The instructions on what and how to do a task tended to be in the form of a plenary talk by the teacher. The following example typifies how this happened.

> Sara then explains what "we are going to do", which is reading a text based on a tourist guide about Thailand and Malaysia. She writes these two countries on the board and tells the students to think of adjectives which describe them and write them down.
>
> (Observation 1.17: stage 4)

On occasions a more Socratic method was used. For example, Simon in one lesson asked the students a series of questions on how a text should be written prior to the students writing one (Observation 1.16: stage 3). Such a technique is often referred to as *eliciting* in the mainstream discourse. For example:

> Eliciting means drawing out information, language, ideas, etc. from the students rather than having the teacher give them. It is a technique based on the principles that:
> - students probably know a lot more than we may give them credit for;
> - starting with what they know is a productive way to begin new work;
> - involving people in a question and answer movement towards new discoveries is often more effective than simply giving 'lectures'.
>
> (Scrivener 1994a: 99)

Eliciting is a more than just a classroom technique as it is a crucial part of the mainstream pedagogy that occurred in every part of a stage. As the rationale above suggests, it is a means by which knowledge can be developed inductively and is associated with discovery learning (Benson 1997; Edwards & Mercer 1987; Holliday 1994a: 72-78 & see 5.4.2.4 below). Eliciting was also used in another way: students were instructed on how to do a task through being giving an example. In stage 5 of Observation 1.12, Sara elicits examples of a lexical-syntactic structure for the task from two students and then all students were required to invent further examples.

Sometimes plenary instructions were followed by the teacher giving instructions to individual students or groups. After giving instructions to stage 1 of Observation 1.13 for example, Sandra went round to individual students to check that they understood what they had to do. This confirming that individual students or groups had understood what to do was often carried out in a process of elicitation using *concept questions*. Asking concept questions, like eliciting, is another technique of the mainstream pedagogy (cf. Scrivener 1994a: 126-128; Harmer 1991: 70). They are used to establish whether a student understands a particular concept such as the meaning of a lexical item or grammatical structure as well as the instructions they have been given.

5.4.1.3 The Management of Teaching Materials

The teachers tended to coordinate their instructions to the teaching materials to be used. In certain cases, there were no teaching materials *per se* such as in stage 1 of Observation 1.17 where Sara asked the students to imagine and discuss a holiday destination. However, in many cases there were materials beyond the teachers' speech. Relating the instructions to materials often simply meant directing the students attention towards the whiteboard (e.g. Observation 1.17: stage 2) or overhead projector screen (e.g. Observation 1.12: stage 2). On other occasions, the teacher indicated the page and place in the course book where an exercise or text was.

> Sara asks the students to turn to page 129 of their course books and look at exercise 3.
>
> (Observation 1.9: stage 2)

At other times, it involved the handing out of photocopies or other forms of paper-based teaching materials such as pictures:

> Sara hands out a photocopy which has a series of questions on them…
>
> (Observation 1.5: stage 2)

> He hands out the photographs clockwise giving one to each student.
>
> (Observation 1.11: stage 2)

And at other times, it involved directing students toward audio-visual media such as tape recordings (e.g. Observation 1.18: stage 2) or video recordings (Observation 1.16: stage 2).

5.4.1.4 Pre-Teaching

Sometimes the teacher pre-taught language or ideas for a particular task. As mentioned in 5.3.2, often the pre-teaching of language before a skills task was elaborate enough to count as a stage in itself. At other times, however, it was integrated within a stage. The most typical area pre-taught was lexis; often done through a process of eliciting. For example, when Sara pre-taught how to define a lexical item, she "uses

classic eliciting, questioning, and concept questioning techniques to arrive at a meaning for the students"
(Observation 1.3: stage 2). It was also used for teaching features of a text genre, for example CVs in stage 2
of Observation 1.2, and as a means of establishing the theme of the task. Teachers sometimes elicited
themes from the students rather than just telling what the theme of the task would be. This, I believe, could
be seen as a type of pre-teaching as it often resembled the elicitation of lexis. For example, Sandra in stage
3 of Observation 1.14 elicited from the students themes from a video they saw in the previous lesson (as
well as lexis from it) seemingly as a means of contextualising the reading task. This *bringing-out* of a
theme through a process of questioning often with the use of audio and visual stimuli is a common feature
of the mainstream pedagogy. It derives from the *presentation-practice-production* model where language is
presented in some form of context (see chapter 3.5.3.1), and from the adoption of schema theory in skills
teaching (particularly listening and reading) where teachers are encouraged to activate the students' pre-
existing mental framework of a theme or text genre to help them make sense of the text that they will hear
or read (cf. Anderson & Lynch 1988: 11-15; Swales 1990: 83-89, 213-214; Wallace 1992: 33-38).

5.4.1.5 Evidence of Consistencies

The various elements of a task set indicated certain consistencies with the dominant mainstream discourse
in the use of personalisation in introductions, the use of eliciting and concept questions in the instructions
and explanations; and the use of contextualisation in the pre-teaching. I would argue that their absence in
the Department voice does not nullify the broader argument of pedagogical consistencies. These techniques
are such an intrinsic part of weak communicative language teaching and indeed of the teaching materials
used that it seemed to be not necessary to mention them. It was in broader areas of the pedagogy such as the
construction of English (see 5.3.2 above) and syllabi (see 5.3.3 above) where the Department voice was
heard most. It was in task realisation where these consistencies are also noticeable.

These findings suggest that setting a task involved a precise series of teacher techniques and skills.
The pedagogy is in fact a set of such skills and techniques; an easily learnable universal 'method'
(see chapter 7.2.1) that does not take account of the social, cultural and political contexts of the
students (see chapter 7.2.2) and which can be seen as part of the operation of a discipline in
biopower (see chapter 7.2.3.1).

5.4.2 Task Realisation

In the task realisation part of a stage, the students did the task set. Theoreticially after the task had been set,
the students had it clearly in their minds exactly what they would be doing and had available the
appropriate teaching materials to do so. The analysis of the type of tasks reveals the clearest indication of
consistencies with the pedagogy of the mainstream discourse that were also commensurate with the
Department voice in the localised discourse. There is here a strong relationship to weak communicative
language teaching in having elements of the *presentation-practice-production* (PPP) model where an
element of language is presented in context, practised in a controlled fashion, and is hopefully used in a

production activity in which students take part in some form of 'authentic' communication (see chapter 3.5.3.1). This model underlain the Department voice. PPP was directly promoted in the summer syllabus where teachers were encouraged to provide "clear opportunities for practice and production" and where this 'method' was particularly suitable for "Asian" students (Document 6.3). In a broader sense the teaching day could be conceptualised as the paradigm writ large with the Language Focus lessons equating with *presentation* and *practice*, while Skills Focus lessons and Options generally equating with *production*. There was also consistency with the dominant discourse and Department voice in how realising a task involved a great deal of group work and the almost constant participation of the teacher as well as in the use of inductive learning and information gaps.

5.4.2.1 Task Typology

I will first examine the nature of the tasks in terms of what they intended to teach by constructing a typology based on the pedagogic elements of each one.

In the Language Focus lessons, grammar tasks fell into two categories: those tasks where the students attempted to learn the form and/or meaning of a target structure, and those where the students had to practise a target structure. This, therefore, resembles the presentation and practice stages of the PPP model. For example, in stage 6 of Observation 1.12, the students were required to identify the difference in meanings between three pairs of similar sentences which differed in tense form. In the stage that followed there was a consolidation of this where the students had to match grammatical explanations to the two sentence types. The students were not required subsequently to do a practice exercise in the class but had to do one for homework. In fact, Sara often gave grammar practice exercises for homework which the students compared together in the next class. The one grammar task in the Skills Focus lesson was the eliciting and drilling of functions for the speaking stage which followed it, thus involving aspects of both presentation and practice (Observation 1.4: stage 2).

Lexis was treated in a similar way to grammar in the Language Focus lessons. However, it was the learning of form and/or meaning which dominated. In these tasks, students had to define lexical items (e.g. Observation 1.1: stage 4; Observation 1.9: stage 1; and Observation 1.10: stage 4). Practice was only realised in tasks that involved the items within the framework of a text. For example, in stage 2 of Observation 1.17, the students were required to put items in the blanks in a written text. However, when looking beyond the lexis stages, it is possible to see that in the Language Focus lessons, lexis was sometimes taught prior to tasks where the lexis could be employed. For example, the various lexis stages before the speaking task in stage 5 in Observation 1.3 all dealt with "humour" which was the subject of this task. This would suggest some relationship to the PPP model with the speaking tasks enabling freer practice of the target lexis. In contrast, some of Sara's lessons had speaking tasks that were thematically related to lexis tasks that followed them. The role of speaking here seemed to be not to practise target language or even demonstrate students' current knowledge of it but to contextualise the theme of the lesson perhaps

activating student schemata. For example, in stage 1 of Observation 1.17 students had to think about holidays which was followed by a series of language tasks thematically linked to holidays. The lexis tasks in the Skills Focus lesson were concerned with the teaching of meaning and/or form of items to be used in skills tasks and were therefore taught at the beginning of lessons.

The tasks that fell between lexis and grammar followed a very similar pattern to the lexis and grammar tasks. The tasks concerning meaning and/or form included the inductive discovery of lexical-syntactic rules (e.g. Observation 1.17: stage 3 & Observation 1.12: stage 1) as well as practice of the forms (e.g. Observation 1.12: stage 4). In fact, stages 1 to 5 of Observation 1.12 (summarised below), is a perfect example of the PPP model in practice.

Stage 1: The students had to work out the differences between the forms and meanings of two sentences

Stage 2: The students apply this rule to three examples.

Stage 3: The students compare their answers to a photocopy with the answers written on it.

Stage 4: The students practise the rules in an exercise.

Stage 5: The students practise the rules in a more personalised and freer exercise.

The first three stages are concerned with making sure the students understood the target form while the last two concerned the practice of these forms. The one pronunciation task taught also followed this pattern: the teacher elicited and taught a series of monophthongs which were then practised by the students (Observation 1.18: stage 3).

As regards the skills tasks, the productive skills (i.e. speaking and writing) shared much in common being very similar to the production part of the PPP model: i.e. concerned with freer practice, fluency and non-language related task outcomes. The speaking tasks in the Skills Focus could be divided into four categories: discussions, role-plays, presentations and written information-gaps. The purpose of some of the discussions, the most popular form of speaking task, seemed to be the sharing of opinions, ideas, experiences or anecdotes. For example on the causes of homelessness in stage 1 of Observation 1.7 or on transport in stage 1 of Observation 1.18. Other discussions had a specific goal which created a textual product whether verbal or literary: for example, students preparing a presentation in stage 1 of Observation 1.8 or designing a menu in stage 3 of Observation 1.11. The single role play task was essentially another form of discussion but in this case the students adopted predefined roles rather than speaking as themselves where the goal was to overcome a problem in an imaginary school through a staff meeting (Observation 1.4: stage 3). The information gap task involved the students exchanging information between two different texts where the goal was for each student to get the information they did not have (Observation 1.2: stage 3). The goal of the two presentations observed was to present the findings of the work they had done in the

preceding tasks (Observation 1.8: stage 2 and Observation 1.16: stage 6). The speaking tasks in the Language Focus lessons were all discussions that, as mentioned above, were thematically related to the language tasks that either preceded or followed them. The tasks that practised lexis resembled the production stage of PPP. However, those concerned with contextualising a theme were more ambiguous having as a side effect a general fluency practice.

The writing tasks in the Skills Focus lessons were primarily concerned with the students creating coherent texts with a perceivable communicative goal rather than practising or learning about specific elements of writing. Thus students wrote a curriculum vitae (Observation 1.2: stage 2); display cards for their presentations (Observation 1.8: stage 1); a menu (Observation 1.11: stage 3); and a summary of a news story (Observation 1.16: stage 3). The single example of writing in the Language Focus lessons was to fill out a questionnaire as a basis for a discussion on learner strategies (Observation 1.5: stage 2).

The receptive skills tasks contained a mixture of exercises concerned more with developing these skills *per se* and those concerned with applying these skills for non-linguistic goals. A key device for the checking and development of these skills was comprehension questions, i.e. a series of questions that tests the student's ability to understand the content, meaning, ideas and/or aspects of the language in a text. Comprehension questions appeared in both listening (e.g. Observation 1.13: stage 1) and reading tasks (e.g. Observation 1.14: stage 3) in the Skills Focus lessons. Whilst most of the receptive tasks in the Language Focus lessons had a specific *language-as-system* goal, e.g. finding lexis in stage 4 of Observation 1.17, some of the Skills Focus stages either had it as part of their tasks (e.g. stage 2 of Observation 1.18 includes both comprehension questions and listening for lexis) or as the sole purpose of the task (e.g. stage 2 of Observation 1.13 is entirely concerned with lexis). Other receptive tasks in the Skills Focus lessons were more non-linguistic-task oriented but less frequent than those in the productive skills. For example, students wrote notes on a newspaper article to be used in a presentation in stage 5 of Observation 1.16, while in the same lesson the students had to decide on a headline for video of a news story they watched (stage 2).

This task typology reveals some close parallels to the mainstream PPP model, where tasks can either be identified as being at one of the three stages in this model or combining more than one of them. A typology that was also encouraged in the Department voice.

5.4.2.2 Interaction Patterns

The students did the tasks using one or more of three interaction patterns: working on their own; with other students in groups; and in a plenary form led by the teacher. I do not differentiate here between pair work and group work as is often the case in applied linguistics (e.g. Hyde 1993; Storch 1999) because while the teacher often asked students to work in "pairs", there were only four lessons when all the students were actually in pairs (Observations 1.3, 1.4, 1.13 and 1.16). For the majority of the language-as-system tasks, the teacher made the students do part or the whole of each task in groups. In fact every grammar task in the

Language Focus lessons was done in groups apart from the test in Observation 1.5. Similarly, all the lexis tasks in these lessons included group work. In some cases, the task may have been done individually but this was followed by the students comparing their results in groups (e.g. Observation 1.17: stage 2 and Observation 1.12: stage 7), which was then followed by teacher feedback. In the Skills Focus lessons, there was more of a mixture of interaction patterns. Tasks that involved the elicitation of lexis (e.g. Observation 1.2: stage 1) or grammar (Observation 1.4: 2) were plenary and teacher-led. The other tasks tended to be done in groups. Again there was the variation of doing a task individually and then comparing in groups (e.g. Observation 1.14: stage 2). The one pronunciation task involved both teacher-led plenary interaction and group work (Observation 1.18: stage 3).

The interaction patterns in the skills tasks varied. In the speaking tasks in the Skills Focus lessons they included students working in groups (e.g. Observation 1.2: stage 3); teacher-led plenary interaction (e.g. Observation 1.7: stage 1); student-led and teacher-led plenary interaction in the presentations (e.g. Observation 1.8: stage 2); while the role play saw the students working as a whole class without the interference of the teacher (Observation 1.4: stage 3). In the Language Focus classes, all the speaking tasks were done in groups ranging in size from twos to fives.

The listening tasks in the Skills Focus lessons tended to follow a pattern of the students doing a task on their own, which was then followed by teacher feedback. However, on one occasion prior to the teacher feedback, the students compared their results in groups (Observation 1.13: stage 1). The sole listening task in the Language Focus lessons followed this latter pattern (Observation 1.9: stage 2). The reading and writing tasks in the Skills Focus lessons were either done in groups or individually by students; while those in the Language Focus lessons all involved the students comparing their answers in groups.

The evidence of this analysis suggests that while a variation of classroom interaction patterns were used in all the types of tasks, there was a strong emphasis on student-student interaction primarily in terms of group work. Group work was even employed in tasks that essentially require individual application such as listening and reading where the students were often put into groups to compare their work. The use of group work was particularly noticeable in Sara's lessons as she used it more than any other teacher. This emphasis on group work concurred with the norms of the Department voice in the localised discourse as demonstrated in the Summer Course Syllabus.

> The aim is for students to have as much opportunity as possible to communicate in English
> through communicative tasks and activities. It is expected that many of the tasks and
> activities used will require students to work in pairs and groups so that students will interact
> with each other…
>
> (Document 6.3: Summer Course Syllabus.)

It also concurred with the norms of the mainstream discourse in its promotion of group work as a means to achieve better language acquisition as well as a better learning environment (see chapter 3.5.3.5). In addition to being a consistent category, this emphasis on student-student interaction is a fundamental element in the problematisation of learner-centredness (see 5.6.2 below & chapter 6.7).

5.4.2.3 Teacher Participation

When the students were focussed on doing a task whether individually or in groups, the teachers did not withdraw their attention from the students, but were involved in a process of *monitoring*. Within the mainstream pedagogy, monitoring is the means by which students' errors in production tasks can be noted for later review (cf. Bartram & Walton 1991: 59-62). I define monitoring more broadly as the means by which the teachers observed the work the students were producing whether spoken or written (which sometimes included noting errors); and as a means by which the teachers helped the students with their tasks. The teachers did this either at a distance from the students or by being very close to them.

Sara and Sandra often monitored at a distance using their desk as a monitoring point. For example, Sandra in stage 1 of Observation 1.4 stood behind her desk watching the students while they were doing the task. Sara acted similarly:

> Sara is now leaning on her desk, and appears to be monitoring the groups, although perhaps paying more attention to group 2.
>
> (Observation 1.3: stage 5)

There was one occasion when a teacher actually adopted a position of distance which was not at their desk: during the role play.

> Sandra asks Claire to organise all the students into a circle, which she duly does by going around the class moving desks and getting other students to move desks. The desks are formed into an approximate circle with the teacher's desk part of this form. Sandra sits in the corner next to the door (on my left) and she has some paper on her lap on which she takes notes.
>
> (Observation 1.4: stage 3)

What can also be noted from this example is that Sandra noted down language errors for later review. One possible reason why Simon never appeared to monitor at a distance was that during the points that the other teachers did so (i.e. between close monitoring), he would often come over to me and make some comments about the lesson. Whether he did use distant monitoring when he was not observed is an unanswerable conundrum of the observer's paradox.

Close monitoring involved the teacher leaving their desk and moving around the class going from student to student, or from group to group. For example:
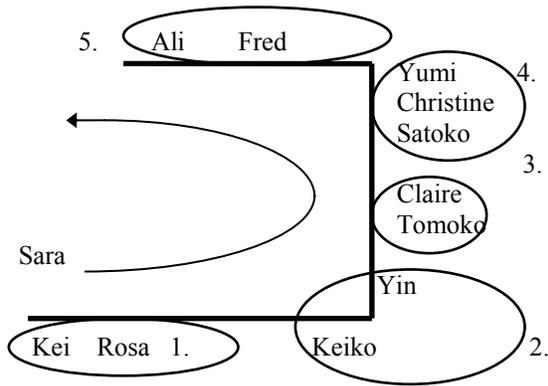
> Sara goes to group 1 to see how they are getting on, kneeling in front of them and discussing the text, she then moves to the next group in an anti-clockwise movement. As she does this, the students talk more in their groups. Sara then again stands behind her desk monitoring the class. She then moves and leans on the front of her desk. Ali asks her a vocabulary question.
>
> (Observation 1.1: stage 3)

This extract demonstrates certain key elements of close monitoring. There was a tendency for teachers to move from group to group in a regular clockwise or anti-clockwise direction in front of their desks; stopping at groups to listen to or observe their work and speak to them. The teacher's speech tended to be in the form of comments, instructions, suggestions and help. Another key element was that many tasks in Sarah and Sandra's lessons included a combination of close and distant monitoring that was often repeated several times.

Rosa   Yumi   Kei
                                    1.
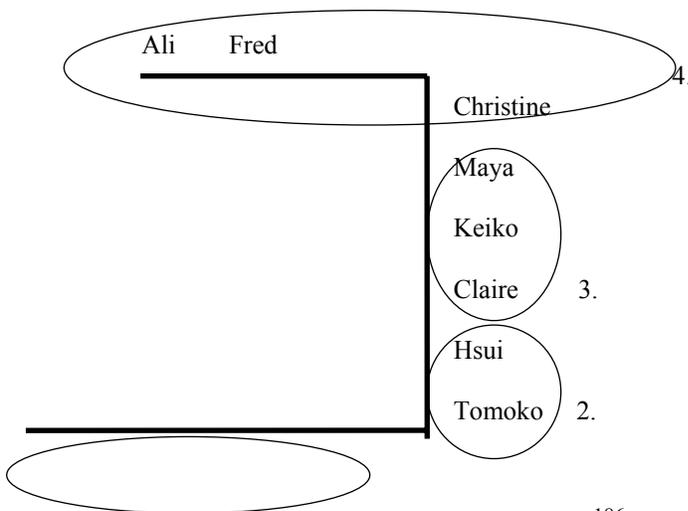
> The students are, at first, very quiet… Sara was originally monitoring standing behind her
> desk. She now moves to the students and goes round anti-clockwise. She kneels in front of
> group 2 to explain an item. She then moves and kneels in front of group 4 and then returns
> clockwise and kneels in front of group 2, and then kneels in front of group 1 and talks to
> Maria. Ali's voice is always the most noticeable. Sara goes to group 3 kneeling to check that
> a part of a task has been completed. She then goes and sits on the front of her desk and
> monitors. She goes to group 4 and answers a vocabulary problem. She goes to group 1 to help
> them, and then 2, kneeling in front of them. Thus a pattern of anti-clockwise circular
> movement has developed.
>
>   (Observation 1.6: stage 1)

Sometimes the comments, suggestion, instructions and help could happen in distant monitoring and be prompted by the students themselves as in the example of group 4's question in the example above. Unlike the other teachers, Simon sometimes close monitored from behind the students' desks (e.g. Observation 1.2: stage 2). This happened when task involved some form of writing so that he could read their texts.

Monitoring dominated much of the time when students were involved in a task that did not require the interaction of the teacher. I would not like to give the impression that this is all the teachers did during these tasks as they were often doing other pedagogic related activities such as writing on the white board, checking their lessons plans, preparing audiovisual equipment and so on. However, the impression I got was that at most times when the teachers were not preoccupied with other matters, they were monitoring the students.

The use of monitoring was in no way idiosyncratic to the localised discourse but was a key part of the mainstream discourse (cf. Biagi 1987: 4; Holliday 1994a: 96; Holliday 1997a: 411; Yalden 1987: 57-58) and certainly in my teacher training at certificate and diploma level something that was drilled into me as good practice. It was explicitly present in the Department voice in the summer syllabus rationale where prescriptions for teaching the Skills Focus lessons were given that suggested that "the teacher's role will be that of facilitator and monitor" in group work (Document 6.3: Summer Syllabus). The concept of teacher as facilitator is also a key part of the construction of a teacher in the mainstream discourse (see chapter 3.5.3.4) and will be returned to in the problematisation of learner-centredness (see chapter 6.7.2.2). As with student-student interaction, monitoring is another fundamental element in the problematisation of learner-centredness (see 5.6.2 below & chapter 6.7).

5.4.2.4 Use Of Inductive-Discovery Learning

Whilst I would not argue that an inductive approach was used in every task, it did seem to be the basis of much of what the teachers did. Many tasks were explicitly inductive and discovery in approach. The majority of Sara's lexis and grammar tasks where the students had to tackle an aspect of meaning and/or form were essentially inductive. For example, in stage 3 of Observation 1.12, Sara made the students discover some language rules by comparing their answers to an exercise with the teacher's correct answers. These tasks did not always involve finding rules but, as in many of the lexis tasks, it involved the students identifying the meanings of items. In other cases, parts of a task had an explicit inductive element. In Sandra's pronunciation task, for example, after getting the students to produce particular phonemes, she asked them what happened in their mouths to produce a particular sound (Observation 1.18: stage 3). Therefore, the students tried to work out themselves how they had formed each sound. In overall terms then, many of the tasks that concerned the students understanding the meaning and/or form of an aspect of language as a system, whether in the Language Focus or Skills Focus lessons, took as whole, or in part, an inductive approach.

In broader terms, there was often an implicit inductive element in the process of elicitation that occurred in some of the task set, task realisation and task feedback parts of the stages. The Socratic approach using elicitation, where through a series of questions the students are guided into arriving at a correct answer, shares the same principles as the discovery tasks of rule and meaning finding: i.e. aiding the students to finding out answers without telling them (see chapter 3.5.2.2). This pattern of interaction shares much in common with the *IRF* model of classroom interaction originally developed by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). This model illustrates one common teaching sequence of interaction: teacher *initiation*, followed by a student *response*, which is followed by teacher *feedback* (see also Coulthard 1985). This then occurred in the instructions and explanations as well as the pre-teaching in the task set parts of a stage. It also occurred in many of the teacher-led tasks:

> He explains that the they are going to watch a video of the news… Simon asks the students to work out the headlines. He plays the video and most of the students appear to be watching it. He stops the video and asks the students to give a title to the story. They say them individually out loud. Simon responds to each answer making positive criticisms, whilst continually asking for a particular type of headline which tries to reflect the nature of the story. When a student gives the title he is looking for (motorway horror), Simon writes it on the OHP.
>
> (Observation 1.16: stage 2)

> She tells the students to open their course books on the same page as before and read the text to see if any of the adjectives they came up with are in the description. All the students are

reading on their own. … Sara asks the students if they have found anything, one student responds. Some students still appear to be reading. There are no more contributions, and there is silence as they all look at the texts. … Sara asks if they can find synonyms to the items…The students answer individually, and Sara comments. When the answer is wrong, she explains why and then asks for another possibility.

(Observation 1.17: stage 4)

Sandra develops through a series of questions a discussion from the previous class on the subject of cars and transport. From this some of the students give anecdotes about car accidents they have been involved with. … The teacher develops this conversation with more questions. … Ali is now telling his anecdote and most of the students are listening. Claire makes a comment on this. Sandra then gives an anecdote about her mother cycling…Claire asks a question. Sandra asks the class if anyone is interested in cycling…Sandra develops the subject of learning to drive through asking the students a series of questions. The questions tend to be wh- and again more anecdotes are given by some of the students.

(Observation 1.18: stage 1)

Each of these extracts demonstrate how the teachers guided the students through a process of questioning to specific pedagogic goals. Simon in the first extract continually asked questions and commented on wrong answers until a student arrived at the title he was looking for. Sara similarly commented on the students incorrect answers explaining whey they were wrong and pushed the students for the correct answers through further questions. These two examples both show how through a process of eliciting teachers pushed students into giving correct answers to a task. The final extract is slightly different demonstrating the thematic guidance in a speaking task that in theory does not have a *correct* answer. Through a process of comments, questions and anecdotes, Sandra manages the interaction towards the theme of learning to drive. This, however, is not just *theme* management but is a subtle process whereby the students had to think about and develop their knowledge of what learning to drive entails. By the end of this task, the students schemata on this subject had been activated and they may well have known more about the subject than they had previously; they are perfectly prepared for the thematically linked listening task which followed. As will be discussed in 5.4.3 below, this process of eliciting for inductive development of knowledge was also crucial to the task feedback.

The use of inductive/discovery learning was in complete concordance with the Department voice. This is most clearly stressed in the summer course syllabus where it is argued that there is "the need for a learner-focussed 'bottom-up' approach with an emphasis on discovery learning and interaction" while the books chosen for the syllabus used an inductive approach where understanding of language came "through an analysis of how a language item is used rather than an analysis of its formal properties" with "an emphasis

on discovery learning activities and on students using the new forms, functions and lexis in realistic communicative activities" (Document 6.3: Summer Course Syllabus). Its use is also a fundamental part of the mainstream discourse (see chapter 3.3.2, 3.5.2.2 & 3.5.3.1). Inductive learning is another category that will be part of the critique of learner-centredness (see 5.6.1 below & chapter 6.7.3.4).

5.4.2.5 Use of the Information Gap

Like inductive learning, the use of information gaps in the tasks reproduced a mainstream pedagogic norm (Holliday 1994a: 170-171; Pennycook 1994a: 170). It also shared with inductive learning an explicit presence in some tasks and a more implicit presence in others. There were several tasks focussing on either language as a system and language as communication that had explicit and unambiguous information gaps. In the speaking task in stage 3 of Observation 1.2, the students working in groups had to find information from the other students' texts which would complete their own texts. In stage 1 of Observation 1.13, half the students listened to one text, while the other listened to another. After having done so, the students were put into twos and threes with students who had listened to the other tape and had to compare their answers. Stage 3 of Observation 1.1 followed exactly the same procedure but this time with reading texts. Stage 1 of Observation 1.10 involved four groups looking up the meanings of different lexical items which they then compared in new groups. Finally in two grammar tasks, the students were required to compare in groups their results of a grammar exercise they had done for homework (Observations 1.3: stage 1 and 1.9: stage 3).

The deriving of information from other class members (including the teacher) was an implicit assumption, however, in many of the other speaking tasks in the Skills Focus and Language Focus lessons. In the role play students played different roles which were described on pieces of card given to them individually (Observation 1.4: stage 3). Thus none of the other students were aware of the exact details and goals of the other characters. In order to achieve the aim of the role play (i.e. solving a problem at a language school through a meeting), the students needed to find out this information. Each of the discussions in their various ways were concerned with the students sharing opinions and ideas; therefore there is an implicit information gap. This was also the case with the presentations where the students presented *their* ideas to the other students and the teacher. While the other skills tasks did not really have an implicit or explicit information gap, those which were preparation for the presentation tasks which followed them were part of the information gap process (e.g. Observation 1.16: stage 5 and Observation 1.8: stage 3). In addition to this, the information gap was implicitly present in those many other tasks where the students having done a task on their own had then to compare their answers in groups.

The information gap is essential to the mainstream pedagogy and was also obliquely promoted in the summer course syllabus where the types of information gap tasks suitable for "Asian" students were discussed (Document 6.3). Again, I believe this was because it was an intrinsic *given* that did require explicit promotion in the Department voice (see 5.4.1.5 above)

5.4.2.6 Evidence of Consistencies

In the task realisation part of a stage, there is strong evidence for consistencies in the teachers' practices with both the dominant mainstream discourse and the Department voice. The teachers practices seemed to reproduce many elements of the *presentation-practice-production* model in weak communicative language teaching. This could be particularly seen in the analysis of the task typology. The promotion of group work, teacher monitoring, inductive learning and information gaps were all also commensurate with weak communicative language teaching.

Like setting a task, task realisation involved a precise series of teacher techniques and skills which is the basis of the easily-learnt 'method' that can be understood as being constitutive of biopower. In addition to this, there are further elements which suggest a problematic 'learner-centred' classroom (see 5.6 below & chapter 6.7).

5.4.3 Task feedback

Once a task had been completed, there was a shift to the task feedback. The task feedback involved the students telling the teacher their answers to the task whether they were linguistic or non-linguistic in nature. These answers were assessed and evaluated by the teacher so that there was a two-way transfer of information. The teacher and the students both then had final evidence of how they managed the task. I identified in the analysis a three-part framework to the task feedback: pre-feedback, feedback and post-feedback. Feedback as a whole and the panoply of teaching techniques used to manage it are highly consistent with the dominant mainstream discourse, but it was more implicitly consistent with the Department voice.

5.4.3.1 Pre-Feedback

Pre-feedback marked the transition between task realisation and the feedback proper. This transition could be observed in three ways. Firstly and most commonly, the teacher tended to verbally end a task:

> Simon says "right" loudly, turns the OHP off, sits down and tells the students that if they have not finished it does not matter.
>
> (Observation 1.16: stage 3)

> Sara says "OK, I gonna stop you now"…
>
> (Observation 1.17: stage 4)

At other times, the tasks seemed to naturally end without the need for the teacher to indicate that they had. The transition could be noticed secondly when the students did not do a task in their normal seats. At the point the task ended, they moved back to their normal positions either by being asked by the teacher (e.g.

Observation 1.3: stage 5), or of their own volition (e.g. Observation 1.4: stage 3). The third related way the transition could be noted was the teacher moving back to their desk (e.g. Observation 1.4: stage 3). In fact, the teachers tended to lead the feedback at some position near to, next to, behind, in front of or leaning on their desk.

5.4.3.2 Feedback

The feedback itself was marked by very consistent pattern of interaction with the teacher asking students for the answers to the task, a student giving their answer, and the teacher then commenting on it. As such, this was similar to the elicitation patterns in the other parts of the stage (see 5.4.2.4 above). In this case however, the aim was not to elicit knowledge *per se* but to make students give the answers that they had and correct wrong answers.

The feedback sequence started with the teacher asking for the answers to a specific part of a task. This pattern usually would start at the beginning of the task and work its way through to the last part. It was done in one of either two ways: the teacher nominated a particular person to give an answer; or asked the class or a group as a whole. In the latter case, one of the students was expected to volunteer an answer. In some feedback tasks, this was carried out only by nomination (e.g. Observation 1.3: stage 4), in others only through asking the class as a whole (e.g. Observation 1.9: stage 3) or a group as a whole (e.g. Observation 1.12: stage 2). However, in other cases there was a mixture of the two with the teacher often starting by nominating and then not nominating (e.g. Observation 1.6: stage 1). This latter form seemed to have been a case of *getting the ball rolling* where once students started answering, the others would start volunteering answers.

The next part of the feedback sequence was the student response which involved an individual verbally giving the answer to the part of the task that had been asked for. In all the tasks that had feedback, there were only two that did not follow this pattern. In stage 2 of Observation 1.13 in the language laboratory, the students came up to the teacher individually with their answers, while in stage 3 of Observation 1.18 the teacher went to each student group to check their answers. The final part of this sequence was the teacher responding to the student answer. This three-part structure was cyclical being repeated until each part of the task had been reviewed. This final part was also the most complex as it involved a variety of different responses from the teacher. At the most basic level, it could be described as follows:

1. The teacher assessed the student response by commenting on it
2. If the student response was correct, the teacher said so and moved on to the next part of the stage.

However, such a description misses out on the variations and subtleties of the teacher feedback and how it integrates with the other elements in this sequence. I will therefore explore how this three-part sequence worked by examining some pertinent examples.

When a student's answer was correct, the process was quite simple: the teacher would acknowledge this and in many cases wrote the correct answer on the board. However, when an answer was not deemed to be correct, a whole series of correction techniques were utilised. The following example shows how Sara dealt with this in a grammar task feedback.

> Tomoko is nominated by the teacher. She reads out the sentence they have created. Tsui is then nominated (Sara is standing next to, and then behind, her desk.) Then Fred is nominated, and then Laura. Sara uses the board as a means of showing parts of the sentence to ask concept questions in order to get the students to correct Laura's sentence…Kei is now nominated and Sara uses a similar board technique to correct her sentence.
>
> (Observation 1.10: stage 1)

Sara corrected using the board and concept questions. This demonstrates the general approach to error correction where errors were elicited from the students. The teachers rarely corrected directly, i.e. by telling the student that their answer was wrong and then providing a correct answer, but corrected through a process of eliciting. The next extract from a speaking task not only illustrates another example of eliciting, but how correction was also done using reformulation.

> Sara nominates Rosa and puts her ideas on the board. Claire then contributes, but was non-nominated. There are non-nominated contributions from several students (e.g. Fred, Tsui) and their contributions are written up on the board. Sometimes Sara rephrases the contributions for the board to improve the grammar and vocabulary, either by saying it herself or eliciting a better form from the students. … Sara gets Kei to dictate the first quote and Sara writes this on the board. Then the sentence is corrected through eliciting from the students. This is repeated with the second sentence from Laura.
>
> (Observation 1.10: stage 2)

Reformulation involves a teacher repeating a student's incorrect utterance in a correct form. The concept originally derives from first language acquisition theory (e.g. Lahey 1978) but has been adopted by second language acquisition theorists for its pedagogic possibilities (e.g. Skehan 1994; Thornbury 1997) and so entering the canon of teacher education texts in TESOL (e.g. Bartram & Walton 1991). It happened in this extract where the teacher rephrased the students' answers in a more grammatically and lexically correct form. This occurred a great deal in the task feedbacks as part of correcting students' responses. However, it was not only used in second language acquisition sense of making a more linguistically appropriate utterance but it was also used for correcting content.

She stops the activity and goes over the questions with the class. They give quick answers
with several students responding at the same time. Then there are longer answers given more
individually. Again there is a pattern of teacher question, student answer, teacher comment. I
notice that in the 'comment', the teacher repeats or rephrases the answer or corrects it or
suggests a different version/synonym and puts some vocabulary up on the board in the
process. All the students seem to be involved.

(Observation 1.18: stage 2)

Sandra not only used reformulation to correct lexis but also to correct content; i.e. the answers to the
listening comprehension questions. This correction of content was not only observed when there was a
'right' answer as in comprehension questions in skills tasks. The teachers also used reformulation, eliciting
and comments to guide the direction of feedbacks that involved ideas and opinions. In the following
example, Simon was asking the students what solutions they had decided on in a speaking task to solve
homelessness.

He asks each group for their solution, but does not nominate individuals. Rosa speaks for
group 1. Simon then develops the debate from her response and other students join in. All the
time Simon guides the debate, commenting, adding, but letting others contribute. This seems
to be quite a good flowing debate. Simon takes a contributor's point and develops it into a
question to ask others. … The process is repeated with each group's solution.

(Observation 1.7: stage 2)

Simon used these techniques then to not only elicit their solutions but to guide then towards a proposed
solution in the text they would read in the task that followed. What characterised this three-part feedback
sequence, whatever the type of task, was the teacher's control of the interaction guiding the students to the
'correct' answers.

The comments and questions the teachers made in the response part of this sequence were not only used as
a part of the assessment and correction of the students' answers but had several other functions. The
teachers sometimes asked the students how they got on with a task (e.g. Observation 1.3: stage 3) and made
an evaluation of the success of the task in general terms (e.g. Observation 1.4: sage 3) or in the specific
terms of the language produced (e.g. Observation 1.16: stage 3). Sara's comments in the Language Focus
lessons often included explanations concerning the rules of the grammar or lexis being learnt in a task.
What makes this particularly interesting is that she did this after the students had 'worked out' the rules
themselves in inductive/discovery tasks (e.g. Observation 1.12: stage 3). There was then a tension here
between the aims of inductive learning and the desire to make sure the students understand the rules using a
more traditional deductive explanation. This could be seen as a form of resistance to the pedagogy (see

chapter 7.2.4). Another noticeable feature of teacher response was the use of personal anecdotes often as a means of developing a teacher-led discussion in the feedback (e.g. Observation 1.7: stage 3). In fact the use of personal anecdotes by the teachers, not only occurred in task feedback but in task introductions (e.g. Observation 1.13: stage 1), task realisations (e.g. Observation 1.18: stage 1), class beginnings (e.g. Observation 1.4) and class endings (e.g. Observation 1.8). With or without anecdotes, the teachers sometimes developed the feedback for skills tasks into discussions (e.g. writing – Observation 1.5: stage 2; speaking – Observation 1.3: stage 5; reading – Observation 1.7: stage 3).

There were cases when there was no feedback *per se* to a task in the sense of the teacher going over the answers orally with the students. One example of this was at the end of the test when Sara collected the students answer sheets in order to mark them (Observation 1.5: 1). In other cases, the students were told to finish the task for homework (e.g. Observation 1.12: stage 5); this could also include checking the answers themselves using answer key in the course book (Observation 1.17: stage 6). There were also no feedbacks to tasks whose answers were used in the tasks that followed them such as those that prepared for presentations (e.g. Observation 1.8: stage 1). However, feedback was most noticeably absent in those tasks whose main form of interaction was plenary and teacher-led (e.g. Observation 1.7: stage 1). Feedback then only followed tasks which were not teacher led.

5.4.3.3 Post-Feedback

In post-feedback, there was a clear indication that the stage had ended often made by a teacher utterance For example, Sandra in stage 3 of Observation 1.18 said "Can we leave that now" while Simon at the end of stage 3 in Observation 1.16 said that they were going to do something different. On occasions, homework was set that was linked to the task (e.g. Observation 1.9: stage 2). This was not the type of homework given in the class endings but was given between stages.

5.4.3.4 Evidence of Consistencies

Using plenary feedback after group work task is a key element in weak communicative language teaching, which is particularly prescribed after the completion of *production* tasks (see chapter 3.5.3.1). While not actually mentioned in any of the Department documentation, I would argue it was also implicitly part of the Department voice by dint of the fact that the voice promoted *presentation-practice-production* (see 5.4.2 above). The use of various techniques such elicitation, concept questions and reformulation was also consistent with the dominant discourse. The fact that these techniques were used for an inductive guidance to the 'correct' answer makes them also consistent with the promotion of inductive learning by the Department voice (see 5.4.2.4 above).

The management of feedback, like the other parts of a task, involved a range of precise teacher techniques and skills that further indicates the nature of an easily-learnable and 'learner-centred' 'method' that can be interpreted as part of the operation of discipline in biopower.

5.5 The Consistencies of the Teacher Practices

In this section, I bring together the evidence of the pedagogy in practice to underline my argument that there is a strong consistency between it and the dominant mainstream discourse and the Department voice.

In these practices, there is very little that differs from how pedagogy is constructed in the mainstream discourse and was prescribed in the Department voice in the localised discourse. The type of tasks the students did, how language was constituted in these tasks, the themes of these tasks, the teaching materials and syllabi used, the interaction patterns chosen for doing the tasks and the act of teacher monitoring all suggest a close relationship to the pedagogy of the mainstream discourse, i.e. weak communicative language teaching particularly in the form of *presentation-practice-production* (PPP). Whilst what the teachers did was not always an exact reproduction of the PPP model, there were distinct elements of it in the nature of the tasks and how they were realised. Some stages had identifiable elements that resembled the presentation and the practice or production parts of the model. This could be especially seen in the pre-teaching of language for skills tasks. PPP could also be seen in the overall relationship of several stages where each stage focussed on one part of the model. This was the case in both those concerned with *language as communication* and with *language as a system*.

In analysing how each stage was carried out, a close relationship to the mainstream discourse and Department voice could be seen in the preponderance of inductive learning and oral communication. The techniques used to realise this with information gaps, group work and various eliciting techniques all concur with the mainstream pedagogy. In really only two examples were there any significant between the mainstream pedagogy and Department voice and the teachers' practices: firstly, Simon and Sandra's choice of doing more 'controversial' themes which was only possible because it was non-external-examination term (see 5.3.4 above); and secondly, Sara's attempts to be both inductive and deductive when teaching language as a system rules (see 5.4.3.2 above). In addition to this, there was one variation between the Department voice and the teacher practices in the way the teachers tended to operate their own syllabi based on the content of the text books used. Considering that these books are located in the mainstream discourse, this did not result in a great deviation from neither the Department voice nor the mainstream discourse.

Finally, it should be noted that some teaching techniques such as elicitation and concept questions were not explicitly mentioned in the Department voice. The fact that these *givens* were ignored does not diminish the consistencies because these techniques were essential to the overall pedagogy which the Department promoted. Apart from in the summer course syllabus (Document 6.3), details of how the pedagogy would be realised was noticeably missing in Department documents. The *what* of the pedagogy was precisely detailed (e.g. syllabus, materials and construction of English) but there was very little on the *how* in terms of teaching techniques and *why* in terms of rationale for the pedagogy. The guidance given on how to teach

in the summer syllabus was probably due to the fact that the summer courses were taught by many sessional teachers who were often only there for the summer and were sometimes new to the Department. Therefore, this guidance may have been considered more necessary for them than for the established permanent teachers who dominated the academic terms and who were aware of the Department norms. Discussion of teaching techniques as well as broader discussion on the rationale of the pedagogy was generally absent in what the teachers talked about during the participant observation while in the interviews they were not elaborated on because they expected me, as an ESOL teacher, to know about them. For example, that classrooms should be organised on a monolingual basis (see chapter 6.3.1). Consequently, in both sets of interviews I had to question them further to encourage them to define their terms. However, I do not believe that this means that the *how* and *why* were unimportant to the Department and the teachers. On the contrary, they were important (as the group interviews revealed), but they were such *givens* in this professional culture that they did not need to be discussed.

5.6 The Problematic Practice of Learner Centredness

The pedagogy in practice had many elements which would suggest that it was guided by theories of learner-centredness (cf. Tudor 1992; Tudor 1993; Tudor 1996; Yalden 1987 & see chapter 3.5.2). This supposition is substantiated in the analysis of the data that was generated after the classroom observations (see chapter 6.7). There was in this practice of learner-centredness a contradiction between how the pedagogy was suffused with an informality that was also linked to the use of students and teachers' private lives as pedagogic texts; and the way in which the lessons were controlled by the teacher.

5.6.1 Informality and the Private

There were two interrelating phenomena that emerged from not only the lessons observed but in fact all the fieldwork data. The teaching and learning atmosphere was very informal while the students and teachers' private lives were used as classroom texts for pedagogic purposes.

Informality could be observed in several ways. It could be seen in the informal speaking style used by the teachers. The teachers referred to the students by their first names and used salutations such as "hi" (e.g. Observation 1.17: stage 1) and 'have a nice weekend' (e.g. Observation 1.18). This informality could also be seen when teachers often asked students about their private social lives. For example, Sara asked the students about what they had done at the weekend at the beginning of Observation 1.10 and I did the same in Observation 1.15. This informal speaking style pervaded the lessons as a whole and could also be seen in the use of humour. All the teachers used humour in their teaching either by making joking asides that were not directly connected to the task or by making the pedagogic interaction humorous in the setting of tasks (e.g. Observation 1.16: stage 6), in task realisations (e.g. Observation 1.18: stage 1) and in task feedbacks (e.g. Observation 1.9: stage 3).

The teachers' non-linguistic behaviour also helped to mark out this informality. The teachers often left and entered the classroom during a lesson without actually explaining what they were doing, which was typically done to get teaching materials (e.g. Observation 1.2: stage 2). In a similar manner, other teachers regularly came into the classroom after a quick knock on the door in search of teaching materials (e.g. Observation 1.12: stage 3). There was also an informality with classroom discipline. The teachers' approach was to treat such issues as tardiness or students not paying attention in a very light-hearted manner.

> As he [Simon] is talking Claire, Hsui, Keiko and Kei are talking. He makes them stop by saying "Ladies, ladies", which is done in a lighted-hearted way.
>
> (Observation 1.16: stage 2)

> Fred arrives [ten minutes late]. Sandra says "Good evening" and then says that she is just teasing.
>
> (Observation 1.18: stage 1)

It was interesting to note that the students also adopted an informality in their own behaviour. For example, the students made humorous remarks in teacher-led plenary interaction (e.g. Observation 1.18:3), while in one fascinating incident, a student implicitly told a teacher off for spending too long explaining a language point.

> As Sara spends some time explaining one point, Laura says "OK, OK" (meaning that is enough), and smiling Sara says "Shut up Sara."
>
> (Observation 1.17: stage 5)

I believe this incident, more than any other, demonstrates how informal the atmosphere must have been to make such an exchange acceptable. This atmosphere then gave the impression of a level of equality in the relationship between the teachers and the students; an explicit desire of learner-centredness and the mainstream pedagogy in general (see chapter 3.5). Through the management of this 'equal' relationship, the teachers treated the students almost as if they were personal friends.

The informal atmosphere had a pedagogic link in the way that the teachers and students' private lives were used as a textual resource in the classroom. Often tasks involved the teachers and/or the students giving input based on their personal lives, experiences and opinions. Prior to an actual task in the introduction part of setting a task (see 5.4.1.1 above), the teachers often set a scene by personalising the task to the students' lives. As demonstrated in 5.3.4, some themes and topics in speaking and writing tasks were handled in such a way that the students had to bring themselves into the texts that they produced. This *personalisation* was

not just a common feature in these types of tasks but also in language practice activities where students were expected to create utterances about their lives using a target form (e.g. Observation 1.12: stage 5). Lesson beginnings and endings were also spaces where teachers asked students about their private lives as in asking about weekends mentioned above. This desire to get students to speak as much as possible during the lesson and to use their lives as a subject matter is entirely commensurate with the mainstream discourse (see chapter 3.5). To get students to talk about themselves is a key element of learner-centredness that is now a mainstay of teacher training texts in the form of *personalisation* (cf. Harmer 1991: 102-105; Ur 1996: 281).

The students' lives were not only used as pedagogic texts but the teachers' lives were as well. As made clear in 5.4 above, the teachers frequently used personal anecdotes during a stage. However, they also used them in class beginnings (e.g. Observation 1.14) and endings (e.g. Observation 1.8). These anecdotes, sometimes humorous, tended to be about the teachers' lives, experiences, friends and family. Thus the private domain was turned into textual input. The bringing in of the private domain of both teachers and students into the classrooms had its most extreme form when some of the teachers actively got involved in their students' social lives either as a means of making students interact with 'native' speakers or as a means of socialising with them *per se.* This was particularly the case with Sara, as I noted when I was in her office after a lesson.

> Whilst I was working in her office, I took a phone call for her. This was from a man who
> organises a basketball team. It became evident from this, and a post-it on the desk referring to
> a football team and a student, that Sara goes out of her way to help organise the outside social
> life of her students, particularly so that they can be with native speakers.
>
> (Observation 1.12)

Sara then not only helped to organise extra-curricular activities that were beyond those organised by the Overseas Unit[43] but also socialised with the students sometimes going with some of them to a pub. However, Sara was not the only teacher to socialise with students. During the period of the participant observation, Peter and Linus revealed to me that they had taken two female students to a pub (Participant Observation 3.31: Friday 28th August) while the teachers in general were expected to go to student discos in the student union on the campus (Participant Observation 3.8: Tuesday 28th July). Indeed, Linus told me that he used one of these events to talk to the students to ascertain their welfare in and outside of the classroom (Participant Observation 3.11: Friday 31st July) .

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[43] The Overseas Unit was responsible for the recruitment and welfare of all non-British students at the Institution. This included the organisation of a social programme that included cultural visits and social gatherings.

This informality and the use of private lives has one important underlying implication. Teaching and learning English should be 'fun' and 'enjoyable'. One priority, as will be discussed in chapter 6.5.2, was that the students should be happy as 'customers' and therefore learning a language should be a pleasurable experience. Sara revealed on two occasions in Observation 1.17 a strategy of sweetening the bitter pill of language learning.

> Sara asks the class to turn to page 35 of their course books and look at the rule there. She asks them to name the two positions "attributive" and "predicative". She then tells them that it is important to understand the meanings not these actual words to describe them. She then goes over the rules asking the students what they can say.
>
> (Observation 1.17: stage 3)

> Sara says that they should not worry if they find the grammar difficult as they will get it as they are exposed to the language more and through reading. She then gives a lot more explanation standing behind her desk.
>
> (Observation 1.17: stage 5)

There is a certain contradiction in these examples. In both examples, she suggests to the students that understanding metalanguage and grammatical explanation is difficult and not necessary because the students will pick up meaning and use inductively, whilst at the same time teaching them this metalanguage and grammatical explanation. These contradictions would appear to come from a desire to teach the language well whilst wanting to keep the 'customer' happy.

Learning in an informal environment with a maximum of oral interaction which is an enjoyable experience is a fundamental assumption of the mainstream discourse (Pennycook 1994a: 167 & see chapter 3.5.3). An egalitarian classroom where students can reveal themselves, their interests, their lives within a relaxed, happy atmosphere are fundamental assumptions of learner-centredness (see chapter 3.5.2). The evidence here reveals that in practice the teachers appeared to be promoting a learner-centred pedagogy deeply influenced by the mainstream discourse.

5.6.2 Teacher Control

The teachers appeared to be promoting a learner-centred 'egalitarian' classroom, but this was contradicted by the way in which the teacher controlled the students. Control could be seen at the level of language. In the participant observation notes, it is noticeable that I use possessive forms (e.g. 'my' 'his' 'her') to describe the relationship between a teacher and the class they taught. This was not idiosyncratic to me but typifies how the teachers referred to classes; something that was particularly evident in the Wednesday

afternoon meetings when each teacher had to talk about *his* or *her* 9am class. In practice, the teachers also controlled *their* classes in terms of almost every aspect of a lesson.

The teachers controlled the lesson structure, content, the way the tasks were taught, when each task was taught, the classroom interaction for each task, as well as the teaching materials used: the *what*, *how*, *when* and *with whom* of the teaching. This was clearly in evidence in the task set part of the stages where the instructions explicitly stated the *what*, *how*, *when* and *with whom* (see 5.4.1 above), but it was also implicit to every other part of a stage. Even when students were asked to form groups of their own volition, it was the teacher who decided that they should work in groups in the first place. Even during task feedbacks when the teachers did not nominate which student should give an answer, it was the teacher who decided that there should be an oral feedback. Classroom interaction in terms of who spoke and when, and the management of this interaction to inductively guide students to answers, was controlled by the teachers. In this inductive guidance of knowledge, it was the teacher who decided what this knowledge was and what was 'correct'. When the students were working together, the teacher's authority and control was also present through monitoring. There was never a point when the teachers were not in control. Even at those times when the teacher left the classroom, the students stayed on task (e.g. Observation 1.5: stage 1). To call the classroom an example of the *panopticom* is by no means a theoretical stretching of the imagination as every aspect of the students learning was under the monitoring gaze of the teacher (see chapter 7.2.3). This was helped by the small class size and the horseshoe shape desk arrangement (see chapter 3.5.3.5).

While student output was most clearly controlled in the eliciting techniques that were used to guide students to the 'correct' answers in teacher-led interaction, there was even in 'freer' group tasks parameters of what could be spoken or written about which were defined by the teacher in the instructions and cemented in the feedback where appropriate answers were sought out. The teacher controlled the production of knowledge and meaning through the careful management of classroom interaction and task content during all parts of a stage. Control could also be seen in the way that a class worked together as one, i.e. one pace, with the same aims. One clear example of this was that teachers not only told the students when to start a tasks but also decided when to stop tasks, even if students had not finished (e.g. Observation 1.17: stage 6).

This teacher control can be seen as manifestation of *examination* (see chapter 7.2.3.3). The lessons are zones of examination whereby the teacher prescribes and then examines various student behaviours. From the beginning of the lesson when teachers were expected to take the attendance register, every student activity is observed and evaluated by the teacher: from the students spoken utterances to their written work. The homework they produce is also examined whether its handed in or answered in class. All of this examination provides data for monitoring the process of learning by the students and for aiding pedagogical decision making.

These findings would suggest that there was a strange contradiction between certain features of learner-centredness in the pedagogy which promotes an egalitarian classroom and the manifestation of teacher control in what is effectively a very authoritarian 'non-student centred' classroom; a contradiction that has been identified in the critical literature (cf. Holliday 1994a: 96; Holliday 1997a; Pennycook 1994a: 174 & see chapter 3.5.2.2). This apparent contradiction in learner-centredness will be developed in chapter 6.7 while its broader implications will be discussed in chapter 7.2.

5.7 Conclusions

This chapter has examined the teachers' pedagogy in terms of their classroom practices. What emerged from the data was that there was a strong consistency in the pedagogy used by the different teachers. The lessons had a clear structure with a class beginning, a series of stages and a class ending. Each stage contained a pedagogic task. The analysis of the stages revealed the following:

- Lesson content
    - Lesson content tended to be focussed on either *language as communication* or *language as a system.* When a task focussed on *communication* in a *system* lesson or vice versa, the task was directed to the overall language focus of the lesson.
    - The teachers used a mixture of textbooks and supplementary materials for teaching with. During academic terms, these tended to guide the syllabus rather than the Department's actual syllabus. In the summer courses, the syllabus and course books were synonymous.
    - Whilst the themes and topics of tasks often conformed to the Department voice and mainstream discourse, there was some variation during non-examined terms. There was then some limited deviation from the norms.
- The tasks
    - The tasks could be fitted into a pedagogic typology that resembled the stages of the PPP model.
    - The tasks generally had a three-part structure of task set, task realisation and task feedback. In each part, there was a identifiable set of elements used by the teachers which involved a complex lesson management.
    - Taken as a whole, it can be seen that the tasks tended to be based around inductive learning, oral interaction particularly through group work, teacher monitoring and information gaps.

Despite some minor differences, overall the pedagogy practised by the teachers was consistent with the Department pedagogic prescriptions and the pedagogy of the mainstream discourse. It could be therefore argued that the pedagogy practised by the teachers and prescribed by the Department reproduced in a

localised discourse the pedagogic norms of the mainstream discourse. This pedagogy was found to be problematic in one area. It was enacted in an informal atmosphere that used both the teachers' and students' private lives for pedagogic texts. This has strong links to theories of learner-centredness. What appeared to be learner-centred lessons was contradicted by the fact that the teacher was in control of virtually every aspect of the pedagogy.

The way in which the teachers constructed their pedagogy and their concomitant professionalism is the subject of the next chapter. Within this construction, there are further consistencies with the Department voice and mainstream discourse, but there are also, more problematically, tensions and conflicts as well as further contradictions which puts the validity of this pedagogy into question.

Chapter 6

6 The Nature of the Localised Discourse: The Teachers' Construction of a TESOL Ideal

> Reena: … fun I think that should be a very important element in language teaching. Make it fun as well as er something useful.
>
> (Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999)

> Peter: … I'm sort of thinking we're sometimes got this sort of you know within the closed world of TEFL, we've got this holier than thou idea. We can show everyone else how they should be learning English or any other language.
>
> (Group Interview 4.7: Discussion 5 – 29th July 1999)

6.1 Introduction

The findings of the previous chapter suggests that there was consistency in the localised discourse between the teachers' pedagogical practices and the prescriptions for practice in the Department voice. This localised discourse was in itself consistent with the mainstream dominant discourse in reproducing its norms. Apart from certain minor idiosyncrasies, the practices did not deviate from these norms in any substantial way. The pedagogy practised by the teachers was fundamentally a form of weak communicative language teaching with many echoes of the presentation-practice-production model and infused with the principles of learner-centredness. The construction of English as *a system* and as *communication*; the promotion of an 'informal' and 'fun' atmosphere; the use of private lives as pedagogic texts; the encouragement of oral participation particularly through group work; the use of inductive learning and information gaps all suggest that the pedagogy reproduced the norms of the mainstream discourse. What was found to be problematic in the practice of this pedagogy was the contradiction between the practice of an ostensibly 'learner-centred' pedagogy with the way the teachers exhibited control and authority during lessons.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the categories that emerged from the data which can be grouped under the meta-category of a *TESOL ideal*. This TESOL ideal has some similarities to Holliday's conception of a *learning group ideal* in BANA where "optimum interactional parameters within which classroom language learning can take place" which is a "process-oriented, task-based, inductive, collaborative, communicative language teaching methodology" (Holliday 1994a: 54; see also Holliday 1997a & chapter 3.5.2.2 & 3.5.4). While Holliday's construct describes the dominant thinking within the

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applied linguistics academe and the institutional elements of the TESOL 'industry', my conception deals with the teachers' construction of their practice-based application of the theory that creates this *learning group ideal*.

The categories in the TESOL ideal are concerned with how the teachers constructed their pedagogy and concomitant professionalism. The consistency in practices identified in the previous chapter was also seen in the general consensus by the teachers in the interviews and in the participant observation on what constituted good practice in TESOL; i.e. their TESOL ideal. This ideal contained an ideal way to teach ESOL as well as an ideal type of class, student and teacher. It was used as means to gauge whether something was an example of good practice in their working lives as well as in TESOL in general. The ideal represented their professionalism in terms of a commitment to a body of knowledge and skill for its own sake and for the use to which it is put (see chapter 2.4). To reiterate a point I made in chapter 5.5, it is important to note that many elements of this ideal in terms of the *how* and the *why* of the pedagogy were *givens* that the teachers expected me, as a fellow teacher, to know. This, I believe, indicates that the ideal was a normalised part of their professionalism.

In a similar fashion to the previous chapter, the analysis in this chapter concerns the relationship between the categories in the TESOL ideal and various critical themes: consistencies; conflicts and tensions; and contradictions. I argue that there are consistencies between the ideal, the teachers' practices, the Department voice and the dominant discourse. However, I also argue that there are problematic conflicts and tensions between the ideal and the Department voice and practices. Whilst this hindered the teachers' desire to act professionally, what was even more problematic was that there were actual tensions and conflicts within the teachers' own construction of their professionalism which hindered this desire. Finally, there were contradictions in the ideal itself. Contradictions in the construction of learner-centredness, first indicated in the teacher practices in chapter 5.6, and contradictions in the construction of the superiority of the ideal. These contradictions ultimately put the validity of the pedagogy, and therefore the teachers' professionalism, into question.

The first part of this chapter describe how the teachers constructed their ideal and in this description, I identify the consistencies, tensions and conflicts. This description provides evidence for the second part of this chapter which deals with the contradictions endemic in this ideal. The chapter is structured as follows.

- The TESOL ideal is described in terms of lesson structure and teaching. I argue here that there is a strong consistency between these constructions and the dominant discourse and the Department voice in the localised discourse.

- The TESOL ideal is then described in terms of an ideal class. I argue here that there are tensions and conflicts with this construction and the Department voice and practices because of a business discourse of profit.
- This is followed by a description of the TESOL ideal in terms of an ideal student. This ideal, and the TESOL ideal as a whole, is in tension and conflict with a business discourse of customer satisfaction that is existent within the teachers' voice in the localised discourse.
- I then discuss the TESOL ideal in terms of the ideal teacher. This is in tension and conflict with the business discourse in the Department voice which reproduces the low status of the teachers.
- The teachers' construction of learner-centredness, which is the rationale for much of the ideal, is then explored. Elaborating on the findings of chapter 5.6, I argue that there are within it a series of contradictions and problems that undermine the whole concept of learner-centredness.
- I finally explore how the teachers construct the TESOL ideal as being superior to any other forms of second language pedagogy. Within this construction, I also find a contradiction which also undermines the TESOL ideal.

As discussed in chapter 5.1.1, there are some categories in chapter 5 and 6 which are very similar, e.g. lesson structure, lesson content and learner centredness. These categories are dealt with again in this chapter because the overall complexity in the way that all the findings are linked together meant that organising the chapters on the basis of the themes that emerged from the categories would have been far more difficult to understand than to organise them around the categories. There is also a logic in such an organisation in that the categories dealt with here that were also dealt with in chapter 5 are re-evaluated in terms of teacher theory thus providing another level of analysis.

6.2 The Structure of the Ideal Lesson

The teachers structured the ideal lesson in terms of a series of 'activities'. This structure bears certain similarities to my analysis of the observed lessons where I used the constructs of *stages* and *tasks*, which in itself was similar to the construction in the dominant discourse (see chapter 5.2). Whilst the teachers' construction was not as elaborate and detailed as mine, they similarly constructed lessons into a series of constituent parts each of which had a specific pedagogic goal. In terms of teachers' own descriptors, they tended to prefer to call these parts 'activities' rather than stages and tasks. However, on occasion they did use the term task; either using it instead of 'activity' or switching between the two in interview. For example:

> … we planned a different activity and they made their own gap filling … and they seemed to get the task done, and they battled with the task …
>
> (Interview 2.3: Sandra - 1st October 1998)

The teachers tended to divide up an 'activity' into three parts which bears more than a strong resemblance to my three-part division of a stage into *task set*, *task realisation* and *task feedback* (see chapter 5.4) as well as pointing out that a lesson should have a definable beginning with an introduction (see chapter 5.2.1). The first part of an activity could be seen in how the teachers indicated that an 'activity' should have an introduction. The lesson in the video extract in the group interviews, for example, was criticised for its lack of lesson introduction and 'activity' introduction. The extract was from a lesson based around a reading text which was exploited for vocabulary, grammar, reading comprehension and discussion. The actual extract included the vocabulary and reading comprehension. The extract was completely teacher-fronted, i.e. was done through whole-class teaching (for further details see Group Interview 4.1: Description of the Video Extract).

> Janet: … He didn't give any sort of like opening the lesson…
> Simon: Yeah.
> Janet: …there was no sort of erm introduction …
> > (Group Interview 4.5: Discussion 3 - 2nd June 1999)

Nigel, on the other hand, noted positively the teacher going over homework at the beginning of the lesson.

> N: Erm…yes I sometimes go through homework at the beginning of the lesson …
> > (Group Interview 4.4: Discussion 2 - 27th May 1999)

Another element of a *task set*, the pre-teaching of language, was identified as a positive element of the lesson extract.

> Roger: … I mean you had the vocabulary, the pre-teaching of vocabulary …
> > (Group Interview 4.3; Discussion 1 - 24th May 1999)

> Reena: I thought he'd prepared them quite well for the vocabulary to start with, made sure
> that they knew the key words for the story…
> Ian: Mm.
> > (Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999)

The second part of an 'activity', what I identified as the *task realisation* (see chapter 5.4.2), was evident as the main part of what the teachers described as an 'activity': i.e. to describe those classroom events that focussed on an element of the teaching and learning of *language as a system* or *language as communication*.

Louise: … he'd chosen certain words he wanted them to write in their book and then tried to make a little activity out of it with definitions.

<div align="right">(Group Interview 4.4: Discussion 2 - 27th May 1999)</div>

Janet: …you know it wouldn't be our initial reading task wouldn't be read this and pick out, it might be a task you might give somebody later on but it's not going to be your first task…

<div align="right">(Group Interview 4.5: Discussion 3 - 2nd June 1999)</div>

… I tend to do a sort of typical variation on an activity using the language lab...which involves erm integration of skills …

<div align="right">(Interview 2.3: Sandra - 1st October 1998)</div>

Finally, the teachers identified a need for an 'activity' to have some form of feedback that is comparable to my *task feedback* (see chapter 5.4.3). This was made particularly clear when Roger and Lewis gave suggestions for how a task in the video extract could have been better taught.

Roger: … I think he would have been better having had the matching exercise on paper whereby you have the definitions...
Lewis: ...[unclear] into pairs yes...
Roger: …simply by definitions and the target words, and then pair work matching them up in pairs, and then feedback.

<div align="right">(Group Interview 4.3: Discussion 1 - 24th May 1999)</div>

Despite certain differences in terminology, the teachers' construction of lesson structure was therefore very similar to my own analysis of the lesson observations. Taking into the consideration the fact that my structure was indirectly influenced by the dominant discourse (see chapter 5.2), I would argue that there was a consistency between this structure and the dominant discourse. This consistency was also seen in the Department voice where elements of a lesson were also described as *activities* and *tasks* in the syllabi (Document 6.3: Summer Course Syllabus; Document 6.11: Academic Year Syllabus).

6.3 Teaching the Ideal Lesson

As with the teachers' construction of how a lesson was structured, their construction of how a lesson should be taught was consistent with how the pedagogy was practised (see chapter 5.4). As argued in the chapter 5, these practices were consistent with the norms of the Department voice in the localised discourse, which were in turn both consistent with the norms of the dominant mainstream discourse. I would therefore argue that the teacher and Department voices created, in this category, a consistency within the localised discourse which reproduced the norms of the dominant discourse. The participants' construction comprised

of a pedagogic construction of English; a model of the ideal lesson that was similar to the *presentation-practice-production* model; prescriptions of certain classroom interaction patterns; and the use of teaching materials.

6.3.1 The Pedagogic Construction of English

The teachers' pedagogic construction of the English language was consistent with the construction identified in practices and norms in chapter 5.3.2: i.e. language as either a *system* of grammar, lexis and phonology or as *communication* of the four skills. The pedagogic product of these two constructions whether in terms of, for example, forms, structures and subskills were subdivided according to how appropriate they were for particular levels of students. This relating of language to level was particularly evident in the group interviews. The participants made great efforts to identify the level of the students sometimes doing so by assessing the level of language being taught. For example:

> Simon: … at what would appear to be an upper-intermediate, an almost advanced level with those you know those dictionary definitions yeah.
>
> (Group Interview 4.5: Discussion 3 - 2nd June 1999)

> Dominique: … I mean what do you think the level of the students or that class was? What was it pitched at?
> Peter: Kind of good upper-intermediate I'd have thought …
>
> (Group Interview 4.7: Discussion 5 – 29th July 1999)

In a similar vein, Sara blamed an unsuccessful lesson on the level of a listening text being too high (Interview 2.1: Sara – 3rd June 1998).

This division of language by level was also noticeable in the Department voice which divided the syllabus into levels and classified students by these levels, in the sense of putting them into classes that corresponded to a level. The five modules in the academic year syllabus broke down what was to be taught into five levels: i.e. module 1 – pre-intermediate; module 2 – intermediate; module 3 – upper intermediate; module 4 – low advanced; and module 5 – advanced (Document 6.11).[44] The summer course syllabus modules were similarly divided into five levels: elementary, pre-intermediate, intermediate, upper-intermediate and advanced (Document 6.3). Level, constructed in the syllabi, was the principal defining feature of a class. Thus 'Roses' were classified at the beginning as an upper-intermediate class and stayed that way throughout the term (Observation 1.1: 12/1/98). This classification of classes into levels was not

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[44] Due to the problems of space, I have only included one example module in Document 6.11: Academic Year Syllabus and Document 6.3: Summer Course Syllabus.

idiosyncratic but an absolute norm in the profession, which I have experienced in every context that I have taught ESOL. The fact that published teaching materials, especially course books, use this classificatory system would suggest its place within the institutional voice of the mainstream discourse (see chapter 3; footnote 24).

In terms of how language is delivered, many of the teachers in the group interviews considered that it was better if lessons were conducted mostly, if not entirely, in English.

> Margaret: Well, the teacher did use a lot of English, which was quite refreshing for that part of the world, and er hardly any Hungarian, and I felt very little translation which is a usual habit I think in Hungarian classrooms.
>
> (Group Interview 4.3: Discussion 1 - 24th May 1999)

> Nigel: Yeah. I thought it was great that the whole lesson was conducted in English…
> Louise: Yes.
>
> (Group Interview 4.4: Discussion 2 - 27th May 1999)

> Simon: It was very brave of him to actually use or attempt to use English throughout most of the lesson yeah. If that's what you can call it [laughs]…
>
> (Group Interview 4.5: Discussion 3 - 2nd June 1999)

The rationale for this appeared to be that it provided more opportunities for the students to acquire the language.

> Louise: … it was good that he always spoke in English, so you know accidentally they would you know, not accidentally but you know incidentally, they would pick up bits and pieces of English you know those certain you know possibility for acquisition language acquisition there …
>
> (Group Interview Discussion 2 - 27th May 1999)

A virtually monolingual classroom was an example of a *given* in the ideal. For example, in the above interview when I wanted the participants to explain this in more detail, Nigel said "well isn't that obvious" (Group Interview Discussion 2 - 27th May 1999). This *given* was not an absolute as the teachers in the fourth interview saw a tentative place for translation in the classroom.

> Reena: It's a dangerous thing really isn't it. It depends on where and how it is used. If all the students speak one language and the teacher speaks the same and if they're lower levels, then

it's definitely useful, not to overuse but to just use it for checking that the students have understood erm some basic things or maybe you give an instruction and you to make, and this is beginner level or lower elementary level, and you tell them what they should do. There's no problem in making sure that they've understood the instruction otherwise if they don't know what they're supposed to do they might waste a lot of time. So depending on the circumstances, the situation and the level, I think it can be an asset.

Sheila: I think it can be dangerous translating specific words because you know often they use something…

Reena: [Unclear] ones

Sheila: Yeah exactly.

(Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999)

According to Reena then, whilst it is considered useful in lower-level monolingual classes, translation should not be overused. In effect then this is an outlet clause for translation in what should be an essentially a monolingual lesson. The teachers here reproduced the monolingual norm of the dominant discourse (Phillipson 1992a: 185-193; Pennycook 1994a: 135-136). This norm was never explicitly present in the Department voice, but could be found at an implicit level. In the observed lessons there was no use of translation because the classes were multilingual; a pattern I believe that was followed with all the multilingual classes. As far as I could gather, with monolingual closed groups, the Department never prescribed or proscribed the use of translation. However, it should be noted that teachers for closed groups were not necessarily chosen because they could speak the students' language. For example, myself, Peter and Esther taught the Japanese Tokyo group (see chapter 4.8.2) but none of us could speak Japanese. This would suggest that bilingual teaching was not really considered; something that was supported by the published teaching materials used, all of which had a monolingual approach.

6.3.2 The Similarity to PPP

When the teachers described how the language was taught and learnt in an 'activity', there were many similar elements to the *Presentation-Practice-Production* (PPP) model associated with weak communicative language teaching that were consistent with the teacher practices, Department voice and dominant discourse (see chapter 5.4.2). In the post-lesson observation interviews, Simon gave a descriptions of a successful lesson he had taught which neatly typifies this construction. It was a grammar lesson dealing with prepositions of place. He started the lesson with an introduction (see chapter 5.4.1.1).

… when I actually introduce the session to the students...er...I told them the famous story, that's not true at all, slight artistic licence there about erm...the plane crash in Tenerife and erm...I mean where thousands of people had actually died and when they actually found the black box...it was because of the Spanish air traffic controller was giving incorrect

instructions because his prepositions weren't, weren't quite correct, yeah, and erm, it's a
lovely story, I doubt if it's true …

<div align="right">(Interview 2.2: Simon – 4th June 1998)</div>

The target language was then presented in the context of a story by drawing on an overhead projector.

… I actually started off with a story for example, I drew a picture of a hotel, and you, you
know like, I think to be a teacher sometimes you've got to be a storyteller and 'this is my
brother, he's a builder' and I pretended that this was actually a true situation, and he was
actually called up to this particular hotel to do some maintenance work, yeah, and erm...he
was speaking to the manager over the phone and the manager was telling him what needed
done and where, and erm...I actually drew things like the sign 'The Hotel Deluxe' and he said
he wants him to repair the sign...uhm...you know the hotel, you know the neon sign because
it's flashing, yeah, and then I ask the students 'well where is...is the sign? What did the
manager say to my brother?' and of course he says 'it's on the side of the building', yeah,
and we got differences between behind, at the back of, yeah...uhm...and things like that …

<div align="right">(Ibid.)</div>

This *presentation* stage was followed up with *practice* tasks.

… it was obviously followed up, with erm, with a task...and erm, I mean the...I gave them
two particular tasks, one was uhm...was a gap fill about a hotel, yeah...erm and the other task
was, you know, giving them pictures and … like, 'where is the such and such a thing?' …

<div align="right">(Ibid.)</div>

While this description in every way correlated with the analysis of the teacher practices (see chapter 5.4.2),
rather than adopting the PPP terminology wholesale, the teachers tended to prefer using just *presentation*
and *practice*, appearing to subsume *production* within *practice* sometimes preferring the term *free practice*.
For example:

S: ... I suppose they just kind of got to know that...erm...my styles of presentation … they'd
ask me initially right at the beginning that they didn't want to spend a lot of time on grammar
rules but that they wanted to be able to put them straight away into practice …

<div align="right">(Interview 2.1: Sara - 3rd June 1998)</div>

Dominique: … If it's say a grammar lesson where the introduce the activity erm…call me old fashioned but I tend to start off with erm you know the classic presenting a point or whatever of the lesson and then controlled practice, free practice. …

(Group Interview 4.7: Discussion 5 – 29th July 1999)

As suggested in Dominique's contribution, this model is considered a "classic". On one of the rare occasions PPP was directly mentioned by the teachers, it was also considered in these terms. This was in a Wednesday staff meeting where Jaclyn was talking about a woman who wanted to observe a lesson and "pointed out that it would probably be lower levels as she needs real TEFL, i.e. according to Jaclyn, the three Ps" (Participant Observation 3.24: Wednesday 19th August). This "classic" of "real TEFL" was not, in the teachers' construction of teaching, a model that was slavishly followed. Rather it was something that was generally implicitly referred to that seemed to function as a template which guided their construction of teaching in terms of seeing the necessity of presenting language and then practicing it in controlled and then freer conditions. This guiding template was also clearly seen in the analysis of the lesson observations (see chapter 5.5). As will be revealed in the next two subsections, the preference for inductive learning and the patterns of interaction adopted also suggest the influence of the PPP model and weak communicative language teaching.

6.3.3 Teaching Language in Context and Inductive Learning

As the example of Simon's successful lesson above demonstrates, there was an emphasis on teaching language in context, i.e. relating the abstracted forms of grammatical, lexical or phonological analysis to real use in the presentation and practice of language. This approach is typical of the *presentation* stage in PPP (see chapter 3.5.3.1) and was noticed in the lesson observations (see chapter 5.4.1.4). Such an approach was revealed in the participants' construction of an ideal when I spoke to John about how he approached teaching a problematic class that became known as the "Terrible Turtles" (see 6.4.2 below).

After the meeting, I had a chat with John on the stairs … I found it quite difficult to understand how he approached the materials in the book, and how he used the book. There was a misunderstanding between us, and he said, rather stridently, "I always teach grammar in context" as if what I had said to him assumed that he always used some form of deductive approach to teaching grammar.

(Participant Observation 3.14: Wednesday 5th August)

Teaching language in context is for the teachers' concomitant with inductive learning. This was explicitly stated by Sara in interview.

S: … I think that there is this expectation when they say nine o'clock lessons will teach you grammar, and expect me to stand up and spout grammar rules at them and personally I don't think that's the way they're going to learn grammar, although I'm, you know, grammar awareness exercises and all of that kind of thing...erm is very important and but...I don't like splitting the two things...and anyway it doesn't make for a balanced lesson I don't think.

CA: So you think that the grammar should be in some kind of skill context, is that what you're saying?

S: Yes, I think...meaning before structure always so therefore...I'd rather we were picking something out of the context of something that we've already discussed...or listened to, or read and so that there's a context to it and that, so that they know, they what they've been ta...they know the meaning of what they've read, listened to, spoken about, whatever, then afterwards we can look and see what structures was allowing us to put those meanings across successfully, or maybe getting in the way of putting a meaning across successfully...so kind a meaning first, and so therefore there has to be some kind of skill I think...doesn't have to be a huge skill input but a little, there has to be something.

(Interview 2.1: Sara - 3rd June 1998)

Students having the opportunity to "find out things for themselves" (Margaret in Group Interview 4.3: Discussion 1 – 24th May 1998) is far preferred to deductive learning. It was, for example, part of a measure of a successful lesson.

S: … they never thought of this patterns before and they were looking, they had to find it for themselves and they couldn't to start with and then it was as if they'd found a whole new way of thinking about things …

(Interview 2.1: Sara - 3rd June 1998)

This preference is entirely consistent with the teachers' practices, Department voice and the dominant mainstream discourse (see chapter 5.4.2.4). Inductive learning is for the teachers not only superior as a means of learning in itself but it is less "heavy" than the 'teacher-centred', deductive approach demonstrated in the lesson extract in the video. For example:

Sheila: It's just typically grammar heavy isn't it…

Ian: Mm.

Reena: Yeah.

Sheila: …what you get in secondary schools.

(Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999)

One possible conclusion from this is that inductive learning with language in context avoids the difficulty and complexity of understanding grammar that the deductive 'spouting of rules' reveals. It offers a light, fun approach without intellectually taxing the students. This then corroborates with the 'sweetening the bitter pill of language learning' that I noted in chapter 5.6.1. As will be seen it relates to the construction of the student as customer (see 6.5.2 below) and the broader contradictions of the ideal to be discussed in 6.7 and 6.8 below.

The analysis of language is also put secondary in the teaching of receptive skills. The teachers preferred that students read or listen to a text via a prescribed task that focuses on a specific sub-skill(s) and the content of the text. Tasks which focus on the actual language of the text should not be dealt with until these previous tasks have been done; something that the lesson in the video extract was criticised for.

> Christopher: … you said that … underlining parts of the text that they didn't understand, you said it's not focussing on the skill.
> Sheila: No but that's reading isn't it and that's kind of taking a text and pulling it apart for grammar, vocabulary rather than like reading for information or reading for gist or whatever.
> Christopher: Do you think they should be separated then…er sort of reading for grammatical reasons and reading for skills reasons?
> Sheila: Yeah. They're not necessarily, I mean you can always follow up with something grammatical or you know vocabulary or whatever…but I mean you don't naturally sit down and read something and think okay what don't I understand do you. It's just not a natural thing to do. It's also not I mean it's not very motivating either really.
>
> (Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999)

Reading or listening for meaning is preferred by the teachers because it reflects more how people normally read. There are parallels here with the inductive learning of grammar which is supposed to reflect how people acquire languages 'naturally' (cf. Ellis & Hedge 1993; Ellis 1997; Krashen & Terrel 1983; Krashen 1982; Prabhu 1987). The above extract also reveals another parallel. Dealing with a text for meaning is more motivating than studying it for language, which would suggest that it helps to avoid difficultly and complexity.

6.3.4 Interaction Patterns

The teachers' construction of the ideal interaction patterns in a lesson are consistent with patterns used in the classroom and consequently those supported by the Department voice and dominant discourse (chapter 5.4.2.2). According to the teachers, while explanations, introductions and instructions of setting a task and the feedback to a task normally occurred in plenary form, doing a task was ideally, although not exclusively, to be done in groups. For example:

Roger: … there is a, within a lesson you, you know, you switch from the teacher-fronted whole-class work giving instructions, plenary feedback erm perhaps an open discussion has a place, a whole class discussion but then for some activities working in pairs it helps if there on a task, they're learning form each other, you do it individually, then a check with each other so there is actually communication going on …

(Group Interview 4.3: Discussion 1 - 24th May 1999)

The importance for the teachers of allowing oral language practice in groups was underlined by the fact that the main criticism of the lesson in the video extract was the absence of this type of practice. For example:

Sheila: … they don't have as much time to practise do they…

(Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999)

Dominique: …where's the free practice there?
Peter: …what we're obviously not getting is any, they're all going to have, are a good passive knowledge of English. They're obviously getting no chance to speak, no free practice …

(Group Interview 4.7: Discussion 5 – 29th July 1999)

The teachers believed that this practice is necessary because it develops fluency, a spontaneity in speech beyond a passive understanding of the language. For example.

Nigel: Right so in other words so no one would ever know if they could use it spontaneously you mean…
Louise: Yeah.
Nigel: …because it they never get the opportunity to…try.
Louise: Yeah, I mean there was no other there was no kind of speaking activity even if it was a fairly structured activity set up to see whether they could use it with each other you know…

(Group Interview 4.4: Discussion 2 - 27th May 1999)

It was argued that a need to shift to group interaction patterns to allow practice was also a means by which there could be a change in pace in the lesson. A variety of pace is necessary within a task or from one task to another in order to keep the students motivated. This could be achieved by changing interaction patterns or by changing the nature of a task. Change in pace, for the teachers, was conspicuously absent in the lesson extract.

Louise: But you're right about the pace. The pace didn't seem to change.

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Nigel: Yeah it was interesting. When the camera panned out and you saw the students, there was one boy sort of with his hand over his eyes. I'm sure he was quite tired. It seemed the students were quite er tired from it.

Christopher: So this change in pace is a way of keeping students alert then?

Nigel: Keeping their energy, you've got to keep their energy levels up. You've got to keep their…yes. And I think it's important to have a variety within any one lesson, sometimes have something pacy, sometimes have something slow, sometimes have something noisy, sometimes have something quiet whatever.

(Group Interview 4.4: Discussion 2 - 27th May 1999)

A change of pace is necessary then because it keeps the students alert with their energy levels up. The necessity for a range of interaction patterns meant that the ideal arrangement of classroom furniture was a horseshoe shape, rather than rows, with the possibility to be able to move chairs and desks to create different interaction patterns, or indeed to be able to stand up and "mingle" (Interview 2.1: Sara - 3rd June 1998). Indeed rows are the antithesis to the ideal; as Sheila declared "I hate teaching students in rows" to which Reena replied "Mm so do I" (Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999). The teachers discussed how the teacher in the extract could have adapted the traditional pattern of rows in his "very large class" (Margaret in Group Interview 4.3: Discussion 1 – 24th May 1999) in order to create these possibilities.

Sheila: Pair work as well…he could have done that even though everyone was sitting in rows.

Reena: Mm.

Christopher: Even sitting in rows.

Sheila: Yeah.

Christopher: Erm I mean this, in a sense, the shape of this classroom which is a u-shaped, a 'C' shape or a horseshoe shape [referring to the classroom where the discussion is taking place]. Do you think that, you could do that with twenty-five students?

Sheila: No you couldn't I don't think, but you could have them in groups you know twenty-five groups of four tables or something.

(Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999)

Janet: But in that you know that Alexander, is it Polish Alexander, a book, she actually has these wonderful recipes for getting students to move chairs silently, so you kind of train them at the beginning and you get them to sort of you know, there's kind of sort of quiet little scurrying they all move their chairs…you know I think you can…

(Group Interview 4.5: Discussion 3 - 2nd June 1999)

It appears that the ideal of the flexible horseshoe with varied interaction possibilities (Prodromou 1992: 41-42; Scrivener 1994: 93-94; Wright 1987: 59 citing Langeheim 1980) can be aimed for, even within the restrictions of a more traditional classroom layout found in the TESEP context of the video extract.

There is evidently a consistency in the emphasis on oral student-student interaction in the teachers' TESOL ideal, in their classroom practices, in the Department voice and in the dominant discourse (see chapter 5.4.2.2). While the Department did not advocate the use of the flexible horseshoe layout in its official documentation, it was implicitly part of the voice because it was the normal layout for the classrooms it used for TESOL. The Institution did offer a range of different types of classrooms including more traditional lecture theatres with fixed rows of seats. However, the Department always used the smaller classrooms with flexible tables and chairs that were arranged in variations of the horseshoe shape. It is interesting to note that when I was teaching and was faced with a classroom with desks not in a horseshoe shape, I felt far more comfortable teaching when I rearranged them into this shape (Participant Observation 3.13: Tuesday 4th August). The choice of smaller classrooms was partly due to the fact that class size was a maximum of fifteen. These two factors are two sides of the same coin as small class size is intrinsic to the creation of an orally interactive classroom using the horseshoe arrangement (see chapter 3.5.3.5).

6.3.5 The Use of Teaching Materials

In terms of how the teachers constructed teaching materials in their TESOL ideal, while it was implicitly accepted that there was an important role for course books, there was also the desire for creativity beyond them, particularly with the use of supplementary materials. This was consistent with the practices analysed in chapter 5.3.3 and 5.3.4 where the teachers used a mixture of course books and supplementary materials; something that was also encouraged in the Department voice and dominant discourse. The teachers' reliance on course books as the building blocks of many of their lessons was contrasted by their critical attitude to an over reliance on them. Something they considered the lesson extract suffered from. For example:

> Louise: …I mean it seemed to me that the lesson was, you know…the aim of the
> lesson…was dictated by the pages in the book they'd reached…don't you think so?
>
> (Group Interview 4.4: Discussion 2 - 27th May 1999)

> Janet: Yeah well I mean it was like was he going in the room to do page three and four and or
> was he going in the room because on page three and four he wanted to do this and this. That
> would be my feeling.
>
> (Group Interview 4.5: Discussion 3 - 2nd June 1999)

For the teachers then, a lesson should not be 'dictated' by a course book because this can make lessons boring and predictable as well as not giving the students the opportunity to practise the language. This can be most clearly avoided by the use of supplementary materials, particularly for oral practice tasks.

> Christopher: So for you supplementary materials are a way of providing practice.
> Louise: If the main book that you're using doesn't provide it then I would think that you need some kind of supplementary materials or a bank of ideas or a bank of activities in order to give the students more meaningful practice.
> Christopher: In a sense that was what was missing from the lesson.
> Louise: Yes, in my opinion yes.
> Nigel: Yeah I agree with that.
>
> (Group Interview 4.4: Discussion 2 - 27th May 1999)

What this example also reveals is that, for the teachers, the need for supplementary materials may be due to the inadequacies of a "dated" and "not exactly communicative" (Group Interview 4.3: Discussion 1 - 24th May 1999) course book that does not provide freer practice and production tasks. Even in the well-resourced BANA context of the Department with its abundant supply of the latest course books, Dominique argued for the possibility of using supplementary materials during the summer course.

> Dominique: … it's like here with … the syllabus and the modules and the rest of it, the set books and we can just follow the book … or you can take a bit of it and add a few other bits from outside that might have, that should have some relevance to them. It's so open isn't it.
>
> (Group Interview 4.7: Discussion 5 – 29th July 1999)

The use of supplementary materials and the desire to be not over reliant on the course book cannot, I believe, be read as a desire to deviate from the pedagogical norms of the Department voice and the dominant discourse. As I argued in the last chapter, the only deviation that happened was in terms of themes and topics in a non-examined term. Taken from a broader perspective there was for most times conformity within the parameters of the pedagogy in terms of language and content (see chapter 5.3.5). The evidence here suggests that the use of supplementary materials is just that. They act as a *supplement* to the deficiencies of a course book providing practice and production tasks or providing relevance for the students. Dominique explained later in the interview that "relevance" meant finding texts that could motivate and interest students such as the lyrics from pop songs. This relates to the notion of students as 'customers' (see 6.5.2 below). These supplementary materials were within the parameters of the institutional voice of the dominant discourse as they were, like the course books, published by the major TESOL publishers (for some examples see chapter 3, footnote 28). The teachers did, from time to time, create their own supplementary materials: for example, Nathan (Participant Observation 3.2: Monday 20th

July) and Peter (Participant Observation 3.32: Tuesday 1st September)(see also chapter 5.3.1). I never got the impression, however, that these materials deviated from the norm. For example, Peter's materials were taken from some texts in a non-ESOL text book for a class on British Life and Culture for the Tokyo group.

> We went over the materials and discussed them for the class on the British education system.
> He had done some OHTs which would be useful for me and he said that I could have them.
> …. Then he said what he has done, or is going to do, is blank out items in the text and turn it
> into gap fill exchange. He said that it is the best way to do this kind of stuff with these type of
> students, so they would really understand the important bits.
>
> (Participant Observation 3.32: Tuesday 1st September)

Peter had then converted a series of texts into information-gap tasks, the *classic* mainstream TESOL task (Holliday 1994a: 170-171 & see chapter 5.4.2.5).

6.3.6 The Ideal Lesson and Actual Practice: Lesson Aims and Lesson Constraints

The possibility of the TESOL ideal being achieved in actual practice was, for the teachers, dependent on their being lesson aims and on the constraints posed by contextual factors. A lesson and its 'activities' could only be successful if there were clear aims that the lesson fulfilled; aims that should fit within the overall course aims as expressed in the timetable. In the group interviews, many of the teachers criticised the task I had set them because the lesson extract I had asked them to discuss was decontextualised: without knowing such things as the lesson aims it would be difficult to *evaluate* the extract. For example:

> Roger: I think the difficulty with this and making a comment is that we don't know really
> know what the aims of the lesson were, their level uhm what they done is timetable fit. If you
> have more context, then we would be able to say "Well he's not achieving his aims." You
> know.
>
> (Group Interview 4.3: Discussion 1 - 24th May 1999)

> Janet: …it is hard to see from my point of view what the lesson was about or aiming at…
> Simon: Mm.
>
> (Group Interview 4.5: Discussion 3 - 2nd June 1999)

It is interesting to note that I had not actually asked the teachers to evaluate the extract but discuss their reaction to it. Perhaps this was sign of how lesson observation is intimately tied up with evaluation (i.e. examination) in the localised discourse (see chapter 7.2.3.3). Without the aims being clearly defined, the teachers often made great efforts to try and work out what the aims of the lesson extract were. The teachers

also tried to establish other contextual factors to explain the deviations from their TESOL ideal that they identified in the extract. Such contextual factors revolved around the pressures of the educational institution or government department that may have prescribed the pedagogy, the course book and/or the syllabus used; as well as other physical and material restrictions on the teacher. This was often done by drawing on their own language education experience in Britain and abroad. Janet and Simon brought this up after I had to explain to them an element of the lesson extract.

> Janet: Yeah well you see that's the background that you've got that we don't have. You know are they so like the capital letters, they're so used to it, this is the…the ethos of the establishment, this is how it all works, we know when we read this, we've got to read to understand. We don't have to be…
> Simon: That's true, he might be restricted by the text book. He's probably been told like on day one you cover these pages, and day two these pages…
> Janet: Mm.
> Simon: …so we don't know. Because certainly in Northern Cyprus that was very much the case, erm some of the teachers would've liked to have been a little more experimental but that they had to cover a certain amount of pages. I mean not grammatical points but pages in a particular lesson.
>
> (Group Interview 4.5: Discussion 3 - 2nd June 1999)

One element in this extract which occurred in many of the interviews was the concern with "capital letters". All the participants who noted that the teacher in the extract used the upper case when writing on the board pointed out that they were taught not to do this (as indeed I was). Janet typified this concern of trying to find a reason for this deviation from the TESOL ideal wondering if it was due to the "ethos of the establishment".

Contextual factors being constraints on the development of *the learning group ideal* is something that is identified in Holliday's critique of BANA pedagogic transfer to TESEP contexts (see chapter 3.2.2). The teachers in the study appeared to be reproducing this norm from the dominant discourse. A good example of this was the teachers' suggestions for organising different interaction patterns based around group work when there is a large class with rows of desks (see 6.3.4 above). This problem of the incommensurability between the TESOL ideal and TESOL as it is practised in other contexts will be returned to in the examination of the contradictions of the pedagogy (see 6.7 & 6.8 below). Unsurprisingly, the participants never cited any contextual constraints on the ideal in terms of teaching caused by the Department and Institution. I say *unsurprisingly* because, as the evidence suggests, the Department voice was so consistent with the teacher voice in regards to teaching the ideal.

6.3.7 Consistency and Teaching the TESOL Ideal

As the analysis suggests, there was a great deal of consistency between the teachers' construction, their practices, the Department voice, and the mainstream discourse. This could be seen in the pedagogic construction of English in terms of language as system and as communication; of dividing this construction by level; and in terms of believing that language should be taught monolingually. It could be seen in the influence of PPP; the preference for inductive learning and student-student interaction patterns; and finally in the use of teaching materials. This consistency, however, is replaced with tensions and conflicts when the ideals of class, student and teacher are brought into play.

These findings reveal the reproduction of a pedagogy in which optimum language learning can be achieved through precisely prescribed norms regarding lesson structure, ways of learning, interaction patterns, and use of materials. Such a technology can not only be easily trained in teachers, but can be seen as a part of discipline in the operation of *biopower* (see chapter 7.2.3). The actual rationale for this 'method', principally based around learner-centredness, is problematic (see 6.7 below).

6.4 The Ideal Class

While the ideal of how a lesson should be structured and taught seemed commensurate with the practice of the pedagogy and the Department voice, there was a tension between the teachers' construction of an ideal class and decisions made by the Department regarding classes. TESOL in the Department was run on a commercial basis which meant that management thinking in certain areas owed more to a business culture and discourse than to educational principles. There was then a business discourse – education discourse conflict. Most obviously this was a conflict between the teachers and management, but it was also a conflict that was present within the teachers; a conflict between their TESOL professionalism and their awareness that it was necessary for the Department to make a profit in order to have a job.

6.4.1 The Business – Education Conflict: Class Formation and Maintenance

The conflict was then between the teachers being educators immersed in a dominant discourse that, to a certain extent, was influenced by public-sector education values while at the same being workers in a private-sector commercial service whose priority was profit. This conflict can also be seen more broadly in the tension in the dominant discourse between the academic voice of applied linguistics predominantly based in state-sector higher education and the institutional voice which constructs TESOL as an 'industry' (cf. Bowers 1986; Duff 1997; Hedge, Brumfit & Coleman 1995). An interesting case of this business-education tension is UCLES; an important member of the institutional voice. This examination body for

both teacher training and 'EFL' is run on a profit basis whilst still being part of the University of Cambridge (see http://www.cambridge-efl.org).

The conflict existed in the Department because while it was in a state-education institution, its source of income was from the fees paid directly by the students or their sponsors. Whilst I am aware that since the time of the fieldwork, paying fees is now a requirement of UK undergraduates at the Institution and thus the business-education tension is not unique to TESOL, the fact that the fees for ESOL students were very high (e.g. £174 per week excluding accommodation in 2002) and that students or their sponsors tended to pay *up front* rather than through student loans made the ESOL provision far more like a service industry than the rest of the educational provision at the Institution. This was further marked out by the unpredictability of student numbers. Unlike in many of the other departments in the Institution which had a relatively stable number of undergraduates and postgraduates throughout the year, the numbers ESOL students varied during and between terms, while their supply was reliant on the marketing activities of the Overseas Unit. One obvious need for a cadre of temporary teachers was to solve the problems of sudden influxes of students particularly during the summer.

The teachers were very much aware of the commercial nature of the ESOL operation in the Department. For example, the issue of student fees often came up in various ways during the Wednesday afternoon meetings. On one occasion, a problem was raised to Sharon, the director of the Overseas Unit, about whether students fees for various teachers' courses covered the entry to museums as some of the students had thought that it had (Participant Observation 3.9: Wednesday 29th July). In the same meeting, the relationship between student fees and number of teachers was raised in a discussion of the Tokyo group.

> Then the Tokyo Group issue came up again. It was brought up that in the afternoons there would be 24 students. It was asked if there would be enough money for two groups with two teachers, or would I have to teach the whole group.
>
> (ibid.)

Despite this awareness, the teachers were immersed in educational principles within their ideal. These came into tension and conflict with the Department in how it was considered best to form and maintain a class. This conflict had three elements: the duration of student stay on a course or on courses; the mixture of nationalities in a class; and finally the level of a class. The teachers' ideal for these elements were as follows:

- Duration:
    - A class should contain the same students from the beginning to the end of a course

- o It is better for students to be in one class on one long course rather than in different classes on a series of short courses.
- Nationality:
  - o A class should have a mixture of different nationalities.
  - o This means that students have different mother tongues, that is to say, different nationalities and nationalities that do not share the same mother tongue.
  - o A class should not have an overabundance of students from one world region.
- Level:
  - o A class should have students at the same level. The level that the class is described as should be the actual level of the students.

I will now examine how these ideals came into conflict with the Department's business discourse and practices.

6.4.1.1 Course Duration

A pertinent example of the duration problem was shown in the way that the summer school was divided into a series of self-contained two-week courses. Many students stayed for longer than the two weeks of a course which, as pointed out by the course director in a Wednesday afternoon meeting, was problematic:

> Jaclyn said that there is no way around it … The students had been sold two-week courses, and if they take multiples of two-week courses this causes problems. It is not sold as a six or eight-week course. So there is a problem of repeating things and repeating courses. The discussion went onto how before they offered four-week and six-week courses and not two-week courses, but because of economic changes the head of the department decided that they should have two-week courses.
>
> (Participant Observation 3.24: Wednesday 19th August)

For the teachers in this meeting, educationally it would have been better to have had these longer-term students on a longer course. However, this was not possible because it was more economically viable to sell shorter summer courses so that those students who only wanted to study for shorter periods could attend. This problem of some students staying for longer periods than others during the summer school had a direct repercussion on teacher practice, as the following conversation in the temporary teachers' room demonstrates.

> I … go upstairs into the teachers' room and see John and Eric who are both working in their normal places: Eric with his back to the door, John in the right-hand corner. Eric goes up to near John and points out a course book which he says would be more suitable for his class,

but he cannot use it because there are two students who are staying on for the next module.[45]
He is annoyed because he would really like to use it.

<div align="right">(Participant Observation 3.7: Monday 27th July)</div>

The economic decision then to have a series of two-week courses that the students could repeat led to new classes at the beginning of course containing a mixture of old and new students, which could compromise what the teachers thought was educationally best for their students.

This problem of mixing *old* and *new* was not unique to the summer courses as students were permitted to stay for as many academic terms as they wished. A new academic term not only saw the creation of new classes with this mixture of the old and new but also a mixture of students from different previous classes. This happened because the number of classes that could be formed was dependent on the number of students there were, which appeared to be based on the ratio of approximately one class (i.e. teacher) for every twelve students. If this ratio was not meant and there fewer students per teacher, a profit could not be made. Thus if there were not a great deal of students, there were only a few classes. This was very much the case with 'Roses'.

> S: Yeah, it was a group that was reforming also and we were worried that the people who were in the group, who had been placed in the group initially as an upper intermediate group might have felt a bit off with having people coming up from what was obviously a lower group into their group was that bringing their group level down and stuff ...

<div align="right">(Interview 2.1: Sara - 3rd June 1998)</div>

While in theory students had to start a course at the beginning of a term and finish at the end of one, this was not always the case as students were allowed to join classes in mid term; another potential source of disruption as was the case with Ahmed in 'Roses'.

> S: … when Ahmed came in that was another shift in it and...erm...I think there were a few unsuccessful lessons after Ahmed came in where his expectations were totally different. The class had been kind of, you know, trained as it were to expect certain things from the lesson and Ahmed wanted different things and then that was disrupting my mode with that class as it were.

<div align="right">(Interview 2.1: Sara - 3rd June 1998)</div>

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[45] For each of the five levels in the summer course syllabus, there were three separate two-week modules (Document 6.3). Each of these separate modules were designed to be at the same level but covering different work so that if a student did another module at the same level, they would not repeat work.

In my own teaching experience in the Department, I even saw students joining mid-course during the summer school. What this evidence demonstrates is that the provision of ESOL appeared to be a series of self-contained courses with beginnings, middles and ends. However, with the need for as many students as possible, students could if necessary join a course when they wanted. In fact the summer school was designed in such a way so that a maximum amount of students could be attracted with courses built around two-week modules. This lack of continuity of students in classes caused problems for the teachers which was in direct conflict and tension with their ideal; a lack of continuity that strangely echoes the lack of continuity in their own professional lives (see 6.6.2.1 below).

6.4.1.2 Nationality Mixture

The disproportionate number of certain nationalities in classes was another problem which directly contradicted the teachers' classroom ideal. The ideal of a class containing a mixture of different nationalities was particularly compromised by the over-proportionate presence of Japanese students during the participant observation. This was discussed in one of the Wednesday meetings.

> Then Jaclyn reports back from the Overseas Unit about the problem of having too many Japanese students and you need to boost European numbers in August and July. We have quite a long discussion on this … We got onto a discussion on marketing … We talk about Sharon at the Overseas Unit; how she is as a marketing manager … Jaclyn say "It's a battle, it's a headache, it's so frustrating to get the marketing people to do what you want, go to the countries we want to get people because we notice a conspicuous absence of particularly east European students, Russian students, South American students and Arab students."
>
> (Participant Observation 3.29: Wednesday 26th August)

The problem here, according to the teachers, lay with the marketing policies of the Overseas Unit which at the time seemed to be centred on Japan perhaps because it provided a plentiful supply of students. Whilst during the period of the participant observation the Japanese formed the largest nationality group, this was not the only example of disproportionate nationalities, nor only a problem for the teachers, as I discovered after my first lesson with a new class.

> I had problems with one of the students (Javier) who was not happy with the class because there were too many young Spanish students speaking Spanish (he was also Spanish). He felt he was not improving his English.
>
> (Participant Observation 3.2: Monday 20th July)

This mixed-nationality ideal seemed to be shared by many of the students. The teachers then not only preferred mixed nationalities but were also under pressure by the students to conform to this. Creating

mixed-nationality classes was not just difficult because the Japanese and Spanish were the two largest nationality groups but because forming classes by level did not necessarily lead to nationally-mixed classes.

6.4.1.3 Level

The problem of putting students into classes where they all had a roughly equivalent level of English was problematised by the fact that the ideal number of classes that would correspond to the range of levels in a cohort of students did not always equate with the actual number of classes that could be formed. One example of this was discussed in a Wednesday meeting where a student was the only complete beginner in a cohort and so had to be put into a higher elementary class (Participant Observation 3.14: Wednesday 5th August). This therefore meant that students were sometimes put into classes at a different level to their own. This problem, as Jaclyn noted in a Wednesday meeting, often arose with the two-week summer courses.

> [Jaclyn] … added that this had been a problem before, and students left having done an upper-intermediate course but not being upper-intermediate.
>
> (Participant Observation 3.24: Wednesday 19th August)

As discussed in 6.4.1.1, this happened because a ratio of students to each teacher had to be established in order to make a profit. In addition to the problem of placing a cohort of students into a set of classes that reflected their level, there was also the problem that while a cohort may have had a range of nationalities, certain nationalities may have been disproportionately of one level leading to classes dominated by one nationality.

6.4.2 Conflict and Tensions: The Example of the "Terrible Turtles"

A good example of the conflict and tensions with the Department voice in terms of duration, nationality and level could be seen with the problems I had with one of my classes, the 'Turtles', during the participant observation. Due to their complaints, this class were baptised by Terrence as the "terrible Turtles" (Participant Observation 3.16: Friday 7th August).

> I ended up having a chat with one of the students (Marcia) from the 9.00 class who was dissatisfied with the group. She said she represented some of the students of the group, which I believe are the Europeans. She said that they felt that the class was too easy, and easier than the class they had had in the previous course. This is something that I am going to have to sort out. This kind of problem of level has happened to me many times before.
>
> (Participant Observation 3.13: Tuesday 4th August)

The problem with the class was that there had been a mainly European group of students half of whom had left at the end of one module while the other half had continued into a new module where they were joined by members of the Japanese Tokyo group for most of their classes. The Tokyo group students were considered by the Europeans in the class to have a lower level. In the two lessons when the Tokyo group students were taught separately for options (by myself), the rest of class were mixed with students from a lower group.

The teachers struggled with a situation which they disagreed with because it conflicted with their ideal and which was also the potential cause of disharmony amongst the students. As I have argued, the TESOL ideal appears to derive from the norms of the dominant discourse. However, the ideals in terms of class formation and maintenance are not as evident in the discourse as the other categories that have been discussed so far. It is more implied in its monolingual bias which suggest a multi-national class ideal and in the way that teaching materials and examinations are categorised by level which would strongly suggest that classes should be divided by level. The Department voice itself also shares these elements of the TESOL ideal (c.f. Document 6.3: Summer Course Syllabus; Document 6.11: Academic Year Syllabus). However, it appears that on these matters, the ideal cannot be met because of the priority of profit. The next section details how the teachers themselves reproduced a business discourse concerning their students which appeared to be in conflict with their TESOL ideal.

> These findings reveal a problem central to the TESOL profession: it is concerned with educational provision, but is run as a private-sector 'industry'. An 'industry' where profit in the end comes before educationally-defined professional standards. This conflict is not unique to TESOL but is part of broader tendencies in late-modern society (see chapter 7.2.4).

6.5 The Ideal Student

The teachers' had two separate constructions of a student. A construction that was part of their TESOL ideal, which was derived from the dominant discourse built on educational principles, and a construction of the student as a 'customer' that they shared with the Department voice. A construction that appeared to be derived from a business discourse. This second construction came into conflict with various aspects of the teachers' TESOL ideal.

6.5.1 The Construction of the Ideal Student

For the teachers, the ideal student should enthusiastically respond to the pedagogy used and be motivated to learn within this pedagogy. This is indicated by a student orally participating as much as possible. The student should also take a course seriously and act maturely. If the student does not fit this profile, they are a problem and may be in need of learner training. This construction reproduces the dominant discourse with

it stress on the need for learner training for those students whose learning styles do not meet the *learning group ideal* (Holliday 1997a: 411-412 & cf. Hedge 1993: 92; Tudor 1996: ix-xi, 34-65).

One of the clearest demonstrations in the data of this construction was when the teachers discussed those students who did not fit this profile. A good example of this was a class that was considered problematic throughout the period of the participant observation. This class of "awkward long-staying students" (Participant Observation 3.21: Friday 14th August), I will describe as the *problem class*. The principal problem with the students in this class was that they resisted the pedagogy.

> … Jaclyn … talks about the long-term students in her second class, i.e. her class from John, the second from top. She says that they are a problem: they sit back and expect, as if they have experienced everything. They made nasty criticisms in the reports, and teaching them reminded her of this. She thought that they needed aspects of self-directed learning. … They needed to realise that they had more work to do.
>
> (Participant Observation 3.24: Wednesday 19th August)

Jaclyn's comments suggest that students' enthusiasm for the pedagogy is demonstrated by their active participation in a lesson rather than *sitting back and expecting*. There is also the suggestion that an autonomous approach to learning is desirable (i.e. "self-directed learning"), which can be achieved through learner training. The issue of this class was raised later that day in a staff meeting where these points were reiterated by Jaclyn, John and Linus. The issue of motivation was also raised.

> … Jaclyn said that they had no interest in learning English, yet they generally needed it for their future studies in Britain.
>
> (Participant Observation 3.24: Wednesday 19th August)

This class, which appeared to have had enough of the pedagogy yet needed English, is an indicator of the problematic nature of the pedagogy (see 6.7 & 6.8 below and chapter 7.2.2).

Another group of students who were problematised during the participant observation were the Japanese because the teachers believed they did not orally participate well enough in the classroom. This was identified in the testing process where the Japanese students tended to be put in lower classes.

> I asked [Terrence] about how the marking was going. He said that it was always the same. The Japanese students' written level was always much better than their spoken level, which always caused a problem. He added that this written work is always one level above the spoken, and they always went into the lower group.

In one staff meeting, there was a discussion of this 'problem'. It was pointed out that a large amount of Japanese students dominated the lower classes and were reticent to speak which "upset other students" (Participant Observation 3.24: Wednesday 19th August). The cause of this reticence was explored.

> Matthew made the point that the real problem is that the Japanese students do not like talking in front of the European students; they defer to them. I was not to sure what he meant by defer. Then Peter talked about this. What he meant is that the Japanese students look to the European ones to answer first. I said I do not particularly agree with this, and said it was a problem of pragmatics, of turn-taking, that it is a discourse problem and cultural problem.
>
> (Participant Observation 3.24: Wednesday 19th August)

The construction of this 'problem' was not idiosyncratic to the Department. East Asian students apparent unwillingness to participate orally in BANA classrooms is an area of interest in applied linguistics (e.g. Holliday 1998c; Hyde 1993; Flowerdew 1998; Liu & Littlewood 1997).

Active participation by this motivated, autonomous learner was constructed in terms of classroom interaction and dynamics. This student is expected to talk in and out of classes to other students and to the teacher. Students who readily talked to each other when doing and not doing a task helped to create a dynamic, active classroom and improved their English. This element of the construction emerged in the teacher interviews and the participant observation.

> S: Uhm...yeah the dynamics was good, they were all happy, they were all, there was a lot of, you know, energy in the class, which was good and I like that. I'm not too happy with very quiet classes which is my fault, it's something I have to get used to liking silence, which this class tends to be very quiet and I tend to worry that nothing is going on where I think it is probably sometimes stuff is going on …
>
> (Interview 2.1: Sara - 3rd June 1998)

> S: ... what I noticed today was I went in and they were all chattering to each other and talking to each other and, I had actually to stop them to start the lesson, which I think is quite nice because they're obviously kind of interested in each other and talking to each other …
>
> (Interview 2.3: Sandra - 1st October 1998)

> … I saw Esther and Jaclyn while I was with Terrence. In fact we were just outside Jaclyn's office and we were talking about how some students focus all their work in college … We

then discussed how some students thought that the only way they can improve their English is by working very hard in the lab, while we thought that the social aspects of mixing with other people, and talking to other people also helps to consolidate their English.

(Participant Observation 3.16: Friday 7th August)

The orally interactive student who is "able to fill time with talk" (Louise in Group Interview 4.4: Discussion 2 - 27th May 1999) must also be an autonomous learner in the sense of not being over reliant on the teacher but being capable of learning from his or her peers. Sandra gave an example of this when she noted how some of her students "were really trying to help each other with pronunciation problems" interpreting this as an indication of it being a good class who "all wanted to get on" (Interview 2.3: Sandra - 1st October 1998). In the group interviews, there was a more direct link made to the notion of autonomy.

> Christopher: What about autonomy? What do you mean by that?
> Roger: Erm...the fact that very often students become over reliant on the teacher and the
> teacher is the fount of all knowledge, and they're not actually looking to their peers for help
> and that they can learn as much from their peers and that, in a sense, empowers in that it...it
> means well we do know things, it's not just the teacher, I can help...
> Margaret: As least they can find out some things.
>
> (Group Interview 4.3: Discussion 1 - 24th May 1999)

This autonomy in the ideal student was seen in broader terms by Sara as a student's "responsibility" for their own learning (Interview 2.1: Sara - 3rd June 1998) where students are expected to learn from each other, be motivated to learn and have a positive attitude towards the pedagogy. This cohabits with an attitude of maturity. The criterion that an ideal student should have a mature attitude in the classroom was indicated more explicitly in a discussion in the temporary teachers' room.

> … Eric was discussing his immature advanced class, particularly in terms of two Hong
> Kong/Canadian students. In I.T. they appeared to be experts and they were downloading
> software from the Internet in order to use chat lines. They were getting other students to use
> chat lines. According to Eric, these chat lines were very immature with people sending
> ungrammatical, badly-spelt abuse at each other. For him it was not developing their English,
> and certainly the students were not developing … John made a point about the subject of
> maturity at the same time. He said that Rene and Javier in my class helped to give a sense of
> maturity to the class, and pulled the girls up. While Eric mentioned that he felt that Claudio
> added a good sense of maturity to his class, and was glad that he had been moved to his class.
>
> (Participant Observation 3.5: Thursday 23rd July)

In a similar fashion to the way in which the teachers tried to deal with contextual constraints by suggesting means to overcome them (see 6.3.6 above), the teachers also made suggestions on how to help learners fit the pedagogy, i.e. forms of learner training (see chapter 3.5.2.1). This occurred in the staff meeting where the Japanese 'problem' was discussed. The teachers suggested solutions to this 'problem'.

> Terrence gave an example of how he dealt with it by telling the students what they should try
> and do, and how they should act, in conversation. I said that when it is just Japanese students
> I can deal with them in a certain way by giving them time to prepare before they speak to me,
> e.g. let them work on their own and then give me the answers to a task.
>
> (Participant Observation 3.24: Wednesday 19th August)

There were many other references, implicit and explicit, to learner training in the data. For example, Sara explicitly referred to how she trained her students "to expect certain things from the lesson" (Interview 2.1: Sara - 3rd June 1998) while Margaret more implicitly refers to it when discussing the class in the video extract noting "when you get a class like that and you say get into groups, they're totally lost so they'd need a bit of preparation beforehand" (Group Interview 4.3: Discussion 1 - 24th May 1999).

The construction of an ideal student as an autonomous, motivated learner who may require learner training to become so is clearly a reproduction of norms of the dominant discourse (see chapter 3.5.2). Likewise the value of an actively participating student where speech is prioritised and the problematising of students who do not conform to this are also key norms (see chapter 3.5.3.5). These are all norms of weak communicative language teaching that fit comfortably with the teachers' TESOL ideal. A pedagogy that is concerned with active participation that requires well motivated and mature students willing to work and learn from each other is part of an overall construction of learner-centredness that will be problematised below (see 6.7 below).

6.5.2 The Construction of the Student as Customer

The second construction the teachers had of the student, that of being a customer, appeared to be not part of a pedagogic ideal but of a business discourse shared by the Department. This second construction seemed to be in tension with their construction of a student ideal as well as their TESOL ideal as a whole.

This construction was evident in the Department voice in the fact that students were given end-of-course questionnaires (Document 6.24: Academic Year Student Evaluation Questionnaire; Document 6.25: Summer Course Student Evaluation) and there was a staff-student meeting during an academic term (Observation 1.11: 26/1/98). These were used to assess the students satisfaction with a course and seemed to be taken seriously. For example, Jaclyn in a Wednesday meeting summarised the results of a set questionnaires from one course (Participant Observation 3.19: Wednesday 12th August). While these

practices were not necessarily in conflict with educational ideals, there were other Department practices based on this construction which were. One example of this was when certain students were pointed for special treatment or attention because they knew, or were related to, either an agent that sent students to the Department or to a course leader that came with the students. Agents and course leaders were people who lived in the same countries as the students. Agents had a marketing-sales role; they gained a commission from the Department for every student they sent from their country to study at the Institution. Course leaders accompanied groups of their students from one country to study either on closed or multinational courses at the Institution. They normally had positions in educational institutions in their countries and were responsible for deciding where their students would study English or English teacher training.

> At break, Jaclyn spoke to me in the corridor on the stairway about a new student who was
> arriving today and she had not known about this. This new student had some relationship
> with Mario, the leader of the Greek teachers. Therefore, this student would need special
> treatment.
>
> (Participant Observation 3.5: Thursday 23rd July)

The rationale here seemed to be, if this student was treated well, he or she might relay how good the Department was to Mario, which might encourage Mario to use the Department in the future for his students. Another example of this was the way in which I was ordered to do the reports for the Tokyo group students.

> … the reports I am writing now … essentially involve ticking boxes that are divided into the
> areas of language (lexis, pronunciation and grammar), the four skills, effort and attendance.
> This is a set form from the Tokyo Group university with each area graded from A to D.
> However, the head of the department informed us that every student must have grades
> ranging from A to B because they must pass this course (it counts as part of their degree).
> Therefore, we do not really give them marks that actually reflect their level and achievement.
>
> (Participant Observation 3.33: Wednesday 2nd September)

This compromise was therefore made to please the Tokyo group university and help guarantee more students from them. Marking out certain students for preferential treatment or writing reports that in effect have no reflection on the actual achievements of the students were clearly in conflict with educational ideals of fairness and equality. These ideals are not just fundamental to the pedagogy in the dominant discourse (see chapter 3.5.2), but are fundamental, I believe, to the liberal humanist 'Enlightenment project' that dominates our late modern society (see chapter 2.2) particularly in education.

The teachers were also very much aware that their students were paying customers. As Peter pointed out in interview "students have paid money, they've come here" (Group Interview 4.7: Discussion 5 – 29th July 1999). Consequently, the students' presence is not guaranteed and therefore they must be considered as customers who need to be retained. The tension between the students constructed as 'customers' who essentially paid the teachers' wages and the TESOL ideal was particularly found in problems of class levels, the assessment of lesson success, and the use of informality. These three areas will now be discussed.

The principal aim of placing students into classes at the beginning of a course was to create for each class a set of students with a similar level of English that would follow a course commensurate to their level. However, as the "terrible Turtles" example in 6.4.1.4 above demonstrates, in practice this was often a source of problems because sometimes students were not happy with the level of the class they were in. There was a tendency for certain students particularly, although not uniquely, in the summer courses to continually ask different members of staff if they could go up a class. This was the case of a Japanese student Hide in one of my classes, who was finally put up in the meeting that followed this conversation.

> Both Peter and Esther were discussing Hide from my class and how he wanted to move. So
> he had actually gone to them to talk about it, as well as having talked to me about it.
>
> (Participant Observation 3.24: Wednesday 19th August)

Decisions about whether a student should go up were not always made on the basis of the student's ability in relationship to their peers in the class that they were in, i.e. on the basis that if they were the strongest student in their class, they could go up. It was students that complained like Hide who tended to be put up, rather than say an equally-strong student who said nothing. In other words, if a student complained long enough and was one of the stronger ones in their class, the teachers and course director often conceded to their request. These compromises were made, it seems, in order to keep the customer "happy", as was demonstrated in one Wednesday meeting.

> Matthew mentioned that one of his students wanted to go up. Apparently the student wanted
> to go up before, but Matthew and Dominique decided not to put her up. Jaclyn said "If it
> keeps her happy, why not."
>
> (Participant Observation 3.19: Wednesday 12th August)

Sometimes students' complaints about level meant not putting them up but the teacher changing the level of the lesson to meet the students' requirements. This happened with the "terrible Turtles". It was discussed in a Wednesday meeting.

… I described the problem of my class. In fact, Jaclyn knew about this. I suggested my possible solutions: up-tempoing the 9.00 lessons with me; then changing the course book at 11.00; and changing the option classes at two.

(Participant Observation 3.14: Wednesday 5th August)

I was not the only teacher who had to do this to keep the students 'happy', as Terrence revealed to me in a conversation.

He asked me how my class was getting on, calling them "the terrible turtles." He was obviously aware of the problem because it had been discussed in the Wednesday meeting. I said that they seemed all right, but they were essentially two different classes: the Tokyo Group and the ones who had been there before. Then he talked about his class, and some of the problems there with the different levels in it. He told me "I sold it to them" meaning that he had sold a way of getting across this problem by using a book with different levels, and using different levelled exercises from the book. I said "Well, yeah I sold it to mine as well."

(Participant Observation 3.16: Friday 7th August)

What is particularly interesting in this exchange is the way in which Terrence treats the students as 'customers' in his language, i.e. "I sold it to them".

Another area where pleasing the customer was evident was in how the teachers in the observation interviews considered lesson success. Success was dependent on the pedagogic effectiveness of a lesson in terms of language learning and practice, and also dependent on the students showing outward signs of being interested in and satisfied with the lesson.

...it seems successful because they seemed to be focusing on it and responding to it whereas other times they'd just think 'Ah boring, we're not interested in that kind if stuff.'
CA: So...so yeah, you measured your success in a, to a certain extent there by the fact, the level of interest of the students. Do you think?
S: Yeah, I think so, the level of interest, the level of engagement...and...erm...and then later the fact that they could remember them …

(Interview 2.1: Sara - 3rd June 1998)

S: Well just, having the...having the appearance of the students, the way they look...erm the way they interact, erm I mean the level of excitement that you can see has clearly been generated...erm...then measuring then maybe three weeks later when you actually do a recycling exercise and then it's quite clear that that's registered, they have actually got that,

they've understood that, they've overcome that particular problem, yeah...and erm...so you know well it's worked obviously they're happy as customers, in that particular situation because it's clear to see, and erm...I'm happy as a teacher because I've actually achieved the objective by measuring three weeks later, I mean, if whether or not they actually understood it, got it and memorised it, and erm...were able to use it effectively...

(Interview 2.2: Simon - 4th June 1998)

CA: You say it went down reasonably well, what do you mean by that?
S: Erm students seemed motivated and they actually said they really enjoyed it...I don't...I don't hold a great store with people saying they enjoy something, but they did actually say that and they seemed to, erm respond and work at it, and they seemed interested and motivated...and they seemed to get the task done, and they battled with the task and managed to sort of fulfil it in terms of the language work we were doing …

(Interview 2.3: Sandra - 1st October 1998)

As these extracts demonstrate, there was a subtle interplay between measuring success pedagogically, which can be seen as part of the TESOL ideal, and measuring it in terms of student interest and enjoyment. For the teachers, pedagogic success included the students' ability to do a task, to have learnt or understood something, or to have been successfully trained to do something. Student interest and enjoyment could be seen if a student's response to a lesson was positive, measured by their level of engagement in a task and their overall attitude to the work and, most importantly, students' outward indication of satisfaction with the lesson. Therefore, success is measured by the students' success in learning as defined by the pedagogy (e.g. "the way they interact" in a task) which should deliver customer satisfaction, but satisfaction may also depend on whether the students like what, and how, they are being taught. As Dominique recognised, dissatisfied paying customers, unlike school pupils, can leave a course.

Dominique: Well having been both sides of the fence like yourself I mean when I was doing erm adult studies, I was going up to adult studies for German and the lady actually was just a very sweet woman was just about to retire and it was the classic chalk and talk and very similar to this [referring to video]. We were there, she was here, she was doing most of it and er particularly adults…er…you can tell by their feet whether they're going to be there or not and slowly the attendance fell and fell and fell and then of course it was difficult for me because knowing as being a teacher anyway, knowing about other approaches etcetera …

(Group Interview 4.7: Discussion 5 – 29th July 1999)

Dominique constructed the students abandoning the adult education German lessons as a failure of the teacher's 'traditional' approach (i.e. pedagogy) satisfying the students. There is an evident potential source

of conflict in seeing lesson success as both pedagogic effectiveness and customer satisfaction in terms of interest and motivation. If students are only 'happy' with a pedagogy that the teachers may believe to be invalid as a means of language learning; such as a traditional one, then the two elements of success cannot be met. Whilst the teachers did have the possibility to use learner training to 'convince' their students of the appropriateness of the TESOL ideal, if this failed, as in the case of the *problem class*, the teachers had a real conflict in hand (see 6.5.1 above & 6.7.3.3 below).

Keeping the students happy in their lessons could also be another explanation for some aspects of the use of informality and the private in the observed lessons (see chapter 5.6.1). The requirement of a happy and motivated student could mean that motivation had to be created within the classroom by the teacher through the process of teaching. While avoiding student boredom could be achieved pedagogically through changing types of interaction in a lesson; through making sure the students participated in lessons; and through relating lessons to their lives; there was also evidence that teachers 'entertained' their students particularly with the use of humour. The most direct proponent of entertaining was Simon, who argued for it in both the individual interview (Interview 2.2: Simon - 4th June 1998) and in the group interview.

> Simon: … here with clients in a way or customers so to speak…erm not only do I feel that they've got to get value for money in terms of actually learning but I feel that I don't know it's just me it's just my interpretation I feel that I've to entertain them. I've got to make them happy being in the lesson…
>
> (Group Interview 4.5: Discussion 3 - 2nd June 1999)

This was something that Janet in the same interview agreed with, but was troubled by.

> Janet: …what are we saying about language learning what are we saying? What are we saying? You're saying people have to be entertained and I am sort of agreeing with you…
> Simon: Well not…
> Janet: …this is quite frightening I realise [laughs].
>
> (Group Interview 4.5: Discussion 3 - 2nd June 1999)

While Simon added that this was his "personal view" which he "would never inflict…upon anyone else" (ibid.), this thinking could also be found explicitly in the way that teachers used humour in the lessons I observed (see chapter 5.6.1). It was more implicitly found in the participants' critique of the lesson in the video extract as boring (see 6.7.1.1 below), and in the way that the teachers constructed certain practice tasks as 'games' (i.e. in Group Interviews 4.3, 4.4 and 4.7; and in Participant Observation 3.24: Wednesday 19th August).

Keeping the students happy could be another explanation for the teachers' management of discipline (see chapter 5.6.1). Whilst the practice of informality between the teachers and students at a broad level may have its theoretical basis in learner-centredness, in the management of discipline it also served to avoid conflicts between teachers and students. The logic being that a chastised student would make an unhappy 'customer'. This would in part explain why there was a certain laxity towards absenteeism and tardiness especially when compared to the official Department line in one of the documents for the students where certificates are only awarded to students with "regular and punctual attendance" (Document 6.7: EFL Course Information (for Students)). During the period of the fieldwork, I was never aware of a student not being given a certificate for this reason. Indeed, I was never aware of a student not being given a certificate *per se.*

6.5.3 Conflict and Tensions: Student or 'Customer'?

The teachers construction of their learners as both students and 'customers' lead to tensions and conflicts within their own practices. The evidence suggests that teachers, and indeed the Department, made decisions in order to "keep the customer happy" which were in tension and conflict with their TESOL ideal as a whole. Putting students into classes which might not have been their level and changing the level of work are two of the strongest examples of this. When considering the student ideal, it would seem that there was a tension between the desire for the students to have certain behavioural characteristics with the belief that they should be trained to have these characteristics and the fact that a customer had to be kept 'happy'. A potential conflict could arise if the student did not meet these characteristics and would rather not be trained to meet them; this conflict I believe occurred with the *problem class*. In such a case do you accede to the customers' wishes or do you maintain your educational principles with your TESOL ideal (see 6.7.3.3 below)? As regards the use of informality, there is the question of at what point the teacher would replace education with entertainment and at what point they would sacrifice their authority in order not to chastise their students. In more broader terms, Department practices in which customer satisfaction means the inequitable treatment of students and writing of patently meaningless reports brings to bear wider issues of educational ideals and commercial connivance.

The teachers' construction of student as both learner and customer indicates that the education-business conflict was operating in their voice. Therefore, the business discourse evident at an institutional level in the profession appears to be also working at a practitioner level in the profession; a discourse that helps to maintain TESOL as a low-status private-sector service profession (see chapter 7.2.1).

6.6 The Ideal Teacher

There were tensions and conflicts in the how the teachers constructed the ideal teacher and how they constructed their profession and their normal working lives. The teachers' ideal of professionalism

contrasted with the teachers' construction of a profession of low status and inferiority, and their construction of a daily heavy workload. These tensions and conflicts can be identified in how underlying their practice there was bubbling under the surface a tension between the desire to act professionally within the TESOL ideal and the expectations of being low-status service industry workers.

6.6.1 The Construction of the Ideal Teacher

There was evidence that the teachers held within the construct of a TESOL ideal a notion of an ideal teacher. Admittedly this was less elaborated than the other elements of the ideal. I believe this is because the teacher ideal was essentially a professionalism seem in commitment to the TESOL ideal. In other words, an ideal teacher was measured in how well they implemented the pedagogy.

In addition to the elements of the TESOL ideal described so far, the teachers in the group interviews tended to pick certain behavioural attributes that were considered important in teaching. These tended to revolve around the relationship the teacher created with his or her students.

> Margaret:...he did praise the students a lot, he certainly did seem to have a good relationship
> with them. He knew all their names and was asking people by name ...
> > (Group Interview 4.3: Discussion 1 - 24th May 1999)

> Janet: …I mean he didn't smile … interpersonal skills seemed a bit weak …
> > (Group Interview 4.5: Discussion 3 - 2nd June 1999)

> Sheila: … it wasn't just that he wasn't sitting down, he was just kind of pacing backward and
> forward all the time. He didn't look very comfortable to me. I don't know if that's just
> because there's a video camera or what but…I mean there were several times when he could
> have not necessarily even sat in a chair but just kind of sat on the desk…
> Reena: Yes perching on the desk.
> Sheila: …and looked more relaxed you know.
> Christopher: So it was just him not looking relaxed…
> Sheila: Yeah.
> > (Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 - 21st July 1999)

This construction fits into a notion of informality and the private (see 6.5.2 above & chapter 5.6.1) where the teacher must be relaxed, smile at the students and develop a good relationship with them. Another behavioural attribute was the notion that a teacher should be constantly involved in the process of teaching and learning, not taking a back seat in order that the students can work on something independently. The way in which the teachers were constantly involved and in control was made clear in the analysis of the

lesson observations (see chapter 5.6.2) and, while hinted at in the construction of the ideal so far discussed, is clearly defined in the construction of learner-centredness (see 6.7 below)

The ideal teacher then demonstrates professionalism in a commitment to the body of knowledge and skills that the TESOL ideal contains. Part of this ideal is a teacher who is affable, friendly, relaxed and involved. In addition to this, it is clear that to meet the TESOL ideal as a whole, in which it is necessary to prepare and teach motivating and varied lessons that do not necessarily rely on a course book, implies, with the other criteria above, a great deal of commitment from the teacher. Commitment to your work is indeed a key trait of a profession and professionalism (Brown & McCartney 2000: 179-182; Friedson 1994).

6.6.2 The Construction of the Profession and the Teachers' Working Lives

The professionalism identified in the teachers' construction of a teacher ideal was in conflict with the actual condition of the teachers' working lives and the interrelated status of the profession. The teachers revealed a certain construction of their profession as a whole and their profession in terms of their daily working lives at the Institution which gave, in various ways, a rather negative image of unease and dissatisfaction with the profession and their jobs combined with a certain identity confusion.

6.6.2.1 Low Status and a Sense of Inferiority

During the field work, the teachers did not often make broad explicit statements about how they considered their profession as a whole. However, from time to time there were occasional glimpses into their more explicit thinking on this matter and this evidence would suggest that the teachers thought that their profession had a low status and concomitantly there was something not quite right with it; that somehow it was inferior to other professions. This sense of inferiority was most explicitly expressed during a social gathering of some of the teachers in a pub near to the Institution. During a discussion on the problems of getting permanent positions, Linus blurted out "TEFL is a Mickey Mouse career" (Participant Observation 3.30: Thursday 27th August). Linus' dissatisfaction may have well been due to the fact that he was one of the sessional temporary teachers who were constantly looking for work in the Department. Indeed, Linus left the profession after the period of the field work. However, this sense of unease with the profession was not just limited to the temporary teachers; for example, the permanent teacher Simon revealed in a conversation in the Harmer building a sense of unease with the type of people that the profession attracts.

> …Nathan brings up a point that a teacher who was on the TEFL MA/Diploma course at the
> Institution that we had both known had just gone to prison for some form of child sexual
> abuse. We were both very shocked about this. We went upstairs looking for the local paper to
> see if we could find any information about this. I then talk to Simon about this, who

remembers this person and he says that he thinks TEFL might attract oddballs and people like that.

<div align="right">(Participant Observation 3.10: Thursday 30th July)</div>

I interpret Simon's assertion as follows: 'TEFL' is a profession that attracts "oddballs", therefore there must something odd about the profession itself to attract such people.

Rather than direct criticisms of the profession as a whole, the teachers tended to complain about their dissatisfaction with various aspects of their working lives at the Institution. I interpret these complaints as a more implicit construction of the low status and inferiority of their profession. One common area for this was problems with contracts and payments. For example:

> In this conversation…[John]…mentions that he has not yet signed his contract because he has been so busy. We discuss the subject of payment and that it was odd that our first payment was only for a week when it should have been for two weeks. He says that last year he waited a month for his salary, which he thought was ridiculous for a temporary worker.
>
> <div align="right">(Participant Observation 3.7: Monday 27th July)</div>

> In the coffee room…[Simon and I]…discussed some of the problems at the Harmer Building in terms of having to do more hours. Everyone has to do twenty-one hours, and previously they would do eighteen hours, which would give them enough time to prepare and get things ready. He said that it was the head of the department who had decided that everyone should do twenty-one hours …
>
> <div align="right">(Participant Observation 3.8: Tuesday 28th July)</div>

> Upstairs after the meeting, Linus and Peter were complaining about how long the meeting went on for. It had gone on until about 2.45. They said that it should finish at a particular time and they had been marked down in their hours on the contract that the meeting should go on for one hour.
>
> <div align="right">(Participant Observation 3.24: Wednesday 19th August)</div>

There are three noticeable points to be made about these complaints. Firstly, as in the criticisms of the profession as a whole, these complaints were not just from the temporary teachers. Therefore, complaining was not just a temporary teacher behaviour that could have a had a basis in their insecure position. Secondly, the third example is a clear case of how the teachers *constructed* that they were being badly treated. In fact, there was a certain contradiction in what Linus and Peter said as I noted as the time: "it was these two in particular who spoke for a long time making the meeting last longer" (Participant Observation

3.24: Wednesday 19th August). Finally, an important subtext in all these complaints is the heavy workload the teachers had: this prevented John signing the contract, and increased because of more teaching hours and longer meetings (see 6.6.2.2 below).

Whilst these complaints illustrate how the teachers considered that they were being treated by the Institution and Department, another implicit indication of low status occurred when teachers suggested a lack of commitment to their professional activities; a commitment that the literature would suggest a *profession* requires (Brown & McCartney 2000: 179-182; Friedson 1994) and contrasts with their teacher ideal. For example, Sandra hinted at the fact that she thought very little about her job in her free time.

> CA: Can you think of erm, if not a whole lesson, a, perhaps one that really strikes you from the past from your whole teaching career or if not that, incidents in classes, classes where you think that was successful.
> S: It's awful isn't it, it shows how much I think about EFL in my free time, I can't remember anything...
>
> (Interview 2.3: Sandra - 1st October 1998)

By prefixing her utterance with "It's awful isn't it", Sandra seems to indicate her own awareness that such a lack is not an admirable quality. Sara and Simon also found it initially difficult in the interviews to recall any classes they had taught prior to the ones that they were teaching at the time of the interview (Interview 2.1: Sara – 3rd June 1998; Interview 2.2: Simon - 4th June 1998). Lack of commitment was also signalled in other ways. For example, a conversation with Peter in the temporary teachers' room revealed a lack of commitment to lesson planning.

> After the afternoon class, I am upstairs with Peter…He made a joke saying "Here's my lessons for tomorrow, it's a bunch of arse."
>
> (Participant Observation 3.27: Monday 24th August)

I would not suggest that the claims made by Sandra and Peter revealed an actual lack of commitment to what they did in the class. Observing Sandra teaching did not indicate in any way a lack of commitment, while I have no evidence to either prove or disprove Peter's claim. However, what these statements do reveal is how the teachers constructed a lack of commitment to their professional activities. One possible interpretation of this is that their construction was a means to negate the importance of what they did because they were aware of their profession's low status and did not want to give the impression that they were committed to it. In other words, *if my profession is a Mickey Mouse one, what's the point of giving the impression that I'm committed to it?*

The last, and probably most implicit, indication of low status was not in the form of commentary on any aspect of their working lives but was indicated in an ongoing concern of the temporary teachers with looking for and getting work when their current contract ended. The following extract, relating to a conversation with Terrence in the Harmer basement, is a typical example of the concern with getting further work in the Institution.

> Then we talked about work and what work he is doing. He did not have any hours for next month but he hoped more students would turn up for next September. It seems a general problem for the temporary teachers like Terrence, to certain extent Peter, Matthew and so on that there is a concern about any work they can get hold of.
>
> (Participant Observation 3.27: Monday 24th August)

Many of the temporary teachers were also concerned with getting jobs in other institutions as separate conversations with Eric and Nathan in the temporary teachers office in Harmer revealed.

> Eric was there using the Internet on the computer to look for jobs…and he was discussing the type of jobs he was looking for. We discussed jobs, particularly abroad, e.g. the benefits of working in central and south America, Mexico and so on, as opposed to the Middle East which did not interest him. We talked about the plusses and minuses of each area.
>
> (Participant Observation 3.14: Wednesday 5th August)

> I arrive in the office and Nathan is sitting in my usual place preparing. We talk about him leaving on Friday; he is taking a job in the Middle East.
>
> (Participant Observation 3.19: Wednesday 12th August)

The temporary teachers' lives were marked out by a series of short-term and part-time contracts at various institutions. There was then a lack of continuity in their professional lives. Evidence of this lack of continuity was shown in the number of times I came across teachers during the fieldwork whom I had know before professionally in other institutions; for example.

> I asked Eric if Terrence had been at a local private language school, because that is where I suddenly remembered him from. I think Terrence had interviewed me for a job seven or eight years previously (or more?).
>
> (Participant Observation 3.12: Monday 3rd August)

> Then afterwards, I was going upstairs and I saw the head of the Department and Jaclyn with a group of people in their twenties or above, who were quite smartly dressed. Amongst them, I

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saw an old colleague, Bob from an adult education college with whom I had worked in 1996. I had a chat with him, and I found out that they were being interviewed for Sara's job.

(Participant Observation 3.13: Tuesday 4th August)

Such a lack of permanence where these teachers worked at various private language schools and state educational FE and HE institutions on short-term contracts and so being forced to move from job to job in the region and beyond it could not, I believe, engender for the teachers a sense of a high status in what they did.

The teachers' construction of low status correlates with how the TESOL 'industry' operates (see chapter 3.2) suggesting a covert construction of low status in the institutional voice of the dominant discourse. It also correlates with how the Department voice constructed the low status of the teachers. This was subtly marked out in three ways. Firstly, in the way that the teachers were classified as further education *teachers* as compared to the higher education *lecturers* in the Department. This was not simply an issue of names; it had contractual implications. One FE teaching hour equalled a 1.7 HE hour. Permanent members of the Department had to do a certain number of teaching hours per year and consequently FE staff had to teach a lot more than HE staff while part-time FE staff where paid less than part-time HE staff. Secondly, while having a small core of permanent teachers, many of the teachers were employed on a sessional basis. Of the twenty-three teachers that were employed during the fieldwork, seven of them had permanent positions while sixteen were on sessional contracts. These teachers not only had to contend with contracts that lacked the permanent benefits of paid holidays, sick pay and so on, but they were often in competition with each other for teaching hours in the Department.

The third and most subtle construction of low status had a more geographic dimension in terms of allocation and access. The lecturers as well as the Department secretary had offices on the second floor of the Widdowson building located on the main campus, while the teachers were principally located in the Harmer building which was just outside of the campus. During the period of participant observation, the head of Department had made it clear that he did not want the teachers to use the photocopier in the secretary's office (i.e. Department office) because they got in the way of the lecturers (Participant Observation 3.16: Friday 7th August). It was thus indicated from high that it was preferable for the teachers to use the facilities in Harmer, facilities which were inferior to those in the secretary's office. Harmer also had inferior office provision. The permanent teachers, apart from Jaclyn, had to share offices (Sandra and Simon's shared one; Sara and Louise shared another). On the other hand, all the permanent lecturers had their own individual offices in Widdowson. It should be noted that Jaclyn's office was about half the size of a lecturer's office. The temporary teachers did not even have the luxury of a shared office having either during the academic year no office at all or during the summer school, one classroom at the top of the Harmer building set aside as a shared office for *all* of them (Participant Observation 3.3: Tuesday 21st July).

As well as having even inferior office conditions, the sessional teachers were not provided with keys to enter rooms that needed to be accessed for both preparation and teaching purposes (e.g. the Department office in Widdowson, the language laboratory and teachers' resources room in Harmer). Access to these rooms, if they were locked, was made by borrowing a key from a permanent teacher if one could be found. This *keys* problem regarding the Department office was raised in a Wednesday staff meeting (Participant Observation 3.14: Wednesday 5th August). This was also linked to the problem of permanent teachers and lecturers keeping materials in their offices, which required a process of negotiation to access. This issue came up in two staff meetings (Participant Observation 3.4: Wednesday 22nd July; Participant Observation 3.9: Wednesday 29th July). It should be noted that none of these *access* issues were resolved during this period.

Low status and a sense of professional inferiority was not something that was often explicitly expressed by the teachers. However, in the teachers complaints about their daily working lives at the institution, in their expression of their lack of commitment and with the temporary teachers concern with getting their next job, there was substantial implicit evidence of a low status. This low status, supported by the Department and the 'industry' as a whole through the institutional voice of the dominant discourse, came into conflict with the teachers' professionalism represented in a commitment to the TESOL ideal. The teachers were faced with the question of why they should be committed to a profession that does not treat them as a professional, but at the same time held out the TESOL ideal as the appropriate behaviour to adopt.

6.6.2.2 Heavy Workload

There was a clear category in the way in which the teachers' constructed their daily working lives: they had an extremely heavy workload. While again, I treat this as a construction and not necessarily as a 'reality', the teachers' busyness was revealed to me in the difficult process of negotiating and arranging both sets of interviews where tying to get hold of teachers was often a struggle, and in my own occasional difficulties in recording my field notes on the day I had written them because of my own busyness as a teacher.

> The following notes were recorded from Tuesday 1st September, although they refer back
> from Thursday 27th August. The reason that I was so late in recording them up was because I
> was so busy on Thursday and Friday that I did not get round to doing them.
>
> (Participant Observation 3.29: Wednesday 26th August)

The teachers' busyness outside of teaching typically involved preparing classes; searching for teaching materials; paper work; administrative problems; organising and going on trips and excursions; dealing with students and their problems outside of the class; and attending student social events. There are many examples of teachers complaining about their heavy workload and resultant tiredness in the participant observation notes, here are three examples.

Linus asked if there was a first-aid box here because he cut himself. He did not know quite how he had cut himself; he had just banged his finger. He blamed it on the fact that he has not had lunch for four days because he has been so busy.

(Participant Observation 3.6: Friday 24th July)

[Peter] then moaned because he was tired at the end of the day; he found it very difficult to plan at the end of the day because of this. Linus was there and he said that he plans so much for his class that he does it at home.

(Participant Observation 3.23: Tuesday 18th August)

After the afternoon class, in the office most people are saying that they are too tired to prepare for the following week. Some people are going home. Peter says that he tries to prepare on a Friday afternoon but it is impossible and Terrence says the same thing.

(Participant Observation 3.26: Friday 21st August)

There is evidently a contradiction between the claims made by Sandra and Peter in the previous section which suggests a lack of commitment to their work and the claims above which indicate that the teachers' worked very hard. This would tend to support my interpretation of the construction of a lack of commitment being the negation of the importance of what they did. The constant irony and humour about their work which will be discussed in chapter 7.2.4 could be read as another indication of this undervaluing of their work.

The teachers' construction of a heavy workload was not a fiction in the sense that they did have a lot to do in a short amount of time. However, what is interesting is not the fact that they worked hard, but the fact that it was constructed as a difficulty, a problem in their working lives; something that needed to be complained about. Having a heavy workload may be a feature of many professionals' working lives. As Friedson (1994) suggests, a professional's work is a central life interest and commitment. However, complaining about it may not necessarily be another feature. One possible interpretation as to why the teachers complained is because of the low status of the profession. Indeed, a heavy workload was one factor in the criticisms of the low status of the profession noted by Johnston (1997: 682). A heavy workload might not have been such a problem for the teachers if their profession had had a higher status with the concomitant benefits of a higher salary and more permanent contracts. There was then a conflict between a commitment to professionalism represented in the TESOL ideal which may require a heavy workload, and a dislike of a heavy workload because it underlined the fact that even though they acted as professionals they were not treated as ones.

6.6.3 Conflicts and Tensions between the Ideal and the Profession

For the teachers, the ideal teacher is a professional committed to the TESOL ideal. In the classroom, this means the practise of this ideal and the development of a good personable relationship with the students. In order to practise this ideal, there is an implicit requirement for a broader commitment to a teacher's work. This commitment, however, is in conflict and tension with the teachers' construction of their profession being inferior and low status. A construction that is also found in the 'industry' as a whole as well as in the Department voice. This construction seemed to create a contradiction between the teachers indicating a lack of commitment to their work and their own evidence that they worked very hard. This can be interpreted as a desire by the teachers to negate their professional commitment because they were not being treated as professionals. The construction of a heavy workload can in itself be interpreted as a by-product of not being treated as a professional.

These findings concur with the argument that TESOL is a low-status profession (see chapter 7.2.1).

This section concludes the atomistic description and analysis of the teachers' TESOL ideal. I will now move on to a critique of this ideal. I will first examine the contradictory construction of learner-centredness and then the contradictory construction of the superiority of the TESOL idea.

6.7 The Contradictory Construction of Learner-Centredness: The Problematic Construction of the TESOL Ideal

Of all the terms and concepts that were derived from the dominant discourse in the construction of the TESOL ideal, it was the construction of learner-centredness which was the most problematic. The issue of learner-centredness emerged primarily from the reaction of the teachers in the group interviews to the videoed lesson extract. The ensuing discussions revealed how learner-centredness was, for the teachers, a means to rationalise the TESOL ideal as a whole. In a sense, it was the principal driving force of the ideal. This is not such a surprise as learner-centredness has become almost synonymous with weak communicative language teaching in the dominant discourse (Benson & Voller 1997: 10). It can therefore be argued that the teachers' construction of learner-centredness reveals much about their construction of the TESOL ideal as a whole.

One of the teachers' principal criticisms of the lesson extract was that it was *teacher-centred*. In the discussions that developed, it was clear that the teachers constructed a teacher-centred – student-centred binary in the TESOL ideal which privileged student-centredness over teacher-centredness. This was a clear reproduction of the binary in the dominant discourse (O'Neil 1991; Pennycook 1997b: 43). To fully understand the teachers' construction of learner-centredness, it is therefore necessary to analyse how the students constructed this binary. The teachers constructed learner-centredness as both a type of interaction and as a broader approaches to teaching. I will first analyse these two construction via the binary and the

examine why this dual construction was problematic and more importantly why learner-centredness *per se* was problematic.

6.7.1 Constructing Teacher and Learner-Centredness as Types of Interaction

Within the teachers' construction of these two forms of centredness there was a strange internal contradiction of constructing centredness as either a form of classroom interaction or as a broader approach to language teaching. This varies from the dominant discourse that sees learner-centredness as an approach to teaching in which certain forms of interaction may be preferred (see chapter 3.5.2). I explore this construction and then deal with the relationship between this construction of learner-centredness and their construction of the term *communicative*.

6.7.1.1 Types of Interaction

The lesson extract was considered to be too teacher-centred (also called by the participants "teacher-fronted" and "teacher-focussed") in that the main forms of interaction were between the teacher and student at plenary level.

> Roger: Well if you sort of look at it sort of globally, uhm, the first thing that struck me was that it was the interaction was entirely...
> Lewis: ...was very teacher centred
> Margaret: Yeah, teacher student
> Roger: yeah, whole class teacher student and there were so many opportunities where he could have put them into pair work when they were doing little activities and feedback for open class work. And just the amount of, obviously, student talking time was minimal as opposed to the teacher talking time which was quite a lot.
> Margaret: Mm yes.
>
> (Group Interview 4.3: Discussion 1 - 24th May 1999)

> Christopher: So I mean the first thing you said was teacher-centred. What do you consider teacher-centred is?
> Nigel: Erm…I…it's teacher to student, student to teacher so in other words where there is no, no interaction at all between learners and so it is the teacher who asks the questions and it's the teacher who gives the prompts and it's the teacher who corrects…
>
> (Group Interview 4.4: Discussion 2 - 27th May 1999)

> Janet: … I mean you know it's the old sort of the old chestnut that basically he asked the question, one person responded, he asked, one person responded, you know it was the same,

you know the same way…you know that's what I mean by that's what I mean by teacher-focussed I don't think I need to.

(Group Discussion 4.5: Discussion 3 - 2nd June 1999)

Ian: I think on the whole what you know as long as this view ain't critical what he was doing was fine but it was just the teacher-centred thing was far too overwhelming …

(Group Discussion 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999)

Peter: My main criticism of his class was that it was too teacher-centred, that the students didn't get enough chance to…to interact amongst themselves …

(Group Discussion 4.7: Discussion 5 – 29th July 1999)

This pattern of interaction, i.e. whole-class teaching, was firstly, and most importantly, based around the teacher asking a question or giving prompts, the student replying and then the teacher correcting. Described by Janet as *lockstep* (Group Discussion 4.5: Discussion 3 - 2nd June 1999), this is the classic *IRF* interaction pattern (see chapter 5.4.2.4). Secondly, the teacher used whole-class teaching when giving instructions or explanations. The criticism of this domination of 'teacher-centred' interaction follows the critique noted in 6.3.4 above.

- There is high teacher-talking time with a minimum student-talking time.
- Therefore, students do not "have as much time to practise the language" (Sheila in Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999) and develop their fluency in it.
- Consequently, the teacher does not know if the students can use the language taught.
- This is a rigid system that does not allow spontaneity, creativity or self-expression in language use. The students are forced into a passive role waiting for their name to be said by the teacher.
- Having one type of interaction is not dynamic.
- The typical seating pattern in teacher-centred classrooms of rows is a constraint on teacher implementing student-student interaction.

The privileging of student-student interaction, primarily in the form of group work and most easily achieved with a flexible horseshoe-shaped seating arrangement, was a fundamental part of the TESOL ideal and teacher practices (see 6.3.4 above). This form of interaction was defined as 'student-centred'. For example:

Christopher: And how would I know that they are student-centred these times?
Louise: Well really by what we said before, that you could come in and find the pairs of students were talking to each other. They quite often go off the subject that the teacher set for

them as well. I mean so in fact sometimes the ultimate in student-centred isn't really necessarily what the teacher wants because they start asking each other questions about other things or giving each other bits of advice about living in this town or things like that. But erm, I think you would see by the variety of interactions patterns as opposed to everybody sitting down just looking at the teacher.

<div align="right">(Group Interview 4.4: Discussion 2 - 27th May 1999)</div>

As noted in 6.3.4 above, group work was not considered to be the only type of interaction that should exist in a lesson, there are times of the lesson which need to be 'teacher-centred' in, for example, giving instructions, class discussions and giving feedback. Therefore, as Louise put it:

> Louise: I don't actually think that there are any lessons that are completely student-centred. I don't think so. I just mean that you know within the kind of methodology that we're more familiar with there will be student-centred times within a lesson.
> Nigel: Yeah.

<div align="right">(Group Interview 4.4: Discussion 2 - 27th May 1999)</div>

In effect the rationalisation of 'student-centred' interaction was that it provided everything that 'teacher-centred' interaction did not: i.e. maximum student-talking time with students practising the language, developing their fluency and so on. These have the primary pedagogic purpose of improving language acquisition. However, in addition to this, there are other advantages to student-student interaction that seem to have more do with affective factors of maintaining student interest and motivation (see chapter 3.5.2.1). As already pointed out, changing pace achieved through changing interaction patterns in a lesson was considered important in maintaining student motivation (see 6.3.4 above). This was combined with a notion that 'teacher-centred' interaction is "boring" for both the student and teacher. For example:

> Margaret: It changes the pace of the lesson as well, the focus adds more variety. It's very dry, very boring, to have teacher student, teacher student, teacher student.

<div align="right">(Group Interview 4.3: Discussion 1 - 24th May 1999)</div>

> Reena: We do that part of the time but then as long as you balance it with whatever else that we were talking about. The two problems for me with such teaching is one how much do the students learn of the foreign language and also it can be a bit boring…
> Ian: Mm.

<div align="right">(Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999)</div>

In addition to 'teacher-centred' interaction being boring, it was also considered to be tiring for the teacher. For example:

> Roger: ...it's it's exhausting for the teacher you know if nothing else.
>
> (Group Interview 4.3: Discussion 1 - 24th May 1999)

> Louise: … Also it made me think how tiring it must be for a teacher…
>
> Nigel: Yeah that occurred to me as well.
>
> Louise: …you know especially if they're going to carry on doing that for the rest of the day.
>
> (Group Interview 4.4: Discussion 2 - 27th May 1999)

This construction sits rather strangely with the teachers' construction of their own heavy workload (see 6.6.2.2 above). The logic would perhaps be that teaching an entirely 'teacher-centred' lesson is tiring, therefore teaching a more 'learner-centred' lesson is not. However, the teachers' complaints about their work would suggest it is not.

6.7.1.2 The Construction of 'Communicative' and the Construction of Learner-Centredness as Student-Student Interaction

The teachers' construction of learner-centredness as a form of student-student interaction was very similar to their construction of the term *communicative*. Whilst I argue that both the TESOL ideal and the practice described in chapter 5 conform to weak communicative language teaching, the teachers did not describe their pedagogy as such. In fact, they did not give it a name at all never using the term *communicative language teaching*. Nevertheless, they did often use the term *communicative* and its adverbial derivative *communicatively*, not as a means to describe their pedagogy, but as a means to describe the practice and production tasks that were designed to develop oral fluency. For example:

> S:...I like using the language lab and I use that quite a bit for communicative activities and that generally goes down well, I tend to do a sort of typical variation on an activity using the language lab...which involves erm integration of skills, and yet at the same time it's quite communicative …
>
> (Interview 2.3: Sandra - 1st October 1998)

> … Terrence … was talking to Nathan about using "communicative activities" …
>
> (Participant Observation 3.21: Friday 14th August)

> … Jaclyn … said that they needed the communicative games type thing.
>
> (Participant Observation 3.24: Wednesday 19th August)

Constructing 'communicative' as a type of task within a lesson was also sometimes suggested in the Department voice; for example, coursebooks were selected for the summer syllabus on the criterion that they had "communicative activities" to practise "forms, functions and lexis" (Document 6.3: Summer Syllabus). The existence of supplementary materials concentrating entirely on providing oral practice and production tasks that are described as 'communicative' would suggest that this construction also exists within the institutional voice of the dominant discourse. A typical example of this is the series of *Communication Games* books written by Jill Hadfield (1987; 1990; 1996; see also Klippel 1984). The teachers' construction of communicative appeared to be reproducing the norms of the institutional voice in the dominant discourse.

This construction of communicative is virtually synonymous with the teachers construction of learner-centredness as a type of interaction. The only difference is that communicative describes the task which requires student-student interaction, while learner-centred describes the interaction in which the task takes place. They are then two constructs for describing the same phenomena. As such they appear to parallel the same synonymous relationship in the dominant discourse between communicative language teaching and learner-centredness (Benson & Voller 1997: 10). However, it should be noted that the notion of communicative language teaching which resembles learner-centredness in the academic voice of the dominant discourse is an overall approach to teaching and not just a type of interaction. It can therefore be seen that this construction of learner-centredness is not the same as the construction in the dominant discourse. Nevertheless, their promotion and rationale for student-student interaction sits very comfortably with the dominant discourse (see chapter 3.5.3.5).

6.7.2 The Broader Construction of Student-Centredness

In the teachers' discussions on learner-centredness, there was in existence a broader construction of learner-centredness which resembled more the dominant discourse's interpretation of an approach to teaching in which the student is put at the centre (Tudor 1996: ix). This construction was not separate from the 'interaction' construction but emerged when in the teachers' discussion of the problems of teacher-centredness and the advantages of learner-centredness, they brought up the issues of teacher control and student autonomy.

6.7.2.1 Teacher Control

For the teachers, one of the problems of 'teacher-centred' interaction was that the teacher is in control of classroom interaction. For example:

> Lewis: Is that normally your experience for lessons to be so tightly controlled.
> Margaret: Yeah, definitely and probably even more controlled than that.

Lewis: Really.

Margaret: With er...well anyway I've seen lessons where the teachers [laughing] have answered the questions as well, and the students haven't got a word in edgeways.

(Group Interview 4.3: Discussion 1 – 24th May 1999)

Reena: … the students didn't really use any of the language freely did they. I mean there was absolutely no free communication at all. It was controlled again to use the word. They just did what he told them do to.

(Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999)

Teacher control, a term used synonymously with 'power', could be lessened not just through the use of group work but through the use of more referential questions to the class as a whole rather than nominating students to answer display questions.[46] For example:

Ian: Yes because no one spoke apart from when he asked them, no one actually said any comments unless he made, he actually them do it…

Sheila: He never actually said you know like you sometimes do "Class what does anyone think?"…

Ian: Mm.

Sheila: …and let them kind of come out with something by themselves.

(Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999)

In a similar way, inviting students to ask questions would also lessen this control (Group Interview 4.4: Discussion 2 - 27th May 1999).

This construction of teacher control contained within it something more than just how the teacher controlled interaction. Much was made of the physical presence of the teacher at the front of the class and how this related to control. This control could be seen in how he was "in front standing all the time sort of towering over them" (Reena in Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999) and how he made "no movement towards the students or moving amongst them" (Simon in Group Interview 4.5: Discussion 3 - 2nd June 1999). His very presence at the front of the class symbolised his control of the lesson. There were further indications that the teacher's control of interaction and symbolic control of space were parts of his entire control of all aspects of the lesson.

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[46] A display question is used to elicit language rather than information unknown to the teacher. A referential question seeks information unknown to the teacher (Richards, Platt & Platt 1992).

Nigel: … and it's the teacher who's just the dominant one really yeah well yeah.

Louise: The teacher has control…

Nigel: Of what goes on.

Louise: …everything that happens.

Christopher: For example, like what?

Louise: Erm well certainly the content of the lesson … The teacher decides the agenda.

(Group Interview 4.4: Discussion 2 - 27th May 1999)

While ultimately Louise saw teacher-centredness as the way that control of interaction patterns "define the lesson", this sense of deciding the agenda indicates an understanding of teacher-centredness that is beyond mere patterns of interaction. It is thus possible to perceive that teacher-centredness means more than just a type of interaction but means an approach where the teacher has symbolic and physical control of every aspect of a lesson.

6.7.2.2 Learner Autonomy

The broader construction of learner-centredness also became noticeable in discussions of student autonomy. For the teachers, a teacher-centred lesson does not allow autonomy while a learner-centred lesson one does. This sense of autonomy partly derives from the opportunities the teachers believe 'learner-centred' oral interaction provides. In such interaction, the teachers argue that the students have more control or power over what they say rather than the control being in the hands of the teacher. For example:

Louise: Speaking at their own pace, speaking when they want to speak erm…having an element of control.

(Short silence)

Christopher: Anything else?

Nigel: Being able to choose…from their from the rest of their repertoire of language that they've got.

(Group Interview 4.4: Discussion 2 - 27th May 1999)

For Roger and Margaret, students' control of their own language production allows students to personalise language; to be creative; to say what they feel; to reflect on a text; to make language meaningful; all of which is empowering (Group Interview 4.3: Discussion 1 – 24th May 1999). The teachers therefore constructed an autonomy that is not only about having control over what a student says, but is about engendering empowerment. This then includes a far more affective dimension associated with humanistic language teaching (cf. Arnold 1999; Stevick 1990; Underhill 1989). When this is combined with the sense of autonomy described in the student ideal in 6.5.1 above (i.e. a not being over reliant on the teacher, learning from peers and having responsibility for your own learning); it can be seen that the teachers have a

broader sense of autonomy that relates to a broader sense of learner-centredness as an approach to teaching rather than as just a type of interaction.

In the teachers' thinking, the binary of teacher-centred – student-centred appears to correlate with the binary of teacher-control – student-autonomy. The less control the teacher has in the teaching, the more control a student has in their learning. This would support the idea of a teacher as a facilitator (Salimbene 1981: 93); something that was alluded to by both Ian (Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999) and Sara.

> S: Yeah, I suppose so because your ask...yeah...your asking me about the lesson, so I kind of think of the lesson as being my responsibility whereas...erm...the learning is the students' responsibility but I'm there to run a lesson and so, the facilitating is my responsibility and so yeah, I do take it personally if I think the facilitating is going wrong.
>
> (Interview 2.1: Sara - 3rd June 1998)

This ideal of a teacher-centred facilitator who sets up learning opportunities, typically in group work, where the students have control over their own learning and are independent of the teacher becomes somewhat problematic when the role of teacher monitoring is taken into consideration. Interestingly enough, the summer syllabus prescribed that "the teacher's role will be that of facilitator and monitor" in group work (Document 6.3: Summer Course Syllabus).

6.7.2.3 Teacher Monitoring

Monitoring was also considered by the teachers to be an essential element of a learner-centred classroom. Its construction, similar to that in the dominant discourse (see chapter 3.5.3.5) and to what I observed in the lesson observations (see chapter 5.4.2.3), was of the teacher observing and listening to students working on their own or, more typically, in groups. For example:

> Reena: …. sometimes if you just stop for a minute and just sit back and let them take over, you can just be monitoring and listening for a few minutes and give the ball to them so to speak and let them toss it about a bit.
>
> (Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999)

This could either take place near to or away from the students, but in either case it involved what Roger and Margaret called "hovering in the background" (Group Interview 4.3: Discussion 1 - 24th May 1999). Monitoring, for the teachers, served the diagnostic purpose of ascertaining how the students were coping with a task allowing the possibility for the teacher to implement any necessary changes during the task. However, what appeared to be the principal rationale for monitoring was to diagnose the students' ability to

use the language required for a task. Teachers, therefore, often used this time to note language errors and weaknesses for later revision in feedback.

> Reena: … they're talking so you are free to go and sit, pull up a chair and sit by group and listen to them with a little notebook and a pen and then every time you…you listen to the mistakes they're actually making, make a note and then do the same with the other group and at the end put them all on the board and get them to check it…
>
> (Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999)

This *noting down* may not only be for errors but for picking "up any interesting answers" to be discussed in feedback (Margaret in Group Interview 4.3: Discussion 1 - 24th May 1999). In addition to this, monitoring was perceived as a means of diagnosing how students were coping with a task in terms of self-confidence, their interest and involvement and also as a means to ascertain class dynamics.

> Roger: … one of the things that I like to do in teaching is to go round and monitor and watch and see who's who's confident and who's not confident and...and you can get a much better feel of the class dynamics and what's going on in the class erm and it also gives the teacher a rest for the you know to teach the you know if you're teacher fronting a class …
>
> (Group Interview 4.3: Discussion 1 - 24th May 1999)

What Roger interestingly reveals here is that monitoring during group work is considered less tiring than whole-class teaching, a critique already noted of this type of teaching (see 6.7.1.1 above). As this analysis reveals, however, monitoring is not considered a time for the teachers to have a rest. Rather the teachers are required to be actively observing, noting, diagnosing and, if necessary, interrupting the group work.

The fact that teachers are active in this construction of monitoring and not really having a rest is but a minor quibble. The real problem with monitoring, as I stated in the analysis of the teacher practices (see chapter 5.6.2), was that monitoring is a form of teacher control that takes place during 'student-centred' interaction. This contradiction will be discussed in the next section.

6.7.3 The Contradictions in the Construction

I now wish to bring together several critiques of the teachers' construction of learner-centredness that emerge from this discussion. As I stated at the beginning of this section, the construction of learner-centredness is almost synonymous with the construction of the TESOL ideal as a whole because the creation of the ideal seems to rest heavily on learner-centredness. Therefore, this is a critique of the construction of learner-centredness and the TESOL ideal. The contradictions are identified in three

dichotomies: interaction-approach; power-autonomy; ideal-needs; and in how this learner-centred pedagogy is also intrinsically 'business-centred'.

6.7.3.1 The Interaction-Approach Dichotomy

The first noticeable problem with the teachers' construction is that the teachers construct it as both a form of interaction and as an approach to their pedagogy. Rather than this just being due to the idiosyncratic nature of the localised discourse, I believe that this interpretation relates to the teachers' construction of *communicative*. As I argued, the participants construction of communicative as a type of oral fluency activity which tends to done in group work derives from the institutional voice of the mainstream discourse and (see 6.7.1.2 above). This construction is virtually synonymous with the teachers' construction of 'learner-centred' interaction. This, I believe, would suggest that this definition of learner-centredness may derive from the institutional voice in the dominant discourse. Even in the broader definition of learner-centredness as an approach to teaching, there is an emphasis on student interaction and participation to allow autonomy, empowerment and self-actualisation (see chapter 3.5.2). Therefore, while the broader interpretation does not have interaction as its starting point, the encouragement of student-student interaction is one of its key elements.

A question might be asked at this stage of why this dual construction of leaner-centredness is problematic. I believe it is problematic for the teachers in the way that there is in the TESOL ideal an underlying belief that whole-class teaching is teacher-centred and bad, while group work is learner-centred and good. Only one participant, Nigel, recognise that this was problematic.

> Nigel: … I suppose if you think about it if there is such a thing as dictionary definition of student-centredness, I don't know if there is, but you could say because the teacher is speaking to individual students therefore he's giving them individual attention and he's correcting them when necessary. You could call that student-centred as well in a way…from a different angle. Do you know what I mean? In other words the student is at the centre of the learning so in a way I suppose.
>
> <div align="right">(Group Interview 4.4: Discussion 2 - 27th May 1999)</div>

Nigel's comment above was quite out of character with the opinions from all of the other participants, including from himself. In his momentary shift to the critical discourse, he deconstructed a contradiction that exists within the broader interpretation of learner-centredness. If whole-class teaching can also be learner-centred, then not only is the teachers dual construction of learner-centredness dichotomous, but the dominant discourse, in its privileging of student interaction, is itself problematic. These dichotomies result in a strange situation where the teachers are concerned with doing as much group work as possible because it is learner-centred, when in fact doing whole-class teaching may be equally learner-centred. Indeed, in the lessons observed there was an emphasis on doing group work even in those tasks which seemed more

designed for individual work (see chapter 5.4.2.2). Nigel then, in his comment, mirrored the critique of the dominant discourse's privileging of student-student interaction (see chapter 3.5.2.2).

6.7.3.2 The Power-Autonomy Dichotomy

There is another contradiction in the construction of learner-centredness deriving from the privileging of student-student interaction: the issue of control and autonomy. In chapter 5.6 I argued that there appeared to be a contradiction between what was on the surface a learner-centred classroom and a high level of teacher control. The evidence of the teachers' construction of learner-centredness corroborates with this finding. The teachers constructed a binary of a teacher-centred interaction/lesson versus a learner-centred interaction/lesson, in which teacher-centredness is associated with teacher control and learner-centredness with empowering student autonomy. However, by the very fact of arguing for monitoring, the teachers were creating the contradiction I had perceived in the lessons: i.e. in group work there is teacher control through monitoring. In terms of a lesson as a whole, the teachers claimed that in the teacher-centred classroom, the teacher controls everything, which, ironically, is exactly my analysis of their own 'learner-centred' lessons in chapter 5.6.

The equation of group work with autonomy where students are empowered, and whole-class teaching with teacher control, was unwittingly deconstructed by Ian in his critique of teacher-centredness.

> Ian: … I just think that erm if somebody wasn't interested, by that amount of teacher control where you've actually named the students, it's quite easy to switch off for all of the lesson and even some of the students didn't answer these questions. I mean it could've been their one or two turns in an hour basically you know he wasn't reprimanding them naturally, but you know it's er…there's a lot of room for them just to do nothing really.
>
> (Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999)

Ian's concern was with how little student talking-time whole-class teaching allows. Yet, he also indicates that if "somebody wasn't interested" they could "switch off". This "switching off" could alternatively be interpreted as a student demonstrating their own autonomy to not be part of the lesson (see chapter 3.5.2.2). Such a form of autonomy runs against the TESOL ideal where autonomy is measured by participation. It was this "switching off" which the *problem class* appeared to do in their resistance to the pedagogy thus demonstrating an unacceptable autonomy (see 6.5.1 above). As Holliday (1997a; forthcoming) argues, it is quite possible for students to be autonomous in a whole-class lesson because they are not forced to participate in a range of oral interaction tasks in quite the same way as a learner-centred classroom. Students have the possibility to sit back, think, reflect and choose their level of engagement in a lesson.

These arguments then suggest that teacher control exists in both 'leaner-centred' and 'teacher-centred' classrooms. To a greater and lesser extent, some of the teachers were also aware that teacher control existed in the learner-centred classroom. This was most strongly suggested by Ian and Sheila.

> Ian: … you're monitoring, this is what I mean, teacher-centred, is that still teacher-centred slightly because you're going round monitoring, but just something to take it away from a one-to-one with the teacher.
>
> (Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999)

> Sheila: Independently of the teacher but yeah but obviously you'd monitor I mean you wouldn't just let say "Get on with it." They could do that by themselves but I mean, there would be an element of control there still.
>
> (Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999)

This "element of control" however was considered different to that which exists in whole-class teaching of "one-to-one" because the teacher is more distant from the students and not "bearing down on them" (Lewis in Group Interview 4.3: Discussion 1 - 24th May 1999). Ian argued that teacher control is not as strict as in whole-class teaching when teachers get involved in student groups, (Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999). He also argued that even in periods of whole-class teaching in the learner-centred classroom such as in group-work feedback, teacher control is different because the students have produced their own language which they are interested in (ibid.). This recognition of teacher control, i.e. power in Foucauldian terms, being different in the learner-centred classroom is, I believe, a perceptive analysis. For the control exerted by the teacher in the learner-centred classroom is, I would argue, a far more subtle manifestation of biopower than that which exists in more 'traditional' classrooms. This theme will be developed in chapter 7.2.3.

The preference for a learner-centred classroom partly because it meant control shifted from the teacher to the student was contradicted by the teachers believing it necessary to impose control particularly through monitoring, and contradicted by the evidence of the lesson observations. Seeing autonomy only in terms of students interacting independently of the teacher correlated with the dominant discourse (see chapter 3.5.2.2). The recognition that teacher control and student autonomy may exist in both 'leaner-centred' and 'teacher-centred' classrooms undermines the validity of the teacher-centred – learner-centred binary.

6.7.3.3 The Ideal-Needs Dichotomy

To reiterate Tudor's (1996: ix) definition, if learner-centredness in the broad sense is built "around the needs and characteristics of learners", there is a potential dichotomy between responding to students' needs, and the desire to conform to the TESOL ideal if, as demonstrated with the *problem class* (see 6.5.2 above), the students needs do not correspond with the ideal. The teacher is faced with the dilemma of either

meeting their needs but not teaching in the ideal, or teaching in the ideal but not meeting their needs. For the teachers, learner training is a means by which it is possible to escape this dilemma. Variations from the TESOL ideal can be resolved by training the student, or indeed the teacher, where it is hoped that they will realise what their 'real' needs are. I would concur with the critical literature (see chapter 3.5.2.2) that such learning training manipulates the students into convincing them of their 'needs' and is therefore not built around the *actual* needs of learners.

There were some signs of a needs analysis process in the Department. For example, the use of student questionnaires (see 6.5.2 above) indicated a process of student input being used for course design, while Sara also used her own needs analysis questionnaire at the beginning of the academic term (Observation 1.5: 16/1/98). However, this appeared to be at a surface level of cosmetic changes. When it came to profound pedagogical differences, the teachers preferred their ideal to different models. For example, while the teachers in the group interviews gave numerous suggestions on how the teacher in the extract could have made his lesson more 'learner-centred', only one person suggested that the actual lesson might actually have been appropriate because that is the way that the teacher likes to teach and students like to learn (Peter in Group Interview 4.7: Discussion 5 – 29th July 1999). Similarly, during the participant observation, the teachers looked at ways to make the *problem class* fit the ideal. As well as requiring "self-directed learning" (see 6.5.1 above), various other causes and solutions were suggested in a Wednesday meeting.

> It went on to the subject of materials for the top groups which was a real problem because the people in the second class had done most of the materials, and they really needed to go on to more authentic materials .. they were looking for a course book … Jaclyn thought that the higher classes needed to do more controlled grammar practice. She said that the communicative games type thing, but freer …. A way that they came be corrected, because they are not corrected enough, and they like to be corrected …. She said that they need this type of practice and that there is a bit of a dearth of material at this level … she thinks that we do not do enough accuracy practice for this level during the 9.00 class … Linus made the point that with these higher groups that some of the students have down a grammar point two to three times, and get sick of it. …This whole discussion that had gone away from discussing each individual class went on to how the real problem is the length of the course … Jaclyn also mentioned that there was a problem for the teachers with materials: the repetition of materials and trying to find new materials.
>
> (Participant Observation 3.24: Wednesday 19th August).

No one, including myself, considered that the problem may have been the pedagogy or actually considered asking the students what it that they wanted in terms of pedagogy. This was the same case with the

problematised Japanese students (see 6.5.1 above). It appears then that the TESOL ideal has a very narrow remit of what constitutes good practice. Consequently, if student needs go beyond its remit, they cannot be met. The Department also revealed this dichotomy in its summer syllabus where it was claimed that student needs should be taken account of, including "learning styles and preferred modes of learning" but later includes a list of measures to help East Asian students "adjust" to the pedagogy (Document 6.3: Summer Course Syllabus).

Even if teachers could have gone beyond the ideal, meeting student needs can be a practical impossibility. As the case of the student Ahmed entering 'Roses' mid-term demonstrates (see 6.4.1.1 above), it is not possible to meet all the students' individual needs, even in a small class, if their needs vary radically. As Sara revealed in interview, responding to needs is actually a compromise between what the students want and what the teacher thinks they need.

> Sara: … it'll probably be more likely to be...erm...a...no...a mixture of something coming
> from them, so...erm...asking them what it was they want and then trying to respond to that,
> and then trying to keep a balance. I suppose it's also...erm...and then feeding back from stuff
> that they're giving me so you can see where weaknesses might be, but it is also, you're
> following a course book or something so you're in some way constrained by that,
> but...uhm...yes, I suppose it's kind of intuition of this group of people need to do a little bit
> more of this...uhm...and asking them what they want more, and obviously dictating myself
> what I think they should be doing more of.
>
> (Interview 2.1: Sara - 3rd June 1998)

This compromise is a far more realistic picture of how needs were met in the Department and demonstrates that by *giving them what you think they need* the teacher could remain within the parameters of the ideal.

Based as it is in 'progressive' theories of syllabus and curriculum design (see chapter 3.5.3.3), there is an irony of needs analysis in that what the students want may not equate with what the teacher believes is educationally best for them or their classmates. Therefore, they should be trained to want the ideal. This problem of needs was made even more complex as the student were paying customers that the teachers and Department wished to retain. While certain needs were accepted, such as moving a student from one class to another (see 6.5.2 above), broader pedagogical changes were not even contemplated.

6.7.3.4 A Business-Centred Pedagogy

The fact that teachers could not contemplate going beyond the TESOL ideal when dealing with student needs would suggest that in this case the teachers' ideal was stronger than the business discourse of customer satisfaction. However, I believe that there was a compatibility between the TESOL ideal and customer satisfaction which made the pedagogy extremely 'business-centred'.

Many elements of the ideal suggest that the principles of learner-centredness and weak communicative language teaching were very amenable to a business discourse. In the lessons there were indications that the teachers wanted to *sweeten the pill* of the more demanding areas of language learning such as grammar (see chapter 5.6.1) which also correlated with the teachers construction of inductive learning as a way of avoiding difficulty (see 6.3.3 above). Thus even demanding, complex subject matter does not have to 'heavy', but 'fun' to learn making the pedagogy very 'customer-friendly'. This approach can be seen throughout the ideal. Student-student interaction patterns, for example, are encouraged because they develop fluency, but they are also encouraged because they are interesting and motivating for students (see 6.3.4 & 6.7.1.1 above). Similarly, the teachers claimed that over reliance on a course book made a lesson boring and predictable (see 6.3.5 above). This concern with making a lesson interesting and motivating may have its roots in a concern for affective factors in the classroom (see chapter 3.5.2), but it also makes the pedagogy extremely 'customer-friendly'. Using students' private lives in the learning process (see chapter 5.6.1) and using texts which were often connected to lifestyle and were pedagogically personalised (see chapter 5.3.4) also seemed to be designed to garner student interest. There was evidently an affective dimension to the teachers' informal behaviour (see chapter 5.6.1) which was could also be seen in the construction of the relaxed and friendly teacher in the ideal (see 6.6.1 above). However, this personable equal, available to help organise a student's private social life in a new country, had many characteristics that were more akin to a holiday rep or a customer care manager than to a teacher.

The necessity that a student should be happy, interested, engaged, excited and should enjoy the lesson was key to the business discourse of customer satisfaction (see 6.5.2 above). Yet, these criteria are also part of the pedagogy of the dominant discourse with its concerns for motivation and the affective dimension in learner-centredness. This may not be such a coincidence, as Holliday argues, the BANA culture is derived from both universities and private language schools (see chapter 3.3.2) and, as I have made clear, the dominant discourse contains both institutional and academic voices (see chapter 3.1.1). A light, fun pedagogy of games and oral participation which engenders second language acquisition (see chapter 3.5.3.5) can also be an ideal 'product' to keep customers happy. While the conflicts between the Department's business discourse and the class ideal were clear cut (see 6.4.1 above), I would argue that the education-business conflict that the teachers displayed in their construction of a student may not have been so much of a conflict between a separate TESOL ideal and a business discourse, but may have been a tension that exists within the ideal itself, i.e. a business-education tension that exists within weak communicative language teaching.

Autonomy plays an important role in this tension. The construction of the autonomous student in a learner-centred classroom is an 'empowered' learner who has more control over their learning than in a teacher-centred classroom, but this is also an 'empowered' consumer who has control over the education they pay

for. This relates to the postmodern critiques of learner-centredness which suggest that the individualised autonomous individual is the perfect individualised consumer who is isolated from the social (see chapter 3.5.2.2). Yet, if, as I suggest, there is in fact very little autonomy in the learner-centred classroom, then what actually exists is an operation of a discourse where, rather like the discourse of parental choice in choosing schools in state education in Britain where parents have in actual fact limited choice, the consumer has little control over their learning.

The interplay of pedagogic achievement and student interest in measuring lesson success is perhaps the point where this tension is most evident (see 6.5.2 above). Part of pedagogic success is measured by student participation in a task, but at the same time student interest and satisfaction is partly measured by their level of engagement in a task. In a pedagogy which promotes learning as enjoyment, by actually participating and doing a task, a student should be enjoying themselves. In other words, when done properly by both student and teacher, the pedagogy is intrinsically enjoyable, and is therefore the ideal pedagogy to satisfy a 'customer'. This helps to explain why the teachers were so unwilling to consider other pedagogies and why students choices were so limited. However, there is another important and related reason why other pedagogies were not considered. This will be dealt with in the next section.

6.8 The Contradictory Construction of the Superiority of the TESOL Ideal

In the teachers' construction of a TESOL ideal, there is an implicit assumption that this ideal is superior and more modern compared to other ways of teaching and learning second languages. The very fact that 'foreign' students may be in need of learner training suggests that the way these students had previously learnt languages was somehow deficient. The very fact that the teachers in the group interviews were highly critical of the 'teacher-centred' practices that they observed in the videoed extract and the very fact that they gave a number of suggestions of how the teacher could have improved his lesson also suggest a construction of superiority. In addition to this, there were examples in the interviews where this assumption was more explicitly made.

> Simon: Yeah. Well in Eastern Europe, I mean they, one time obviously Russian was obviously the foreign language and…
> Janet: Mm.
> Simon: …I think the methodology that the Russian teachers would have used has simply, that hasn't changed it's just simply the language that's actually changed, instead of Russian it's English yeah.
>
> (Group Interview 4.5: Discussion 3 - 2nd June 1999)

Reena: … modern EFL learning and teaching is so different. I think some years ago that was quite the common practice.

<div align="right">(Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999)</div>

Peter: … English language teaching is, in the direction that's gone, miles ahead of almost any other language.

<div align="right">(Group Interview 4.7: Discussion 5 – 29th July 1999)</div>

Whilst the participants did say positive things about the teacher and his teaching in the extract, accepting that his context could have had a bearing on his pedagogy and stated that they did not want to be too critical, the overall tone of the discussions was one of criticism. His pedagogy was recognisable as being very similar to the 'inferior' way the teachers learnt foreign languages at school or university in Britain, and the way that English was taught abroad i.e. in TESEP contexts (see chapter 3.3.2).

Louise: …it reminds me quite a bit of how I was taught French at school…

<div align="right">(Group Interview 4.4: Discussion 2 - 27th May 1999)</div>

Janet: … But I mean you know it…it how did I learn French? I learnt French from pages of vocabulary just like these…
Simon: Mm.

<div align="right">(Group Interview 4.5: Discussion 3 - 2nd June 1999)</div>

Sheila: It's typical, I mean that's how I had language lessons…
Ian: Like at school precisely.

<div align="right">(Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999)</div>

Reena: It was alien for me at all because that's how it's done in India, that's how it's done in Japan.
Sheila: It wasn't alien but you know I think it's alien to EFL. I think EFL's quite…
Reena: [Unclear].
Sheila: …yeah I mean I think that if EFL methods had been used when I was learning French for example, I'd've got a lot more out of it.

<div align="right">(Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999)</div>

Dominique: You know what it reminded me of? It reminded me of when I learnt French at school which was one or two years ago, and how that I managed to get through all the way to 'O' level knowing very very little indeed because it was such a passive approach …

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There was a clear construction that BANA TESOL pedagogy was, as Peter put it, "miles ahead" of how languages are taught in TESEP contexts. However, Peter, began to deconstruct his assumption as the interview progressed.

> Peter: … I'm sort of thinking we're sometimes got this sort of you know within the closed world of TEFL, we've got this holier than thou idea. We can show everyone else how they should be learning English or any other language.
>
> (Group Interview 4.7: Discussion 5 – 29th July 1999)

In stating this, Peter was the lone critical voice in the group interviews. The majority construction of superiority reflects the self-perception of superiority in the dominant discourse which justifies BANA innovation in TESEP contexts (see chapter 3.3; see also 3.4.1). It was also implied by the Department in the summer syllabus where the students' English "may have been learnt rather passively in their previous experience of learning" and should be trained to "adjust" to the Department's pedagogy (Document 6.3: Summer Course Syllabus).

The teachers made attempts to explain why this pedagogy was so inferior to their own ideal. One possible cause, which emerged in Janet and Simon's discussion, was the inadequacies of 'non-native speakers of English' teachers (Group Interview 4.5: Discussion 3 - 2nd June 1999). Both of them agreed that this type of teacher "sees…language in terms of structure" and is "far more concerned about they're ability to speak English… than they're ability to teach". This criticisms reflect the dominant discourse's denigration of 'non-native speaker' teachers (Phillipson 1992a: 193-198). Such inadequacies were constructed by other participants as a problem of 'culture'. For example:

> Lewis: It's a culture problem as much as anything.
> Margaret: ...that can be a culture problem yeah...yeah from the background experience and the teacher probably only thinks that they will learn something only if they the teacher tells them it...
>
> (Group Interview 4.3: Discussion 1 - 24th May 1999)

> Reena: … there are students in some you know cultural backgrounds who want that kind of teaching, they expect that, they feel they learn …
>
> (Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999)

The attribution of these differences to national or regional 'cultures' was particularly noticeable with the 'problem' of Japanese students (see 6.5.1 above). It is a construction with deep-seated roots in applied linguistics (see chapter 2.5.1) that is deeply embedded in the dominant discourse's construction of learners (see chapter 3.5.3.4). The final cause was the inadequacies of training.

> Janet: …back to my view that this guy did a degree in English, this is just my perception of, I don't know what in Hungary if you actually have you to do a year's teacher training or whatever the situation but you do a degree in English so you get to be really proficient at English therefore you teach like in China like there's no…teacher training in China because once you've been in a classroom as a student so you know how things work in the classroom…
>
> (Group Interview 4.5: Discussion 3 - 2nd June 1999)

> Louise: It reminded me of how I used to teach before I did any training in teaching English as, English language.
>
> (Group Interview 4.4: Discussion 2 - 27th May 1999)

These inadequacies could therefore be dealt with by teacher and learner training; as Dominique suggested, "maybe it's time for some in-service training in Hungary or something because the approach just seemed about ten years old" (Group Interview 4.7: Discussion 5 – 29th July 1999).

This construction of superiority had within it a significant contradiction that was revealed by the teachers themselves in their interviews. In every group interview, the teachers noted that the students had a good level of English, placing them between 'upper-intermediate' and 'advanced'. A question thus arises from this observation: if the students had such a good level of English, how was this possible if the pedagogy was inadequate? Many of the participants did not seem to be aware of the contradiction they were constructing. However, some of them did perceive a problem.

> Louise: … I mean obviously they perceive English as very necessary so they're going to hang in there and they will learn probably regardless of the methodology that's used …
>
> (Group Interview 4.4: Discussion 2 - 27th May 1999)

> Janet: …I suppose sort of giving a Hungarian equivalent, then they had this big long list, I suppose that's how I learnt French and my French is no the worse for it. I have to say while I was sitting here watching it I thought look these people are actually really quite good, look at this pretty mediocre…
> Simon: Mm.

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Janet: …teaching, these people still learnt. [Laughs]

<div align="right">(Group Interview 4.5: Discussion 3 - 2nd June 1999)</div>

There is here an implication that instrumentally motivated students will learn whatever the pedagogy. Yet, in these interviews, the teachers still indicated that their ideal was superior. Peter also argued this point but, unlike the teachers above, he questioned this superiority.

Peter: … But…you see the point is, I mean I sometimes wonder, all the methodology and all the things we talk about and all the new theories that come up in EFL and what I've seen in where other languages are taught including the way that Spanish has been taught to me here at the university…other languages aren't this concerned about the way they're teaching themselves and yet English, why do more people learn English? Not because it's better taught but because people they want to learn it. I mean are we kidding ourselves?

<div align="right">(Group Interview 4.7: Discussion 5 – 29th July 1999)</div>

If the superiority of the TESOL ideal is based on it being superior in terms of achieving language acquisition, the teachers' own evidence would contradict this. For those that were aware of the contradiction, their ideal was superior because of affective reasons: it engendered student and teacher interest.

Janet: Yeah I mean they're learning, they're quite happy. I just think if you went on like that day and day after, it'd be pretty boring.

<div align="right">(Group Interview 4.5: Discussion 3 - 2nd June 1999)</div>

It would therefore seem that the real strength of the TESOL ideal for the teachers is its learner-centred, and indeed 'business-centred', core of making lessons fun, enjoyable and interesting. It was Peter, the lone critical voice, who wondered whether "we make [it] more interesting for us really more than the students" (Group Interview 4.7: Discussion 5 – 29th July 1999). This neatly relates to the ideal-needs dichotomy (see 6.7.3.3 above) and the business-centred pedagogy problem (see 6.7.3.4 above). The teachers were primarily concerned with making lessons fun because they believed that was what the students needed as learners and wanted as customers, and they believed it was more interesting too teach. This powerful discourse that shapes the way the teachers think and teach means that students who may want a more 'serious' pedagogy are ignored. Ironically in this situation, the learner's needs are not being met and the customer is not being satisfied.

6.9 Conclusion: Deconstructing the TESOL Ideal

The teachers' construction of a TESOL ideal demonstrated their professionalism in terms of a body of specific knowledge and skills to be activated in practice (see chapter 2.4). The analysis and deconstruction of the categories of this ideal was based on the themes of consistency; tensions and conflicts; and contradictions.

The TESOL ideal in terms of the way that lessons were structured and taught demonstrated a strong consistency with the practices analysed in chapter 5, the norms of the Department voice, and the pedagogical norms of the dominant discourse discussed in chapter 3. However, when analysing the construction of the ideal class, ideal student and ideal teacher there were three areas of tensions and conflicts.

1. In the formation and maintenance of classes, there were tensions and conflicts between the teachers' ideal and the Department's actions which appeared to be a product of a business discourse of profit.
2. There was a tension in the teachers' TESOL ideal and their construction of students as 'customers' which appeared to derive from this business discourse. At its basis was a potential conflict between the teachers maintaining their educational principles and maintaining their source of income, the students.
3. There was a conflict between professional commitment to a TESOL ideal, and the Department, as part of the TESOL 'industry', which treated them as a low-status profession. This conflict resulted in the teachers constructing their working lives as being difficult and in giving outward indications of a lack of commitment, which seemed to be contradicted in practice.

In the teachers' construction of learner-centredness and the superiority of the TESOL ideal, there was in evidence a series of intrinsic contradictions in the ideal. The contradictions in the learner-centredness could be seen in a series of dichotomies and one critical observation which puts the whole learner-centred enterprise in applied linguistics into question as these constructions reproduced norms of the dominant mainstream discourse.

1. There was a dichotomy between constructing learner-centredness as a form of student-student interaction and constructing it as an approach to a pedagogy. This was problematic in that it privileged student-student interaction over whole-class teaching even though whole-class teaching could be equally 'student-centred'.
2. The power-autonomy dichotomy derives from the construction of the teacher being over-dominant in teacher-centredness and the construction the student being autonomous in learner-centredness. Evidence would suggest that this equation is false: autonomy may exist, and the teacher is equally in control, in both types of classroom.

3. The construction that learner-centredness is responsive to student needs while also being the theoretical base of an ideal pedagogy meant that there was an ideal-needs dichotomy. This dichotomy existed because of the impossibility of teaching the TESOL ideal and responding to student needs at the same time if the needs were for another type of pedagogy.

4. The TESOL ideal, with its basis in theories of learner-centredness, was in the final analysis ideally suited to an educational enterprise that is run as an industry. It is a 'business-centred' pedagogy because its affective concerns perfectly suit the requirements of customer satisfaction. The repercussion of this is that the business-education conflict between the teachers' TESOL ideal and their construction of the student as customer is rendered far more complex suggesting a tension that actually exists in the ideal.

5. The final deconstruction concerned the contradiction in the teachers' construction of the TESOL ideal being the superior means of second language teaching and the evidence that students capably learnt English with another pedagogy. This meant that the only 'superiority' of the pedagogy was its affective ability to please student-'customers' and teachers; i.e. to make learning 'fun'. In the final analysis, this ideal had the possibility of not being responsive to students' needs as learners or customers.

In the next chapter, the wider implications of this problematic pedagogy will be dealt using the three-part critique of the dominant discourse established in chapter 3.

Chapter 7

7 Deconstructing the Localised Discourse

Historians of ideas usually attribute the dream of a perfect society to the philosophers and jurists of the eighteenth century; but there was also a military dream of society; its fundamental reference was not to the state of nature, but to the meticulously subordinated cogs of a machine, not the primal social contract, but to permanent coercions, not to fundamental rights, but to indefinitely progressive forms of training, not to the general will but to automatic docility.

(Foucault 1991: 169)

In the educational field the person-centred or student centred curriculum, although apparently centred on the intrinsic characteristics of the learner and the rightness of students making decisions about their own learning, actually works to increase the efficiency of the learning 'system'. In other words, despite the stated rationale of students taking control of their own learning, the emphasis is on cost-efficiency, 'value for money' and more efficient regulation through engaging students directly in a supposedly democratic process of participation – a process, however, which is empty of 'empowering' content and centred on adaptation.

(Edwards & Usher 1994: 45)

7.1 Introduction

This chapter brings together the substantive findings of the thesis in a macro-analysis of the findings from chapters 5 and 6. This macro-analysis not only gives a broader understanding of the localised discourse but also locates it in wider issues of pedagogy and professionalism in late-modern society. In the analysis of the mainstream dominant discourse in chapter 3, I made the following claims regarding the pedagogy of the mainstream discourse.

1. The pedagogy ideally fits a low-status, 'backpacker' profession because the main elements of it can be reduced to a series of 'universally-applicable' techniques, the rudiments of which can be taught on a one-month training course to 'native speakers'.
2. This 'universally-applicable method' is neither sophisticated nor responsive enough for the complex educational needs and cultures of students in any context, because these educational concerns are hardly accounted for in the 'method'. Consequently, in many BANA contexts, it can be inappropriate.

3. There is a dissonance between theory and practice. The pedagogy claims to create certain forms of student-centred learning and to be responsive to students' needs. It claims a democratic, affective classroom. This is a liberal illusion for it masks the subtle operation of biopower.

This three-part critique of the pedagogy forms the framework of the macro-analysis of the localised discourse. The aim is not only to evaluate whether this critique is also applicable to the localised discourse, but to also assess how the findings can actually enrich this critique. This macro-analysis is structured as follows.

- The macro-analysis of the localised discourse.
    - I first argue that the three-part critique is applicable to the localised discourse because the localised discourse reproduced the dominant discourse.
    - I then examine the findings of chapter 5 and 6 using the three-part critique: arguing that the localised discourse reproduced the low-status of the TESOL profession; that it reproduced an inappropriate pedagogy for the BANA context in which it operated; and arguing, using additional data, that it can be seen as an example of the reproduction of biopower.
    - The discussion of biopower has two further elements. Firstly, I argue this study is an example of how in late-modern society private-sector discourses are invading domains normally associated with the public-sector. After this, I present findings that support Foucault's claim that where there is power there is always resistance (see chapter 3.4.1.1) assessing the teachers' resistance to the dominant discourse.

7.2 A Macro-Analysis of the Localised Discourse

The validity of using the three-part critique of the mainstream discourse for analysing the localised discourse rests on the extent to which the localised discourse reproduced the mainstream discourse. If they were radically different, then such an analysis would be questionable. The findings in chapters 5 and 6 that dealt with the theme of consistency would suggest that the localised discourse did indeed reproduce the pedagogical norms of the dominant discourse. The pedagogy practised and constructed by the teachers, and supported in the Department voice, reproduced the dominant pedagogy of weak communicative language teaching sustained by the principles of learner-centredness and with *presentation-practice-production* acting as a guiding template. The tensions and conflicts within the localised discourse that were identified in chapter 6 (i.e. 6.4., 6.5 & 6.6) also reproduced the very tensions and conflicts that exist in the mainstream discourse between the academic and institutional voices. Likewise, the contradictions evident in the contradictory construction of learner-centredness and the superiority of the TESOL ideal reproduced norms from the dominant discourse (see chapter 6.7 & 6.8).

I believe, therefore, that there is enough evidence of reproduction to use this three-part critique for a macro-analysis of the findings. It should be pointed out that this analysis is not just a case of looking for similarities between the mainstream and localised discourses thus confirming the critique, but to also enrich the critique with the evidence of the effects of the reproduction of the dominant discourse.

7.2.1 The Reproduction of a Low-Status Service-Sector Profession

In chapter 3.2, I identified two positions in a debate on professionalism in TESOL. Writers and academics that represent the institutional voice in the dominant discourse recognise the growing professionalisation of TESOL. TESOL in this position resembles an occupational profession with a body of knowledge, a skill and an emerging credentialism (see chapter 2.4) whilst also being an 'industry'. The recognition of professionalism here is essentially an institutional professionalism that is regulated by bodies that represent private language schools and state-sector institutions. It is therefore a recognition of professionalisation of the 'industry'. The academics and practitioners that represent the second position in this debate desire the benefits of professionalisation for teachers but argue that TESOL lacks a career structure, status and the power of closure, while also being poorly paid. TESOL, therefore, does not possess all the traits of a full occupational profession. The fact that teachers are considered qualified with a one-month teaching certificate and 'native speaker' status helps to ensure this state of affairs. I would argue that this situation suits the 'industry' because it has a ready supply of cheap labour and can keep costs down to attract 'customers'.

In the above summary, there is an evident tension and conflict in the dominant discourse between an academic voice whose interest lies principally with TESOL as an educational profession and an institutional voice whose interest lies principally with TESOL as an 'industry'. This business-education tension and conflict was also present in the research setting where its reproduction helped to maintain the activities of the teachers as members of a low-status service-sector profession. This is a profession that is not fully-formed but emergent due to its lack of status, career structure and power of closure.

These tensions and conflicts were most clearly evident in the way in which the Department reproduced a business discourse in its texts and practices. This operated on two levels. Firstly, in its educational provision in terms of the practices of class formation and maintenance (see chapter 6.4). The Department was concerned here with its 'business'. While the Department voice supported the TESOL ideal in most categories, it conflicted with it here because it was one category where what was desired educationally conflicted with the maximising of profit. The second level was evident in the way it constructed and treated the teachers. The classification of the participants in the study as *further education teachers*; the use of 'sessional' contracts; and the subtle hierarchy of office provision were various strategies used by the Department that consciously or unconsciously emphasised the low-status of the teachers (see chapter 6.6.2.1). These strategies also helped to maximise profit as further education teachers were cheaper than

higher education lecturers (with 'sessional' teachers even cheaper) in terms of both salaries, employment rights and office provision.

As I argued in chapter 6.5, this business-education conflict and tension was not just between the Department and teachers but was present in the teachers' voice in their construction of the student as a customer and their construction of an educationally-based TESOL ideal. By constructing themselves as both educators and providers of products for customers, the teachers themselves were at the same time constructing an educational profession and helping to reproduce the institutional voice's construction of teachers as low-status service-sector workers. The teachers' construction of the low status of their profession (see chapter 6.6) also helped to reproduce the institutional voice in the dominant discourse. Although ambivalent in their commitment and critical of aspects of their profession and working lives, the teachers' actual commitment to their work meant they served the 'industry' well. When it came to teaching, the teachers knuckled down and when it came to an end of a 'sessional' contract, the teachers searched for further work. The 'industry' had the power to pick and choose teachers as it wished, and the only real option for the teachers if they did not want to conform to this low status was to leave the profession. After the fieldwork period, three teachers definitely left the profession because of their dissatisfaction with it (Brian, Linus and Eric). This number may have been more as several of the sessional teachers did not return to the Department (i.e. Terrence, Nathan, John, Reena, Sheila, Esther and Ian).

The teachers supported their own low status in a more implicit way. While many of the teachers had more qualifications than just the one-month certificate, in reproducing and advocating the mainstream pedagogy, they were implicitly supporting a narrow pedagogy that could be reduced to a set of 'universally-applicable' techniques teachable in a month. It is interesting to note that even though the Institution was a prestigious provider of TESOL, it did in fact recruit minimally-qualified 'native speakers'.[47] The teachers implied that a certificate was enough to start teaching with, while the Department was happy to recruit lesser qualified teachers for 'sessional' work. The adequacy of the certificate was underlined by the fact that 'sessional' teachers were paid exactly the same rate whatever their qualifications (the temporary

[47] According to Luke (Document Meeting 5.2: Luke 3rd February 2000), any staff employed on a one-year contract or for a longer period than that, and any long-term sessional staff, had to have British Council TEFLQ status (i.e. diploma or above). State qualified teacher status (QTS) could help their application but was not considered essential. In fact, two-thirds of the permanent staff at that time had TEFLQ and QTS with the other third having just TEFLQ. Staff employed for block periods such as the summer course and short courses and staff who were used for cover were a mixture of TEFLI (i.e. one-month certificate) and TEFLQ. In the summer course of 1999, ten out of the eighteen teachers employed were TEFLQ, three of these were TEFLQ plus QTS, six were TEFLI, and two were QTS. A first degree was not an essential part of the criteria, but was something that could be taken into consideration.

summer contracts for 1998 were exactly the same for all the teachers (Document 6.3)).Consequently, the only real advantage of being better qualified was that it increased the possibility of having a long-term 'sessional' contract or a permanent contract.

The Department operated a business discourse in its texts and practices that helped to reproduce the low status of ESOL teachers. The teachers also reproduced their own low status although arguably they had little choice in the matter partly because of the dominating nature of the discourse where the mainstream represented their professionalism and partly because they were in an industry where employer power meant that teachers had little room for manoeuvre against practices that reproduced their low status.

7.2.2 The Reproduction of an Inappropriate Pedagogy

In chapter 3.3, I outlined four critiques of TESOL pedagogy from Holliday, Phillipson, Pennycook and Canagarajah. These were distilled into a critical framework where problems were either due to a conflict between BANA and TESEP educational cultures (Holliday), or due to linguistic imperialism within neo-Marxist (Phillipson) or postmodern and post-colonial terms (Pennycook and Canagarajah). While these scholars are concerned with the export of an inappropriate pedagogy from BANA to TESEP sectors or from the Centre to the Periphery, I have adapted their analysis as a means to critique the inappropriateness of BANA pedagogy within the Centre (see chapter 3.4). In this critique, I argue that the mainstream pedagogy may be problematic because the students often come from TESEP educational contexts. Consequently, they may find it just as problematic as students in a TESEP classroom where it has been exported to. I also argue that the dominant discourse constructs the pedagogy as 'scientific', 'universal' and the most effective form of second language teaching. In practice, it is in fact often inappropriate and contradictory. This is partly due its positivist research paradigm with a modernist and structuralist epistemology that denies the relevance of localised social, cultural and political factors. In this section, I argue that there is a reproduction of this inappropriate pedagogy. I do this through analysing the contradictions in the localised discourse noted in chapters 5 and 6 within the framework of my critique of the inappropriateness of mainstream BANA pedagogy.

I do not wish to argue that every aspect of the pedagogy is inappropriate for teaching languages. What I wish to argue is that it has the potential to be inappropriate because of the internal contradictions in the discourse that created and sustains it. This was most clearly seen in the teachers construction of the TESOL ideal being superior to any other form of pedagogy despite evidence to the contrary (see chapter 6.8). The teachers were subscribing here to the metanarrative in the dominant discourse of a 'scientific' search for the perfect 'universal methodology' where current practice is the best so far achieved (see chapter 3.4.1). It seems, therefore, that when the teachers were faced with evidence that deconstructs this metanarrative, they either ignored it or made claims that the pedagogy was better because it was more enjoyable. In a sense, if the teachers did accept the evidence, as Peter began to, then the whole edifice on which BANA TESOL

pedagogy and professionalism is built on would begin to crumble. This is because the pedagogy and professionalism is built on the very fact that it is 'scientific', 'universal' and superior. However, this edifice, despite Peter's efforts, did not collapse because it seems that the mainstream discourse is so dominating. The pedagogy is inappropriate because this construction of superiority does not allow the possibility of alternative ways of teaching and is culturally, socially and politically insensitive.

Alternative ways of teaching could not be considered by the teachers even if this was what the students may have required because these alternatives were constructed as inferior to their own pedagogy. The teachers' reproduction of the construction of learner-centredness helped to ensure this superiority (see chapter 6.7). The alternative demonstrated in the video extract was constructed as 'teacher-centred' and therefore inferior to their own 'learner-centred' pedagogy. The powerful arguments for learner-centredness in the dominant discourse meant that it was not possible to consider any alternative if they were considered to be 'teacher-centred', or different to the TESOL ideal in any way. This was because it would be contrary to the very theory that their teaching was based on. My deconstruction of learner-centredness (see chapters 5.6 & 6.7.3) would suggest that the mainstream pedagogy may not have been any more learner-centred than the one used in the video extract. Therefore, the teachers were reproducing in the localised discourse a false dichotomy present in the dominant discourse. A false dichotomy that prevented the possibility of alternative ways of teaching within the mainstream pedagogy.

It was the example of the *problem class* that exposed the problems inherent in a construction of superiority (see chapter 6.5 & 6.7.3). Whilst I do not have the evidence to argue whether this class required an alternative approach to teaching, nor what this should have been, it is clear that the teachers never contemplated the possibility of using any alternative approaches with them. Indeed, the teachers reproduced the dominant discourse in promoting learner training for any such deviance from the norm (see chapter 6.5 & 6.7.3.3). The pedagogy is then inappropriate for those learners whose needs fall outside the parameters of the TESOL ideal because the only reaction to such needs is through a manipulative learner training that attempts to convince the students that their 'real' needs are within the parameters. The problem class appeared to reject such 'convincing', and the pedagogy in general, while all efforts to deal with the class were, at the time of the fieldwork, in vain; the problem class remained a problem.

The mainstream pedagogy is constructed as a 'methodology'; a narrow set of classroom techniques supported by theories of second language acquisition and learner-centredness (see chapter 3). As the ideal-needs dichotomy suggests (see chapter 6.7.3.3), such a 'methodology' is incapable of responding to students' needs in a broader cultural, social and political sense. It is insensitive to these important considerations in education because in the construction of superiority, it is a neutral technology appropriate to all contexts. Therefore, cultural, social and political factors do not come into play. This would explain why most of the teachers could not accept the fact that the pedagogy in the video extract might have been

appropriate to the context in which it took place (see chapter 6.8). The fact that the students and teacher may have been content with the pedagogy was constructed as a problem in itself whether due to culture, training, or 'non-native' teachers. Apart from Peter (Group Interview 4.7: Discussion 5 – 29th July 1999), it was never argued that the students and teacher being content may have been due to the fact that the pedagogy was culturally, socially and politically appropriate to the context in which it took place.

The construction of the pedagogy as 'neutral' and 'universal' is highly problematic because, as I argued in chapter 3.5.2.2, the pedagogy's theoretical basis, learner-centredness, is itself a cultural construct. One can see in the practice of the pedagogy, with for example the type of content that is used (see chapter 5.3) and the norms of classroom interaction it promotes (see chapters 5.4.2, 6.3.4 & 6.7.1), that the pedagogy is highly cultural and political. In these cases, there is a construction of students as individualised consumers in capitalism and of notionally 'egalitarian' classrooms of managed participation. These norms of classroom behaviour and content are foisted upon students as a beneficial, neutral technology. The cultural and political nature of it is never questioned because it is not considered to be cultural and political.

The pedagogy is also culturally, socially and politically insensitive because in its narrow construction of a 'methodology', it does not provide teachers with the knowledge and skills to explore students' cultural, social and political difference and be able to develop appropriate pedagogical solutions. The TESOL ideal positioned the students not as complex socially-located people but as individuals who may suffer from problematic national traits; this was particularly the case with the Japanese students (see chapter 6.5.1). Treating the students as an essentialised *other* is not surprising when one considers the pedagogy is modernist (see chapter 2.2). This cannot allow for the development of a culturally, socially and politically sensitive pedagogy because student differences are reduced to cultural stereotypes and constraints that verge on the racist where passive Japanese students "defer" to their European counterparts (see chapter 6.5.1). A culturally-sensitive pedagogy would be hard to conceive of in the context of the business-oriented Department because it would require far more of the teachers than being just deskilled facilitators using a narrow 'methodology' based on prescriptive syllabi. It would raise the status of the teachers but lower the profit margin as it would require more curricula and teacher investment.

In this section, I have problematised the pedagogy in the localised discourse as being potentially inappropriate for the context in which it operates because it fails to deal with the cultural, social and political factors that are present in a BANA classrooms. In the next section, I discuss how the localised discourse typifies tendencies in professional discourses in late modern society in terms of it being an example of biopower.

7.2.3 Locating the Localised Discourse in Late-Modern Society: An Example of Biopower

In chapter 3.4.1.1, I argued that the educational effects of the mainstream discourse could be seen as an example of Foucault's concept of *biopower* in late-modern society. In this section, I wish to demonstrate that the localised discourse in reproducing the mainstream discourse is in itself an example of biopower. I also wish to argue that the business-education tensions and conflicts in the localised discourse can also be understood in terms of wider tendencies in late-modern society of the invasion of private-sector business discourses into the public-sector.

Biopower concerns how it is that human beings are managed and regulated, and how they learn to manage, regulate and understand themselves in late-modern society; i.e. to become docile. In order to ascertain whether the localised discourse in its texts and practices was an example of biopower, I will explore the extent to which it is possible to identify in the findings the key elements of biopower: *discipline*, *punishment, examination*, *technologies of the self*, and *the panopticon*. I will then look more broadly at how learner-centredness is at the centre of this construct of biopower.[48]

7.2.3.1 Discipline

The localised discourse had all the features of *discipline*. TESOL operates in a disciplinary institution; i.e. an educational institution. Mainstream applied linguistics, i.e. the academic voice of the mainstream discourse, was (and is) the positivist social 'science' that informed the pedagogy with 'scientific' theory and research supporting a 'universal' pedagogy. The localised discourse had discipline in both its senses in the pedagogy. The pedagogy had a 'scientific' body of knowledge, skills and means of regulation, whilst it also had a means to punish and coerce deviations from the norm. Foucault (1991: 141-167) identifies four techniques of discipline: *the art of distribution*; *the control of activity*; *the organisation of geneses*; and *the composition of forces*. His discussion of the techniques of discipline focuses on its development from the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries in the such institutions as the military, factories, prisons and education. These early developments are on the surface far more regimented and authoritarian in operation than the practice of pedagogy in this study. With the discourse of learner-centredness, the dominant discourse promotes a 'progressive', liberal education that would seem to be quite different from the earlier punitive and strict versions of educational discipline. Yet, I would argue the fundamental operation of discipline exists in the 'progressive' student-centred classroom as it did in early examples of 'scientific' pedagogies, or indeed as it does in contemporary 'teacher-centred' pedagogies. I will examine how these techniques operated in the research setting.

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[48] To avoid repetition, I only cite Foucault's work directly here if it is in addition to what was cited in chapter 3.4.1.1.

7.2.3.1.1 The Art of Distribution

The *art of distribution* concerns how discipline manages people through controlling space where the principles of *enclosure*, *partitioning*, and *functional sites* design spaces for people and activities (Foucault 1991: 141-149). Enclosure, the totality of an institutional space, was in the case of the study the actual Institution. Partitioning, the division of such spaces into analytical spaces could be seen in the classrooms. Functional sites, those spaces within a partitioned site where individuals are distributed, have functions, and are observed and assessed, existed in the architecture of the classrooms. The Department's and teachers' preference for classrooms with chairs and desks arranged in a flexible horseshoe shape was a strategic choice as this design was the most effective for the working of the pedagogy (see chapters 3.5.3.5 & 6.3.4). Through the arrangement and rearrangement of students and/or their desks and chairs different functional sites were created for various patterns of classroom interaction (see chapters 5.4.1.2; 5.4.3.1 & 6.3.4). In these different arrangements, the students had various roles and relations with other students dependent on the type of task (see chapter 5.4.2.1). For example, the students were co-solvers of language problems, confidants sharing personal information, actors playing different roles in role plays, debaters in discussions, and negotiators of information in information gap tasks. While rank in the early development of disciplinary education concerned more precisely the relationship between educational level and physical position (Foucault 1991: 146-147), this did not exist within the classroom but between classrooms and classes (see chapter 6.4.1.3). *Cellular* power (Foucault 1991: 149), the characterization of the individual and the simultaneous control of the multiplicity, which is the effect of the *art of distribution*, could be seen in how the architecture of the classroom allowed both the teacher to monitor and develop individuals as well as being able to easily control the multiplicity of the class.

7.2.3.1.2 The Control of Activity

The *control of activity*, the coding of activities through timetables (Foucault 1991: 149-156), was present in the Department's timetables (Document 6.6: EFL Course Outline; Document 6.20: Academic Year Timetable; Document 6.21: Summer Course Timetable) and summer syllabus (Document 6.3). The students lives outside the classroom was similarly coded in a first day programme (Document 6.17: Summer Course First Day Programme) and in a timetable of social activities (Document 6.18: Summer Social Programme). While the teachers social lives were not coded in this way, many aspects of their working lives were: in timetables for assigning them to specific classes (Document 6.15: Academic Year Course Timetable; Document 6.16: Summer Course Module Timetable); for the course orientation meeting (Document 6.12); and for the first and last days of a course (e.g. Document 6.13: Summer Course First Day Programme; Document 6.14: Summer Course Last Day of Module Programme).

Timetables in terms of structuring of the lessons into discrete parts demarcated by time was evident in the classroom observations (see chapter 5). This was something that was also noticeable in my teacher training at certificate and diploma level where I was taught to construct lesson plans in terms of discrete stages and

tasks which had precise timings. Classic examples of this type of lesson plan can be found in Harmer (1991: 268-273) and Scrivener (1994a: 44-53). This control of activity within lessons could be seen in four phenomena identified by Foucault (1991: 151-156): *the temporal elaboration of the act*; *the correlation of body and gesture*; *the body-object articulation*; and *exhaustive use.*

The temporal elaboration of the act concerns how behaviour is precisely defined at precise times. This can be seen in the study in how the pedagogy was practised within the framework of *presentation-practice-production* where the technology prescribed the exact behaviour of the students in the three-part structure of a task while also requiring precise organising behaviour from the teacher (see chapter 5.4). The correlation of body and gesture relates to the precise control of gestures within activities. While such correlations were not so evidently prescribed by the teacher as was the case in early development of discipline, it could nevertheless be subtly seen in pronunciation teaching which required the students to imitate 'native' pronunciation through the control of their vocal organs[49] (see chapter 5.4.2.4 and Observation 1.18: 6/2/98). I would argue that this correlation acted at an even more subtle level where the teacher prescribed not only how utterances should be said or written, but the actual content of the students' oral and literary output (see chapter 5.6.2). In my own teacher training at certificate and diploma level, I was taught techniques for presenting language, controlled practice, nominating students, giving instructions, correction and which required precise hand and facial gestures.[50] Such gestures were intrinsic to the teachers' correction and nominating techniques (see chapter 5.4.3.2). Indeed, the teacher's use of such techniques for the correction of pronunciation in the video extract was one of the few things he was praised for. Nigel praised it in Group Interview 4.4: Discussion 2 – 27th May 1999; Janet in Group Interview 4.5: Discussion 3 – 2nd June 1999; Ian and Reena in Group Interview 4.6: Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999. Body-object articulation concerns how people are trained precisely to use objects in relation to their bodies. In the study, such training was not so obvious. The use of objects in the literacy process, i.e. writing instruments and textual sources such as course books were trained into the students prior to the arrival in the Institution. For the teachers, the manipulation of teaching materials and aids required precise body-object articulations (see for chapter 5.4.1.3), which, like gestures, was something I had been taught in teacher training to do.

It is in the phenomena of exhaustive use that the localised discourse was most evident. This is the question of making greatest use of time in discipline; the raison d'être of timetables. The slightest moment is made use of for maximum speed and efficiency. It can be seen in how the pedagogy has developed in the dominant discourse as a 'scientific' means of maximising language acquisition in the classroom, typified by

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[49] For a explanation of *vocal organs*, see Ladefoged (1993: 1-15).

[50] Examples of the use of gesture can be found in the following teacher training texts: Bartram & Walton (1991: 44-48); Harmer (1991: 64-65, 161); Scrivener (1994a: 96); Underhill (1994: 115-122, 126-130).

encouraging as much student talking time in English as possible in a lesson and more broadly in how *presentation-practice-production* requires the most effective use of time in each of its elements (see chapters 3.5.3.1 & 5.4). Foucault (1991: 154-155) uses the example of the development of the *mutual improvement school*.

> …the 'mutual improvement school' was also arranged as a machine to intensify the use of time; its organization made it possible to obviate the linear, successive character of the master's teaching: it regulated the counterpoint of operations performed, at the same moment, by different groups of pupils under the direction of monitors and assistants, so that each passing moment was filled with many different, but ordered activities; and, on the other hand, the rhythm imposed by signals, whistles, orders imposed on everyone temporal norms that were intended both to accelerate the process of learning and to teach speed as a virtue;… 'the sole aim of these commands…is to accustom the children to executing well and quickly the same operations, to diminish as far as possible by speed and loss of time caused by moving from one operation to another' (Bernard).
>
> (Foucault 1991: 154)

There are, I believe, strong parallels between this authoritarian classroom of obedient pupils controlled via a hierarchy of teachers, monitors and assistants, and the operation of the 'progressive learner-centred' classroom in the study. The BANA TESOL classroom of 'scientifically' established learning is itself a quantitatively-defined machine. Unlike 'inefficient' pedagogies dominated by teacher-student lockstep interaction (see chapters 3.5.3.5 & 6.7.1.1), learning can go on with different groups of students in group work. There is not the necessity of monitors and assistants to regulate this activity because with the small class sizes and the horseshoe seating arrangement, the teacher monitors encouraging self-regulation. Yet, the students did act as monitors and assistants in a pedagogic sense as one of the *raison d'être* of group work is that students learn from each other (see chapter 6.3.4 & 6.5.1). Finally, the students were 'accustomed' to move from operation to operation by short-hand verbal signals; forming groups or shifting from one type of task to another required the minimum intervention by the teacher; the students were trained to act and respond as required. The ease with which the teachers were able to put students into groups and for them to get on task demonstrates this assertion (see chapter 5.4.1.2). The example of the disruptive mid-term arrival of Ahmed in Roses also demonstrates these norms because he had not been 'trained' (see chapter 6.4.1.1).

> S: … having to re-explain instructions ... I think that's inevitable anyway because you get into shorthand with students who know you, and you don't have to, you hardly have to say anything at all, in fact you could probably ask them 'Okay what are we going to do next?'

and they'll know exactly what the next step in the lesson is going to be...erm...so Ahmed
wasn't used to that...

<div align="right">(Interview 2.1: Sara – 3rd June 1998)</div>

This phenomena that came into existence from the late seventeenth century where the body becomes the controllable, docile machine can be seen in how the students were constructed as docile language acquiring machines where learner training inculcated behaviours for the most efficient means of language learning. Therefore, under the terms of being a relaxed, happy pedagogy of oral participation there is a manipulative technology which seeks precise behaviours in order to maximise acquisition. This is perhaps at its most manipulative in the way that the students' private, social lives were used for pedagogic purposes in and out of the classroom (see chapter 5.6.1). This is a far more subtle use of discipline than the classrooms, prisons, barracks and factories of early discipline where subjects had their movements more explicitly drilled.

7.2.3.1.3   The Organization of Genesis

The four methods of *the organization of genesis*, i.e. the machinery for adding up and capitalising time (Foucault 1991: 157), can also be identified in the localised discourse. The *division of a duration into successive or parallel elements* can be seen in the way the pedagogy is broken up into successive elements in the *presentation-practice-production* template: language is taught as a system and as communication with the breaking up of language into its constituent parts which are reassembled in practice and production tasks (see chapter 5.4). Thus the student having mastered one element then moves on to the next. The *analytical plan,* where these elements are combined, can be seen in the syllabi and course books used (see chapter 5.3.3). The *finalisation of the temporal elements* can be seen in the organisation of the syllabi into courses that begin with an examination and end with an indirect examination in the form of a report and the possibility of external examinations (see 7.2.3.2 below). Finally, the *control of disciplinary time through series of series* could be seen in the complex educational technology of syllabi and curricula that divide knowledge into constituent parts to be taught; and in which students are divided by level based on their achievement in learning these constituent parts. It is the very technology with which the provision of TESOL in the Department operated.

> A whole analytical pedagogy was being formed, meticulous in its detail (it broke down the
> subject being taught into its simplest elements, it hierarchized each stage of development into
> small steps)…

<div align="right">(Foucault 1991: 159)</div>

On one level, this may not seem such a surprise for surely this educational technology is the basis on which the norms of educational practice are built upon in many sectors of education in Britain and around the world. Yet, it is this very technology which allows the "possibility of a detailed control and a regular

intervention (of differentiation, correction, punishment, elimination) in each moment of time…" (ibid.: 160). Weak communicative language teaching may be suffused with 'progressive' learner-centredness but is not different to the educational technologies of biopower; they are identical.

At the centre of this *seriation of time* is the *exercise*, i.e. the task. The teachers' pedagogy in practice was marked out by such a series of exercises which contained language goals and in students' completion allowed the teachers the possibility to monitor and assess: to characterise the students. The exercise/task as the building block of the pedagogy; as the means to realise the syllabi is then a key element of biopower. A conclusion that further weakens the argument of 'progressive' self-actualisation and democracy that existed in the learner-centred classroom.

7.2.3.1.4 The Composition Of Forces

The composition of forces is how discipline works as a whole; how an institution acts as a machine (Foucault 1991: 162-163).

> The school becomes a machine for learning, in which each pupil, each level and each
> moment, if correctly combined, were permanently utilized in the general process of teaching.
> (ibid.: 165)

The rigid and authoritarian system of 'scientific' education typified in the development of the *mutual improvement school* may on the surface bear little relationship to the relatively relaxed and interactive classrooms in the study. However, there is a similarity in the way that learning is controlled in these classrooms; where every aspect of classroom behaviour is constructed as part of the acquisition process; where students private lives become part of this acquisition process; where the students themselves become teachers who can learn from each other. In BANA TESOL there are no public pedagogic and private social spaces; for they are the same. The classroom is a machine for learning where the technology decrees that this can be achieved in a fun and relaxing atmosphere. Like the early educational developments of discipline, the pedagogy is marked out as efficient because the students are involved in the learning process as much as possible in the lesson. In the study, this is not by monitors but through group work. Like the early educational developments of discipline, the students through what Foucault (ibid.: 166) describes as "a technique of training" are managed in a lesson through the shorthand of gestures and simple instructions. The modern technology of classroom management has then a long trajectory in the development of discipline.

The precise operation of weak communicative language teaching guided by the template of *presentation-practice-production* where lessons are structured in stages with a precise division of task set, realisation and feedback; where each element in a stage is designed to happen at particular times; and where the

combination of these tasks has the desired effect of language learning and practice typifies Foucault's conception of discipline. The teacher is at the centre of this 'learner-centred' classroom organising, managing and regulating the precise behaviour of the students throughout the lesson (see chapter 5.6).

7.2.3.2 Punishment

Discipline operates through the precise operation of a body of knowledge and skills that is the dominant pedagogy, but there is at the same time in discipline the operation of punishment. This is punishment not as a means to repress but to normalise. The departure from the norm, the anomaly is defined as the problem. At one level this can be seen in the teachers' management of students' errors where correction techniques were utilised (see chapter 5.4.2.3, 5.4.2.4 & 5.4.3.2). At another, it can be seen in the informal, non-confrontational way in which inappropriate classroom behaviour such as tardiness or students not paying attention was dealt with, which, I argued, derived from learner-centredness (see chapter 5.6.1) and was way of dealing with students as 'customers' (see chapter 6.5.2). This approach to punishment was a subtle means by which normalised behaviour was encouraged by the teachers. Its intention was not to repress, but gently remind the students about what appropriate behaviour should be. However, the normalising form of punishment was at its most insidious in learner training where students' anomalous learning behaviour could be normalised through training (see chapter 6.5 & 6.7.3.3).

7.2.3.3 Examination

Normalising discipline is related to the third construct in biopower, *examination*; procedures in which human behaviour is observed, analysed and recorded for the process of normalising. This process makes each individual a 'case' in which differences from norms are marked out and recorded. Not only did the practice of the pedagogy reveal many instances of examination, but the whole operation of TESOL in the Department saw this process in operation; a process that also included the examination of the teachers.

The process of creating a 'case' for each student happened at an informal level in the classroom. It could be seen in plenary-level classroom interaction where the use of an inductive *IRF* framework allowed students' utterances to be assessed (see chapter 5.4.2.4 & 5.4.3.2). Deviations from the norm, whether in terms of language or content, could then be corrected. Examination could also be seen in student-student interaction when teachers used the technique of monitoring (see chapters 5.4.2.3 & 6.7.2.3). Monitoring enabled teachers to identify individual students' language errors as well as diagnosing their ability to do a task. Deviations could be dealt with whilst the students were on task or after the task in feedback. The teachers then had the possibility to examine their students at every stage of a lesson and could build an individual profile of each one built around their language learning competences and classroom behaviour.

There were several other requirements that the teachers had to fulfil which can be understood as forms of examination. During the academic terms, the teachers had to conduct a tutorial with each student where needs, problems and progress could be ascertained. A needs analysis had to be conducted for the Option

classes and a register had to be taken at the start of every lesson to mark the presence, absence or lateness of each student. In addition to this, Sara gathered information on students in 'Roses' through a needs analysis questionnaire (Document 6.1: Example of a Pre-Course Questionnaire Jan-March 1998) and through a fortnightly test (Observation 1.5: 16/1/98); neither of which were officially prescribed by the Department. Needs analysis was up to individual teachers while the tests were not Department policy but were informally encouraged by the Jaclyn as something that students wanted to have to evaluate their progress.

The information the teachers gathered on each student by these various means was distilled into an end of a course report, one of copy of which was kept by Jaclyn while the other was given to the student (Document 6.22: Academic Year Course Report; Document 6.23: Summer Course Report). These reports detailed attendance, level, and a written assessment of each student in which the teachers were required to evaluate the students abilities in *language as system* and *language as communication*; and to evaluate other areas of the student's classroom behaviour: e.g. how hard they worked, whether they were a 'good' student, their aptitude to learning languages and learning strategies they employed, and the way they worked with other students.

Outside of the classroom proper, examination occurred at an administrative level, which in itself helped to provide data for the process of teaching and for the course reports. The Department built up a written and oral profile for each student. This began prior to a course in the application process where students were required to complete a form in which various variables such as sex, age, nationality and their perception of their level of English had to be written. These forms were kept by Jaclyn and the Overseas Unit. The profiles were developed on the first day of a course where each student was tested for their abilities in *language as a system* and *as communication*.[51] The results were put on a student profile form which also contained information from the oral part of the test; on their reasons for learning English; and their "Attitude, motivation, confidence, re-enrolment, special requests" was also written (Document 6.2: Example of a Student Profile). These profiles were used as means of placing students into classes, a guide for teaching, a resource for the reports and as part of the Jaclyn's profile of each student. Throughout a course these profiles were developed orally in the Wednesday staff meetings where different aspects of each class and individual student were discussed. For example:

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[51] The test was composed of a multiple choice vocabulary and grammar test (*The Nelson Quickcheck Test*); a short writing task where they had to respond to a question asking them to, for example, describe their journey to Britain or their reasons for learning English; and a spoken test involving an interview with a teacher where they had respond to questions about themselves.

In the meeting the first thing that is discussed are individual classes. The classes are discussed by each corresponding 9.00 teacher and the 11.00 teacher. They are discussed in terms of individuals, i.e. if a particular individual is difficult, causes problems, does not fit in, should go up, should go down. If not, the classes are referred to as "That's okay" "That's fine" "They're fine". As such there were two students in my class that were causing problems.

(Participant Observation 3.4: Wednesday 22nd July)

It is clear that the teachers and management built complex profiles for each student that aided the process of class formation, teaching and report writing. As well as identifying needs, the profiles measured the students against the student norm in the TESOL ideal (see chapter 6.5.1). Deviations from this norm were noted and this could include the simple fact of nationality where, as in the case of the Japanese, the student was marked out as a problem prior to commencing the course (ibid.).

The process of examination did not just exist for the assessment of students but existed for the teachers as well. At a wider level, this was an intrinsic part of the teachers' careers. The teachers had been through the examination process of studying for teacher qualifications which involved the observation and normalisation of their teaching. Indeed, if their qualifications did not have observed lesson practice, they had to show "evidence of at least ten hours of systematic observation of lessons by a fully qualified academic manager or teacher trainer at an accredited organisation" (Document 6.5: Extracts from the British Council English in Britain Accreditation Scheme Handbook). The head of the Department kept profiles of each teacher based on the documents they submitted for interview (i.e. curriculum vitae and/or application form). Included in this profile was a short report on lesson observations to be undertaken once a term by the course director or head of Department as a requirement of the British Council (Participant Observation 3.19: Wednesday 12th August; The British Council. *No Date* (b)). Management were able to develop their teacher profiles also through the students' assessment of their teachers. The students had to complete end-of-course questionnaires in which they assessed the course, lessons, teaching and materials (Document 6.24: Academic Year Student Evaluation Questionnaire; Document 6.25: Summer Course Student Evaluation). In addition to this, about half-way through an academic year term there was a meeting between the teachers, the course director and two representatives from each class where these issues could be raised.

Finally, examination occurred at another level for the Department itself was examined and normalised. The Department underwent an external inspection every three years by the British Council which involved not only examining the competence of the teachers but all the people in the Department that were involved in

the provision of ESOL (Anderson 1997a[52]; The British Council *No Date* (b)). Much of the documentation that can be defined as having the role of examination was then examined by the inspectors themselves: i.e. profiles of teachers and students, and documents that provided evidence of what went on in classrooms such as registers and reports. The Department was then graded and received a report, much like the students did, in which suggestions of how the Department could improve its service were made; i.e. deviations from the norm were noted and prescriptions for change made. In a sense then, nobody in this research setting could escape from examination, including management.

7.2.3.4 Technologies of the Self

Technologies of the self concerns how individuals can tell the 'truth' about themselves. In a sense, while examination is the external producer of 'truth' about individuals, technologies of the self is in the internal producer. This is typically achieved through professionally-controlled confession: a form of self-interrogation carried out through interviews, conversations, consultations, and autobiographical narratives. Such technologies operated in the classroom and more broadly in many of the techniques of examination discussed above.

Confession took place in the classroom in tasks which used the students' (and teachers') private lives, experiences and opinions as pedagogic texts (see chapter 5.6.1). Primarily taking place in oral interaction in plenary or group work, the students were expected to reveal themselves in such tasks and therefore not only learn language but, from the perspective of learner-centredness, personalise their language production (see chapter 6.7.2.2). The themes and topics of the course books used aided this process where there was a concentration on lifestyle issues (see chapter 5.3.4). There is, I believe, an implicit aim here that through this personalisation a student can learn about themselves, which indeed is an explicit aim of learner-centredness (see chapter 3.5.2.1). Indeed, the construction of the ideal student is the oral participator willing to contribute about themselves in a lesson (see chapter 6.5.1). Learner training invokes another form of confession where the students learns what their real language needs are and how they should learn. Sara for example gave her students learner diaries in which they wrote and compared how they learnt (Observation 1.5: 16/1/98). The students confessed to themselves, to each other and finally to the teacher. A process whereby the students learn the 'truth' about their learning.

Outside of the classroom, strategies of confession were used that were parallel to aspects of learner training, i.e. they enabled the student to learn about themselves as learners. The application form and the oral entrance interview were initial instances of this. More importantly, however, was the academic term tutorial where each individually had to describe their needs, progress, strengths and weaknesses to their teacher.

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[52] Anderson (1997a) is a previous piece of research done on the Department a year prior to the fieldwork where I investigated the academic management's effectiveness in preparing the Department for a British Council inspection.

The teachers' involvement in the students private lives can also be conceived as informal confession where the teacher interrogated the students on their lives outside of the classroom for pedagogic and welfare reasons (see chapter 5.6.1).

7.2.3.5 The Panopticon, Biopower and Learner-Centredness

In chapter 5.6.2, I suggested that the lessons in this study resembled Foucault's conception of the panopticon. In the architectural sense of the panopticon, there are remarkable similarities between the design of the prison and of the ESOL classrooms in the study. In each case, the guard or teacher has a central position and is able to observe closely every movement and behaviour of the prisoners or students. Of course, there is a difference in the fact that in the panopticon the prisoners are isolated from each other, while in the classrooms, the students were sat next to each other and were encouraged to work together. However, in the classrooms, the students were, like the prisoners, "separated individualities" (Foucault 1991: 201). This is because under the potential constant gaze of the teacher where all interaction was defined and controlled by the teacher, the students were unable to develop a collective identity separate from the teacher. Just like the prisoners, the students were aware that they could be monitored at any time and so became self-regulators of their own behaviour.

The panopticon is the metaphor for the operation of biopower; i.e. of how a particular form of behaviour is imposed on an individual and how we behave as self-regulating subjects in late-modern society. The horseshoe desk arrangement with the teacher in control at its centre not only resembles this metaphor but it can be seen as the metaphor of the contradictions of learner-centredness. Learner-centredness as constructed by both the teachers (see chapter 6.7) and the dominant discourse (see chapter 3.5.2) paints a picture of a democratic, egalitarian, liberal and progressive classroom where rational centred subjects are able to act autonomously, self-actualise and create language as they wish. In the postmodern and Focualdian critique of it I outlined in chapter 3.5.2.2, this is seen as patently false. In this critique, it is argued that it is a cultural product of late-modern capitalism where freedom and democracy seem questionable in the light of teacher control and authority. Students are constructed as self-interested individuals, who, if they are the foreign 'other' with inferior ways of learning, must be trained to be autonomous and free. Autonomy is not natural but a subjectivity produced by discourses where the self-actualising student is not a discovery of true nature but a product of the discourses of learner-centredness. Autonomy is not about equality but about autonomy as consumers of products. In this critique, the theoretical basis of learner-centredness, humanistic psychology, is a technology of the self. Therefore, learner-centredness may be supposed to encourage autonomy and empowerment but it only empowers through self-control. Student confession and self-examination in and out of the classroom brings about more dimensions of the learner for educational scrutiny where success and failures are individual matters and not related to the social. The 'discovery' of students' individual 'needs' are also constructed in this way. Learner-centredness by basing identities around the concept of individualism *disciplines* students. In this individualism, the issues of culture and power are removed from education.

In the contradictions in the teachers' construction of learner-centredness (see chapter 6.7.3), there are identifiable elements which concur with the critique above. The power-autonomy dichotomy reveals how autonomy, in the teachers' understanding of the construct, was not necessarily created in the learner-centred classroom because the teacher always had authority. The ideal-needs dichotomy suggests that 'needs' are constructed entities. If their actual needs fall outside of the parameters of the pedagogy, the students must be trained to 'discover' what their 'real' needs are. Finally, the business-centred pedagogy critique clearly demonstrates how learner-centredness constructs students as both individualised learners and individualised consumers. It is a pedagogy with an egalitarian and enjoyable façade of free choice where the individualised learner, who has in fact very little freedom, is manipulated in a technology of the self. Power was manifested in the classrooms at a level of smiling faces, encouragement and informality. Learner-centredness clearly imposes a form of behaviour on people and inculcates self-regulation. It is a form of biopower; therefore as being virtually synonymous with the pedagogy; the pedagogy through the localised discourse was a form of biopower.

7.2.4 Biopower and Late-Modern Consumer Capitalism

Biopower is an important construct for understanding late-modern society. It aids the understanding of how order and control is maintained in liberal-democratic consumer capitalism where power structures are less direct and more diffuse than in other types of society. It operates in many domains, but the interest in this study is how it operates in education and in professions. There is an emerging body of work that links Foucauldian theory to education (see chapter 3.4 & 3.5), and to professionalism (chapter 2.4). This study demonstrates how a profession generates a discipline which is reproduced by its practitioners. The tendency for the reproduction of a liberal, progressive discourse (philosophically underscored by learner-centredness) that hides the operations of biopower bears some similarities to other educational and professional contexts. This can be particularly seen in the invasion of various types of private-sector and business discourses into public-sector domains. I will briefly outline then how this study fits into these wider tendencies in late-modern society.

The colonisation of workplace and educational domains by the private-sector in terms of discourses and practices has been noted in Fournier's (2000 & see chapter 2.4) work on professionalism. She argues that there has been an imposition of market liberalism in the professions where, in the context of health care, professionals are constituted as managers and patients as customers. She links this with the declining status and prospects of such professions. It is clear that there are profound changes in the workplace and education which can be conceptualised as a recent pernicious form of biopower. Yet these changes need some historical contextualisation. The historian of professional society, Harold Perkin (1989: 472-519), argues that in the wake of the world recession that started in the early 1970s, there was an emergent backlash against the public-sector professions that was to be led by the New Right and, more specifically in

Britain, by Margaret Thatcher's reign of power. These professions were seen as a cost and burden to the taxpayer that needed more control. In this climate, no "professionals have been more exactingly criticized or resented when they failed to come up to expectations than the so-called 'caring professions', the social workers, nurses and hospital auxiliaries, teachers and youth workers…" (ibid. 483). Standardisation, regulation, inspection and the imposition of the 'market' on the public-sector where services must be 'cost effective' has been the political effect of this backlash which continues, I believe, in today's post-New Right era of the 'third way'.

The marketisation of such areas as education and health has allowed the unbridled access of new regulatory technologies where traditional public-sector professions have not only come under more exacting surveillance of their professional behaviour but have been reconstituted in a business discourse as sellers of products to customers. The recession of the 1970s helped to bring about the emergence of the New Right in developed countries but also helped to bring about a shift in the mode of production from a modern industrial capitalism to late-modern (or postmodern) service capitalism. In this new form, consumption is less about physical need and utility (e.g. food, clothes and shelter) than desire, lifestyle and choice (Usher, Bryant & Johnston 1997: 4-5). Education's 'product' knowledge is therefore commodified: a product chosen by the consumer for instrumental reasons (ibid. 14; Lyotard 1984: 5).

This shift is intrinsically related to leaner-centredness. My criticisms of learner-centredness and the argument that it is a form of biopower have been similarly stated by postmodern educational theorists dealing with education in non-TESOL contexts (see chapter 3.5.2.2). This would seem to suggest that the technologies and discourses of leaner-centredness are in operation in schools, colleges and universities in a whole range of differing curricula. What these educationalists also note is that there is a relationship between learner-centredness and the operation of consumer capitalism. In this study, there was evident in the localised discourse business-education tensions and conflicts, which I argued existed between the teachers' and Department voices (see chapter 6.4), and also existed in the teachers' construction of their practice, as well as within the pedagogy itself (see chapter 6.5 & 6.7.3.4). The postmodern educationalists have also identified this relationship in terms of the marketisation of education (Usher, Bryant & Johnston 1997); the development of *busno-power* (Marshall 1996); and the critique of individualised autonomy as consumers of products (Edwards 1991). These theorists share a view that consumer capitalism and its business discourses are colonising education and that learner-centredness, unwittingly or wittingly, is its useful accomplice.

> In recent times in Britain and elsewhere, there has been much emphasis on instrumental learning, focussed particularly on the needs of the economy, within certain, particularly post-school, branches of education. This has existed alongside a cross-current of moves towards more student-centred humanistic forms of teaching and learning.

Work that falls in the domain of critical applied linguistics, but does not focus on TESOL, has also noted these colonising tendencies in the workplace and in education. Fairclough (1992; 1996), from the perspective of critical discourse analysis, uses Foucauldian theory to argue that there has been the *technologisation of d*iscourse in many occupations. In late-modern societies, there are new communication technologies that prescribe how communication should best take place in work settings. The technologies derive from a compliant social sciences that analyses and prescribes communication and its linguistic norms from such private-sector industries as marketing and advertising There are striking similarities between this technology and the mainstream pedagogy. It is also constructed as being universally applicable and it also uses an informality. Fairclough argues that there is a *conversationalisation of d*iscourse where there is a shift in a more 'participatory' egalitarian direction in the relationships between managers and workers, and between professionals and non-professionals (such as teacher and student). This reconstructs the relationship between professional and non-professional as that between producer-consumer. Such relationships are seemingly beneficial but are in fact technologies that aid the institutional control of people. There is a cultural construction of a more autonomous, self-motivating and self-steering self but this individualisation allows more domains of the workplace to come under disciplinary control. Fairclough (1996) uses the example of university lecturers who actually lose professional autonomy as more domains of their work come under institutional examination and prescription; where they are constructed in terms of multi-skilled competences. In such conditions there is actually deprofessionalisation. Other applied linguistics scholars have done similar work. Cameron (2002) makes a comparable argument in her analysis of the spread of 'communication skills': an American English communication genre and style which is being exploited as globally applicable technology in the workplace and in education, and which has its roots in the 'self-improvement culture' (chapter 3.5.2.2), while Sarangi & Slembrouck (1996) use the concepts of *marketisation of public life* and *conversationalisation* in their analysis of bureaucracy and social control. Myerson's (2001) philosophical analysis of the *mobile phone* culture is similarly troubled by recent trends in communication.

In this reconstitution of public-sector professions, a technology emerges with a whole new range of 'competences' and 'skills' required in terms of analysing the professional's own work as well as various domains of their 'customers'. The mainstream pedagogy in this study can be seen as one of these new technologies. What makes BANA TESOL an interesting case of these tendencies is that from its very outset there were these conflicts and tensions between business and education because of it being part of both the private and public sectors. Indeed, from the outset the knowledge it provides, i.e. the English language, has been considered an instrumental 'product' for its 'consumers'. Therefore, BANA TESOL should not be considered as a rather eccentric by-product of education. Rather, as a low-status profession with a dominant

and problematic mainstream discourse, it is perhaps an indication of what could happen and is happening to many professions.

7.2.5 Resisting the Discourse; Resisting the Pedagogy

The picture I have so far painted has had an emphasis of structure over agency. This could be interpreted as picture of teachers who are unwittingly caught in an oppressive discourse which they are unable to do anything about. However, as Foucault argues, power is productive and where there is power, there is resistance (see chapter 3.4.1.1). This was certainly the case in this study where the teachers' voice in the localised discourse was not a complete reproduction of the dominant discourse; there were elements of resistance in it. The strongest resistance to the discourse in the research setting was from the students in the *problem class* who resisted the pedagogy (see chapter 6.5 & 6.7.3). The teachers' resistance, on the other hand, was a far more subtle manifestation.

I would interpret the teachers' complaints and criticisms of their working lives and their profession as a form of resistance (see chapter 6.6.2). These attitudes were paralleled in some of their working practices were certain duties were resisted. This could be seen in a certain laxity in doing administrative tasks such as filling in class registers. I had noted that Sara in the classroom observations did not take the register in class (Observation 1.2: 12/1/98), and in the participant observation teachers, including myself, on occasions filled in registers some time after their lessons (Participant Observation 3.7: Monday 27th July; 3.17: Monday 10th August; 3.19: Wednesday 12th August). Indeed, Jaclyn in a meeting reminded the teachers to keep their registers up to date (Participant Observation 3.4: Wednesday 22nd July). Some of the teachers were also late in producing other documents such as *option lists* which described the Options their 9 o'clock class would be doing (e.g. Peter, Participant Observation 3.27: Monday 24th August). Other duties not directly related to teaching were also resisted. For example, when the teachers were asked by Jaclyn to take their students to an ESOL book exhibition on the campus during a lunchtime, several of the teachers, including myself, had forgotten to do this. After having done so, we "laughed about this and decided we had more important things on our minds" (Participant Observation 3.5: Thursday 23rd July). Finally, many of the teachers avoided going to more than one student disco per course (Participant Observation 3.8: Tuesday 28th July) despite the fact that officially teachers were expect to go to one social event per week (Document 6.4: Extract from a Temporary FE Contract).

These actions could be attributed to laziness, but this does not sit comfortably with the evidence of their commitment and hard work in the classroom (see chapter 6.6.2.2). I believe this is in fact a resistance to activities that were considered not directly pedagogic. This may have been because being low-status meant that their professional commitment was exclusively to teaching, and not to other activities; an attitude of *why should I bother with anything in addition to my teaching*. This was not then a resistance to the pedagogy, but a resistance to the how they were treated as professionals.

Resistance to the pedagogy itself, and implicitly the discourse that produces it, came most directly from Peter in the group interviews (see chapter 6.8). Other teachers problematised specific aspects of the pedagogy: Nigel hinted at the problems of learner-centredness (see chapter 6.7.3.1); Janet was troubled by the importance of entertaining in the pedagogy (see chapter 6.5.2) and argued that the pedagogy is dictated to a certain extent by availability of technology such as photocopiers (Group Interview 4.5: Discussion 3 – 2nd June 1999); Sandra wondered if the "RSA Diploma lesson…packed with interesting things and fun things to do" might be questioned by students in terms of learning outcomes (Interview 2.3: Sandra – 1st October 1998); Sara, in arguing for teaching language in context, was critical of the *language focus – language skills* division of the morning classes (see chapter 6.3.3); and Simon found text books "very constraining" (Interview 2.2: Simon – 4th June 1998). There were also two signs of resistance in classroom practices: in Sandra and Simon's choice of themes and topics (see chapter 5.3.4 & 5.3.5), and in the use of deductive teaching by Sara (see chapter 5.4.3.2). Compared to Peter's critique, and looked at from a broader perspective, these resistances were minor. In the final analysis their teaching and construction of a TESOL ideal were very consistent with the dominant discourse. Nevertheless, it did indicate that their was some level of agency at work; that they were not automatons. I believe, though, that there was another form of resistance that was far more pervasive than the occasional criticisms and slight variations of practice indicated above. This was the use of humour.

Humour is linked to postmodernism and resistance in the concept of the *ludic*: a playfulness in which parody and irony undermine the 'truth' and 'progress' of modernism (Usher & Edwards 1994: 15). Irony allows people to refuse to be tied to one specific meaning or truth, while parody is "a refusal to take 'sacred' positions and 'articles of faith' seriously and at their own self-important valuation (Usher, Bryant & Johnston 1997: 8). This is not, however, being unserious or flippant for it "can be seen as ways of making somewhat coherent and liveable what remains a conflicted unstable outlook of sustained tensions and disenchanted hopes" (Burbules 1995: 8-9 cited in Usher, Bryant & Johnston 1997: 9). This allows a person to tell a story and create an identity "where apparently contradictory and self-undermining positions are embraced, where uncertainty and ambiguity are recognised and accepted as inevitable features of a conflictual and uncertain world, but where this presents not only limitation but also possibilities" (ibid.). In the presence of the conflicts, tensions and contradictions that were part of their working lives, I consider that the teachers used the ludic as a means of resistance.

The teachers constantly used humour in their working lives with jokes, asides, witticisms and light-hearted, gently mocking of each other often done in an ironic and sarcastic manner that seemed to be linked to a strong camaraderie which existed between them. In my professional life, this use of humour has not existed in every context I have worked in. Some institutions I have worked in have been similar, in some there has been little humour evident, while in others there had been a far more cynical humour used. This use of

humour occurred in almost every non-teaching context such as in corridors, in offices, in meetings and on social occasions. A great deal of this humour was aimed at the pedagogy and the discourse. For example:

> I went … into the teachers' room … John came and he recited a limerick out loud. I asked him if that was what he was doing … for the whole lesson. He said "Yes, I'm teaching them the rhythm method." We laughed about this joke.
>
> (Participant Observation 3.7: Monday 27th July)

John parodied the dominant discourse by inventing a 'method'. 'Methods', that product of the 'scientific' mainstream discourse, were treated as fads to be mocked. Other areas such as the syllabus came in for similar treatment, as this extract from a meeting demonstrates.

> [Jaclyn] also said that she had found one section of the syllabus that had been missing, and she made a joke about this. This caused Mathew and Eric to make some light-hearted sarcastic comments that were not maliciously aimed at Jaclyn. These comments were about how important the syllabus was to them, the fact that they really had noticed this section of the syllabus was missing because they followed it so much. Eric made a point about how he did not think much of the syllabus, and Jaclyn said that it passed BASELT, and he replied that he did not think much of BASELT. This banter was not nasty but jokingly good-humoured.
>
> (Participant Observation 3.9: Wednesday 29th July)

In this extract, a Department norm, the syllabus was mocked through sarcasm, while one of the key players in the institutional voice of the mainstream discourse, BASELT (see chapter 3, footnote 15), was also the treatment of humour. These examples demonstrate that the teachers, whilst adhering to the dominant discourse, at the same time mocked it.

One area in which the ludic was particularly present was in the teachers' reactions to being researched. I never encountered any direct resistance from the teachers to what I was doing. For example, Simon (Participant Observation 3.8: Tuesday 28th July) and Terrence (Participant Observation 3.19: Wednesday 12th August) both made suggestions about what I could look at in my research; while John (Wednesday 29th July), Sara (Friday 7th August) and Terrence (Monday 10th August) all asked me about, and discussed with me, the themes of the research. This in fact led to problems of how much of my agenda I could reveal (see chapter 4.11). Rather than just taking a serious interest in what I was doing, the teachers often made jokes about my role as researcher. For example:

I saw Nathan outside his classroom (HG01) and then went into the classroom. Nathan came in, and then Louise. They were talking about what the classes were like, and they were making jokes about me spying. What was interesting was that they were talking normally about the class, and when they were making jokes about me spying, Nathan began to spout things off, acting out what I would like to hear as a researcher for a humorous effect. So he was spouting off buzz words in EFL, e.g. "group work", "realia", "suggestopeadia", I think there were a couple more.

(Participant Observation 3.13: Tuesday 4th August)

I arrived at the Harmer building … I went upstairs … [to the temporary teachers' room] … Nathan came in and chatted. Esther said hello and was very bright. I bumped into Terrence and he was talking about the AM class. We were sitting around the desks. He was talking to Nathan about using "communicative activities" and then said "Ooops speaking" as if to mean he has let something out of the bag. This was a response to my observing what they were talking about. They were aware that I was writing things down.

(Participant Observation 3.21: Friday 14th August)

There are two elements to this use of the ludic. Firstly, the teachers were aware of my observing them and often made jokes about me "spying". In addition to the above examples, Peter (Participant Observation 3.9: Wednesday 29th July), Linus (Participant Observation 3.13: Tuesday 4th August), and Sara and Louise (Participant Observation 3.16: Friday 7th August) all made jokes at my expense when I was caught in the act of writing notes in a notebook or reciting them into a tape recorder. In another example, Linus and Peter after a meeting joked that they hoped I did not write about their behaviour in the meeting, i.e. doing a crossword (Participant Observation 3.25: Thursday 20th August). As with the general camaraderie, these jokes were not direct attacks at what I was doing. I was accepted and therefore able to be mocked. My acceptance could be seen in John acceptingly pointing out "Oh, it's your job" after I apologised for being like a spy (Participant Observation 3.9: Wednesday 29th July) and in how I was sometimes used by the classroom observations as a teaching resource (e.g. Observation 1.14: 30/01/98). There was only one occasion where my 'spying' had potential for tension. This was in a meeting where I made a suggestion about how the Option classes should be taught.

However, this was misunderstood by several people including Jaclyn who said "Are you data collecting now?" I said I was data collecting, because I was data collecting about the meeting, but I think they thought that the aim of that question was data collection. In fact it was not asked for those reasons; I was just curious, it was a question I wanted to ask and would have asked even if I was not data collecting … I pointed this out and there were some jokes about it. Also on the issue of data collection, I think Linus and John said some humorous responses

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to this saying things as if I would note [them] down such as "Oh yeah. I teach very

competently" and "I have had very successful classes" in an obviously false way.

<div align="right">(Participant Observation 3.29: Wednesday 26th August)</div>

This potential cause of conflict was dealt with and my research once again became a topic for humour.

The second element of the ludic were the "Ooops speaking" jokes where terms and concepts connected to the dominant discourse such as *communicative* and *group work* and sentences of the "I teach very competently" type were dropped as ironic hints, as if this is what I was looking for in my research and as if I was evaluating their teaching. I believe that these types of jokes suggested an awareness of the role of the dominant discourse. As a researcher in applied linguistics, I was a representative of the dominant discourse in terms of the academic voice. These terms and concepts were used as a parody of the theories that generate from the dominant discourse. The teachers then distanced themselves from them by not taking these *sacred positions* and *articles of faith* in the profession seriously. The second type of hint seems to suggest that the researcher is interested in evaluating professional performance. As I discussed in chapter 3.1.1, in reality personnel from the institutional and academic voices are sometimes the same; the lives are blurred. So for the teachers, observational research is associated with evaluation. In the climate of disciplinary examination this is no surprise. It then too becomes the object of parody.

The teachers then demonstrated resistance to aspects of their working lives and more subtly resistance to the dominant discourse in their teaching and their construction of their teaching. However, this second form of resistance was most evident in their use of the ludic. I believe this use of humour was quite different to that used in the process of teaching (see chapter 5.6.1), because in the latter case the teachers were amusing the students as part of the 'fun' pedagogy. The use of the ludic, on the other hand, suggested a form of opposition to the tensions, conflicts and contradictions in their working lives. However, it was not an organised and powerful resistance. The dominant discourse still dominated in terms of the teachers' practice and theory.

7.3 Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented a macro-analysis of the findings in chapters 5 and 6. Using the three-part critique developed in chapter 3, the findings of the macro-analysis can be summarised as follows:

- The localised discourse in reproducing the dominant mainstream discourse also reproduced the low-status of the TESOL profession and reproduced a potentially inappropriate pedagogy.
- There is also a reproduction of Foucault's concept of disciplinary biopower. This reproduction is far more subtle than early examples of discipline in that learner-centredness masks its operations

in a seemingly democratic, participatory veneer that promotes autonomy; operations that are intrinsically linked to late-modern consumer capitalism.

- These findings not only have parallels with other sectors of education but also with tendencies apparent in many other professions where there has been the invasions of private-sector business discourses into public-sector domains.

- The participants, however, did demonstrate resistance to dominant discourse in their working lives particularly with the use of humour.

In the next, final, chapter I will discuss the implications of the findings of this thesis for both TESOL and applied linguistics; and also for doing research in the postmodern. I will then give a conclusion to the thesis.

Chapter 8

As English language teachers, we are the frontline deliverers of a series of formal and informal, planned and unplanned language policies which, haphazard as they may be, seem to be heading in the same general direction – a direction involving the implementation of a unique linguistic experiment on almost the entire population of the planet. This experiment addresses one overriding question: Is it possible for the vastly culturally and linguistically diverse populations of the world to develop English as a common first, second (or third…) language, and if so, at what cost to factors such as societies and individuals as well as to cultural and linguistic diversity?

<div align="right">(Hall & Eggington 2000: 5)</div>

By emphasising skills and downplaying knowledge and understanding, and by emphasising information and information retrieval as characteristics of the educated person, neo-liberal education can be seen to be heavily embroiled in the security of state and international capitalism, as there is both a particular kind of person sought under the form of an autonomous chooser and a clear intention by state institutions to foster and reproduce such individuals.

<div align="right">(Marshall 1996: 192)</div>

8 Implications and Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

The first part of this chapter assesses the implications of the findings of this thesis for BANA TESOL and for applied linguistics, and the implications of doing research using postmodern theory. This is structured as follows:

- The implications for BANA TESOL and applied linguistics.
    - o I argue that the principle implication for the BANA TESOL profession and applied linguistics is that the present dominant pedagogy and concomitant professionalism is in need of a radical overhaul.
    - o I therefore propose a possible direction for an alternative postmodern pedagogy and profession.
- The implications of research using postmodern theory
    - o I highlight some of the problems and issues of doing postmodern research.

The second part of this chapter provides firstly an overall conclusion to the thesis, and secondly attempts to demonstrate using two examples from the news media how the two major themes of the thesis (i.e. the problematising of the TESOL profession, and the problematising of certain tendencies in late-modern consumer capitalism in education and in professions) are extremely relevant to what is happening in education in the Britain at the time of writing.

8.2 The Implications for BANA TESOL and Applied Linguistics

I wish to consider the implications of this study for BANA TESOL as a profession and applied linguistics as the discipline that informs this profession. For the TESOL 'industry', the findings of this study may be of little interest. The present situation serves the industry well: examination boards, publishers, language schools and other elements of the institutional voice make large profits around the world with their 'products' that are based on the dominant pedagogy. For TESOL practitioners and applied linguists, the findings may be of more interest. A low-status profession of service industry workers with a high-attrition rate whose professionalism is represented in a pedagogy that has inherent contradictions and is potentially inappropriate needs to be questioned. The discipline of applied linguistics driven by modernist epistemology which provides the academic validity to this pedagogy also needs to be questioned.

The purpose of this section is then to consider a possible direction for an alternative postmodern pedagogy and concomitant discourse for BANA TESOL which would enable an alternative postmodern profession. As made clear throughout this thesis, the dominant discourse has been under criticism from work that can be located in what Pennycook (2001) calls *critical applied linguistics*. The direction for an alternative pedagogy is therefore drawn from this work as well as work dealing with modern language teaching in the TESEP sector. This is in the form of three pedagogical alternatives to weak communicative language teaching (CLT). I then consider the direction of an alternative profession.

My starting point is not that weak communicative language teaching (CLT) is inherently *bad* as classroom practice, although I do find the content it generally carries is intellectually vacuous (see chapters 3.5.3.3 & 5.3). My main starting point is rather that the discourse of it as superior, universal and 'learner-centred' where pedagogy is reduced to a technical 'method' means that it not only socially, culturally and politically insensitive but that more sensitive alternative pedagogies cannot be considered (see 7.2.2 above). A sensitive alternative pedagogy is a broader church than a 'method' which in practice may use elements of weak CLT but in a critically reflexive way.

8.2.1 Three Pedagogical Alternatives

The three pedagogical alternatives I consider are *appropriate methodology*; *critical pedagogy*; and *teaching intercultural communication*. Two of the three are promoted by three of the critical quartet (see chapter

3.3): appropriate methodology by Holliday; critical pedagogy by Pennycook and Canagarajah. The fourth member of the quartet, Phillipson, does suggest a critical ELT (1992a: 319). However, I do not include this as an alternative pedagogy because it is essentially about countering linguicism (Pennycook 1994a: 308) and is not a fully developed pedagogy in itself. Whilst their concerns are with finding a pedagogy appropriate to TESEP or Periphery contexts and I am dealing with a BANA and Centre context, I consider their alternatives because their critiques of the dominant discourse provided the theoretical basis of my critique (see chapter 3.4). Therefore, their solutions derive from a similar critique. The third, teaching intercultural competence, derives from modern language teaching and, to a lesser extent, TESOL. These three alternatives, while having some ostensible differences share certain commonalities from which a possible alternative could be developed.

8.2.1.1 Appropriate Methodology[53]

Appropriate methodology is primarily associated with the work of Holliday. Nevertheless, there has been a great deal of work that is either thematically similar and/or uses the notion of appropriate methodology (e.g. Sano, Takahashi & Yoneyama 1984; Nolasco & Arthur 1986; Coleman 1987; Prabhu 1990; Prabhu 1992; Bax 1995; Kramsch & Sullivan 1996; Ainscough 1997; Cadorath & Harris 1998; Benson 2000). However, it is Holliday's (e.g. 1994a; 1994b) more fully-developed model that I focus on.

Appropriate methodology shares some of the fundamental principles of BANA CLT but attempts to fit within the cultural norms of TESEP classrooms. However, these principles derive not from the dominant weak version of CLT, but from the strong version (see chapter 3.1.2), because it is more culturally sensitive and adaptable to TESEP contexts (Holliday 1994a: 169-174). This is due to several reasons. It does not adhere to the *presentation-practice-production* framework that is reliant on a monolingual, orally-interactive classroom. Lessons are based around solving language problems which can be done individually or collaboratively by students. Group work is then not necessarily used for oral language practice but to solve these problems. Therefore, group work can be in the students' first language and does not need close monitoring by the teacher. Whilst students can present work back to the teacher in written or oral form (i.e. textual solutions to the language problems), it is not a requirement that their language acquisition be revealed orally in the process of the lesson. This all means that the strong version can be more easily and successfully managed in large monolingual classrooms; especially those that require a more 'teacher-centred' approach of whole class teaching.

Holliday does not argue that there exists one form of strong CLT that should be used in all TESEP contexts. What he suggests is that the principles of strong CLT can be applied to various contexts, but how it actually works in a specific context is dependent on research into the particular classrooms and institutions carried

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[53] Whilst Holliday uses the term 'methodology' and not pedagogy, I consider that his model is closer to my conception of pedagogy than the narrow conception of 'method' in the dominant discourse.

out by teachers or curriculum developers. Figure 8-1 illustrates how this process works, what Holliday (1994a: 177-178) calls the *action research cycle*. In this approach the differences to the BANA ideal in TESEP classrooms are not considered negatively as 'constraints' (see chapter 6.3.6), but as essential features in constructing an appropriate methodology (ibid.: 108). Action research is carried out using applied ethnography, where the classroom, as a culture, is read as text to be unlocked and from which the methodology is developed (ibid.: 181-183). Using a form of strong CLT in a classroom is not an end in itself but part of a cyclical process where the teacher implements new ideas, analyses outcomes and makes further adjustments to make the methodology more appropriate.

unlock text
(action research)

classroom data as text:
methodological problem

produce appropriate
methodology
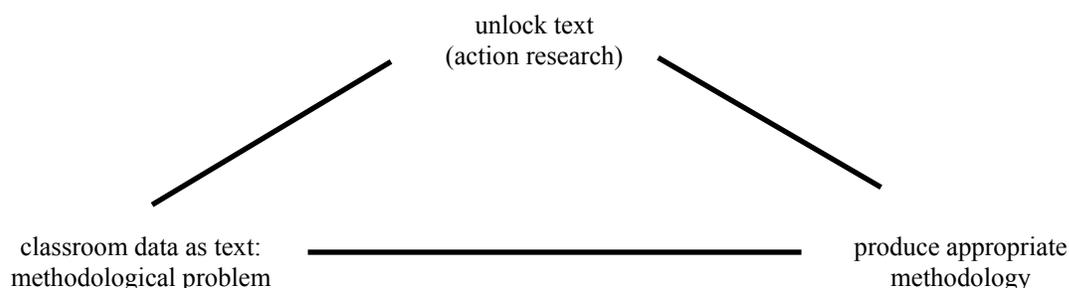
Figure 8-1: Action Research Cycle (from Holliday 1994a: 178)

8.2.1.2 Critical Pedagogy

Critical pedagogy, originally developed by Paulo Freire (1972) as a liberating means of teaching literacy to the poor in the developing world and further developed in education in the developed world (e.g. Giroux 1983; Bromley 1988; Giroux 1988; Graman 1988; Giroux & McLaren 1989; Mclaren & Hammer 1989), has had a growing interest in applied linguistics including TESOL in general (e.g. Auerbach & Burgess 1985; Starfield 1997; Crookes & Lehner 1998; Pennycook 1999b[54]; Auerbach 2000 Cutri 2000; Tollefson 2000; Wallace 2002); in English for academic purpose and academic literacies (e.g. Hammond & Macken-Horarik 1999; Benesch. 2001) and in the non-TESOL specific area of language awareness (e.g. Fairclough 1994; Clark & Ivanič 1999; Fairclough 1999). My summary of it is based on Pennycook (1990b; 1994a;1999b) and Canagarajah's (1999) conception of it as well as how it has been broadly constructed in critical applied linguistics. While originally designed in a more traditional left/neo-Marxist framework, it has become, in a sense, the pedagogy of post-modernism and post-colonialism as typified by Pennycook and Canagarajah.

Appropriate methodology is a means by which the problems of BANA technical transfer to TESEP could be resolved (see chapter 3.3.2). For Holliday, the spread of English by the 'West' is not the problem, what is the problem is how it is taught (see chapter 3.3.4). In contrast, critical pedagogy for Pennycook and

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[54] This is an editorial to an entire issue of the journal *TESOL Quarterly* devoted to critical pedagogy.

Canagarajah is not just an issue of how English is taught but is a response to the spread of English and the discourses and structures that support this spread. In this pedagogy, the teaching of English should not only be carried out in a manner that is more culturally sensitive to the context in which it takes place but it should also be politically sensitive to the context. It is not a singular prescriptive 'method' but is seen "rather as a heuristic around which those of us who share certain pedagogical and political visions can group" (Pennycook 1994a: 300). A critical pedagogy, rather like appropriate methodology, cannot be defined precisely prior to a course of instruction but is the combination of its critical aims and an appropriate pedagogy which is developed during the course. Indeed Canagarajah's (1999: 190-195) model is also developed via an ethnographic approach that is ongoing, cyclical and responsive. For examples of how critical pedagogy can work in TESOL classrooms see Canagarajah (1999: 188-190); Auerbach (2000); and Bensch (2001).

Critical pedagogy is then a political enterprise in that it sees that "all education is political" and seeing its own politics as progressive (Pennycook 1994a: 301). It has a conception of politics which is part of the students' daily lives that "aims to help students to deal with their struggles to make sense of their lives, to find ways of changing how lives are lived within inequitable social structures, to transform the possibilities of our lives and the ways we understand those possibilities" (ibid.: 302). For Canagarajah (1999), critical pedagogy allows students and teachers in the Periphery to resist the dominant forms of Centre English and its pedagogy allowing students to create and develop their own forms of knowledge (e.g. a critique of the dominant Centre and a legitimised local variety of English).

In the classroom, critical pedagogy in ESOL places a more critical and reflexive distance between the learner and the 'target' language-culture. Students learn a foreign language and culture in a reflexive manner that allows students to learn *about*, rather than necessarily become *part of*, the foreign culture (Canagarajah 1999: 188-190). This contrasts with weak CLT where students take part in tasks which force them to uncritically imitate foreign language-culture norms, which may be culturally, socially and politically inappropriate to their own. While Canagarajah is concerned with how Periphery students can have a critical distance to dominant English language-cultures, Benesch (1996; 1999) sees a role for it in teaching English for academic purposes where students join the language-culture typically in Centre universities. Here students learn to communicate with and join the target language-culture but can also take a critical and reflexive distance to it. Acculturation is therefore problematised as this could be seen as way of dismissing the students' own culture, while students may be able to change the 'target' culture through resistance.

Critical pedagogy in ESOL can be understood as looking at how people are represented and can represent themselves in English (Pennycook 1994a: 308) rather than just the adoption of dominant norms. There is a certain similarity with appropriate methodology in that they are both concerned with unlocking how texts

work rather than the ability to be able to reproduce interactive norms in English. What differentiates the two is a politicisation of these texts. As Canagarajah (1999) argues, these texts from the Centre reveal the hidden curriculum of a dominant elite that have to be resisted; a view Holliday finds to be rather patronising of the developing world (see chapter 3.3.4).

8.2.1.3 The Teaching of Intercultural Competence

There has been a development of various approaches that attempt to integrate the teaching of foreign and second languages with the teaching of culture in modern language teaching and, to a lesser extent, in TESOL (e.g. Bowers 1992; Kramsch 1993; Morgan 1993; Kramsch 1995; Kramsch, Cain *et al* 1996; Byram, Duffy *et al* 1996; Murphy-Lejeune, Cain & Kramsch 1996; Roberts 1998; Hinkel 1999; Morgan & Cain 2000; Byram, Nichols *et al* 2001; Kohonen *et al* 2001; Roberts, Byram, *et al*. 2001). These scholars share a common belief that language and culture are inextricably linked, and therefore culture is an essential element of foreign and second language curricula. In much of this work, the view of the language-culture relationship is far less essentialised than earlier conceptions in applied linguistics (see chapter 2.5.1).

Culture should be taught because without the ability to try and understand the culture of the other, communication between people of different language-cultures is fraught with difficulties. Many of these scholars therefore argue that in addition to, or as part of, communicative competence in the target language, a learner should develop an *intercultural competence* (e.g. Cortazzi & Jin 1999; Kohonen *et al* 2001; Byram, Nichols *et al* 2001; Roberts, Byram *et al* 2001).[55]

> …the ability of a person to behave adequately in a flexible manner when confronted with actions, attitudes and expectations of representatives of foreign cultures.
>
> (Meyer 1991: 137)

Interculturally competent students are able to communicate with foreign speakers because they can negotiate between two cultures. Thus the student is "someone who has an ability to interact with 'others', to accept other perspectives and perceptions of the world, to mediate between different perspectives, to be conscious of their evaluation of difference" (Byran, Nichols *et al* 2001: 5). In this approach, the learner is equipped with the tools to navigate interaction and thus develop the competence to communicate between cultures in the process of communication. Intercultural competence challenges the notion that students should have as their target near-native competence, indeed it challenges the notion of the 'native speaker',

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[55] There is a certain similarity between language-culture pedagogical theory with its intercultural competence, and cross-cultural pragmatics (e.g. Thomas 1983: 91; Wierzbicka 1991; Mey 2001: 262-288) with its notion of pragmatic competence for language teaching (e.g. Thomas 1983: 92; Judd 1999: 152; Rose & Kasper 2001).

and looks towards learners developing the competence "to become intermediaries, mediating between potentially conflicting behaviours and belief systems in their own and others' social lives" (Roberts, Byram, *et al* 2001: 31). In such a vision one finds traces of postmodernism where meaning in language is not absolute, but is arrived at through negotiation between intercultural speakers (ibid.).

It is possible to identify three pedagogical approaches for developing intercultural competence. These all concern activities in which the students develop cultural, and concomitantly linguistic awareness, of the 'other': firstly, through students taking part in ethnographic projects within a 'target' language-culture context (e.g. Roberts, Byram *et al* 2001); secondly, through dialogic exchanges of texts with students from other language-culture contexts (e.g. Morgan & Cain 2000); and thirdly, through the analysis of 'target' language-culture texts from a cultural perspective, i.e. as cultural artefacts (e.g. Scollon 1999; Burwitz-Melzer 2001). The common theme to these approaches is the implicit or explicit construction of the student as a ethnographer/anthropologist who searches for meaning in the texts and practices of the 'other'. Teaching intercultural competence is not, in my estimation, a pedagogy rather it is a range of approaches for raising cultural awareness that tends to be part of wider linguistically-oriented pedagogies. Teaching intercultural competence therefore stands slightly apart from appropriate methodology and critical pedagogy. It also stands apart because it is predominately derived from TESEP modern language teaching and is therefore not so concerned with the issue of appropriateness. However, it does share certain commonalities with the other two. These commonalities could possibly form a broader alternative pedagogy to weak communicative teaching.

8.2.2 An Alternative Pedagogy; An Alternative Discourse

These three alternatives are not perfect solutions to the problems of the dominant discourse. However, they contain certain possibilities for the direction an alternative pedagogy could go in. A direction that could be supported by an alternative discourse and connected to an alternative professionalism. I will outline what these possibilities are and how they could make up such an alternative pedagogy.

8.2.2.1 Evaluating Three Alternatives

What appropriate methodology offers is an attempt to create a pedagogy that is adaptable to TESEP contexts. Accepting that BANA TESOL students previous educational experience tends to be in TESEP contexts, it therefore offers a pedagogy that is more adaptable *in* BANA contexts and is more culturally and socially sensitive to students than weak CLT. Yet, by using strong CLT and having the goal of developing communicative competence, it is not completely alien to the dominant discourse. By broadening how communicative competence can be achieved in the classroom, it opens the door to the possibility that a classroom of maximum student oral interaction closely monitored by the teacher and based on the *presentation-practice-production* framework is not the only way a language can be taught. Taken with the evidence that the dominant construction of learner-centredness is inherently contradictory (see chapter 6.7.3

& 7.2.2 above), it permits the abandoning of the whole concept of learner-centredness as it is presently understood allowing the possibility of whole-class teaching for those classrooms where this would be more appropriate. However, such possibilities are not prescribed in a narrow 'method' for pedagogy is never predetermined but develops from the teacher's ongoing and cyclical ethnographic action research. This would suggest a new expertise for the teacher. The teacher is no longer a deliverer of a predefined technical 'method' but is an expert in range of teaching approaches and in a research methodology which discovers the approaches that are most appropriate; the teacher becomes not only a pedagogue but an ethnographer (Holliday 1996a).

In being a postmodern pedagogy, critical pedagogy is a possible solution to the problems of BANA TESOL in late modernity. This is something that appropriate methodology lacks because at the time of its inception it stuttered between its original modernist aims of creating a more efficient means of overseas development for such dominant institutions as the British Council and a more postmodern critique of the dominant discourse evident in Holliday's later work (see chapter 3.3.4). A key element of its post-modernism, lacking in appropriate methodology, is coming to terms with the political nature of education and students' lives. Its progressive political aims, however, could be criticised for wanting to 'liberate' students from various forms of oppression, because it is potentially just as manipulative as learner-centredness; where teachers have a similar role of deciding that 'liberation' is what the students really need even if they do not seem to want it. This issue poses a whole set of questions: Is it the role of the teacher to do this? Are not students capable of resisting without the 'aid' of a teacher? Are students necessarily oppressed? Therefore, is this the case of exchanging one manipulative pedagogy and discourse with another? Also more importantly, in both BANA and TESEP contexts teachers are under pressure to pedagogically conform due to such factors as education ministries, inspection bodies, prescriptive curricula and examinations. In the light of this, do teachers have the luxury of using critical pedagogy? For example, a Chinese colleague once pointed out to me that in many countries taking a critical stand against dominant elites in their country could cause many difficulties for teachers including the sack, imprisonment or worse. As an answer to most of these questions, what critical pedagogy can offer to an alternative pedagogy, which modernist learner-centredness lacks, is critical reflexivity. However, the last question cannot be so easily answered.

Critical reflexivity for teachers, and indeed for students, means that all discourses concerning pedagogy, language and content can be questioned including the issue of biopower. With critical reflexivity, it is possible to see that all forms of education inherently involve teacher power and control. In the classroom, students have in fact a tacit contract with teachers which involves either accepting or not accepting the authority of the teacher: the professional who has the knowledge the students wish to access. By conforming to 'learner-centred' tasks, the students are accepting this authority, by resisting them as in the case of the *problem class* (see chapter 6.5 & 6.7.3), students are not. In addition to this, unlike appropriate methodology, critical pedagogy suggests a more intellectually challenging content than what is offered in

standard BANA TESOL syllabi and materials (see chapter 3.5.3.3 & 5.3.4). I would argue, nevertheless, that English for academic purposes has always had a more intellectually stimulating content because the content has to reflect the content of the academic courses the students will follow (cf. Jordon 1997; Flowerdew & Peacock 2001).

What both appropriate methodology and critical pedagogy offer for an alternative pedagogy is the notion that a pedagogy should be culturally, socially and (in critical pedagogy's case) politically appropriate to the context in which it is delivered. They both suggest a pedagogy that is not fixed nor predefined, but ongoing in cyclical ethnographic action research. They also both offer a means of allowing a distance between the students and the 'target' language-culture. This is clearest in critical pedagogy in its aim not to acculturate students into the 'target' language-culture norms but critically evaluate them. In the case of appropriate methodology, I would disagree with Canagarajah's (1999: 188) assertion that it "inducts students into the foreign culture in a non-reflexive manner", because by using strong CLT it enables students to analyse language and not just uncritically reproduce it in practice and production tasks.

The contribution of the teaching of intercultural competence to an alternative discourse is its locating the link between language and culture in the postmodern. The notion of intercultural competence shifts communicative competence into the postmodern where the goal of 'native-like' competence can be abandoned; where meaning is negotiable and not fixed; and where there is stronger sense of cultural relativism. It too abandons notions of acculturation in favour of a third space of intercultural understanding where texts from the 'other' are not re-enacted in practice and production but analysed as cultural artefacts.

8.2.2.2 A Postmodern Alternative Pedagogy

These three alternatives are not completely disparate but have certain commonalities that provide a viable alternative to the tensions, conflicts and contradictions in the dominant pedagogy. What they have in common is, to a lesser and greater extent, an abandonment of the notion of language learning being the uncritical reproduction the norms of the 'target' language-culture. Perhaps more controversially, I would argue that all three share a certain similarity with strong CLT in seeing communicative competence developing from various types of classroom tasks or activities where students analyse 'target' language-culture texts. I place these commonalities and other more disparate elements together in what I would propose as a potential direction for an alternative pedagogy. This pedagogy should be postmodern because modernist pedagogy is narrow, 'scientific', 'universal' and lacking in reflexivity. The alternative discourse that produces this pedagogy is therefore a postmodern discourse. What I outline here is not a detailed description and explanation of an alternative pedagogy but a possible direction for a pedagogy with a series of suggestions that could be explored, examined and evaluated in future research. This pedagogy would be guided by the notion of *negotiation* functioning at the level of the *how* and *what* of teaching.

- Aim:

- o To develop communicative and intercultural knowledge[56] in students.
  - o This means not the ability to be 'native-like' but the ability to negotiate between language-cultures.
- Conception of Language-Culture:
  - o Language and culture are intrinsically linked and are therefore taught together.
  - o Meaning is not fixed as in structuralism and representationalism (see chapter 3.5.1) but is negotiated. In this epistemology, *small culture* is the best model of culture because norms and meanings may not be fixed but situationally constructed (see chapter 2.5.2).
  - o Therefore, meanings in a language-culture are taught at a provisional level, always under negotiation, change and ultimately criticisable.
- Means to Achieve Pedagogy:
  - o Pedagogy is never predetermined but developed through cyclical ethnographic action research that is socially, culturally and politically sensitive to the students. There is here then a sense of negotiating the pedagogy.
- Classroom Practices:
  - o While this is dependent on the outcomes of research, there may be the following discernible elements.
  - o As developing communicative and intercultural knowledge is not dependent on particular forms of classroom interaction, the teacher can choose what forms of interaction and class work is appropriate for the students.
  - o Texts that represent or derive from the 'target' language-culture can be analysed linguistically and the rules deriving from this analysis can be learnt in practice and production activities. However, to develop intercultural competence, these texts should be also treated as cultural artefacts to be critically analysed and reflected upon. Negotiation exists here at two levels:
    - The ability to analyse texts for the understanding and reproduction of language whilst always accepting the provisional nature of meaning.
    - The ability to negotiate meaning at an intercultural level; i.e. with the 'other', in a critical process where the student becomes an ethnographer of the 'target' language-culture.

8.2.3 A Postmodern Critical Profession

What is essential to this possible direction for an alternative pedagogy is a redefinition of ESOL teacher professionalism. The very act of being able to implement and teach such a pedagogy would lead to such a

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[56] I replace 'competence' with *knowledge* here because 'competence' is part of the modernist learner-centredness that I have critiqued in this thesis.

redefinition. At the centre of this redefinition is the teachers having a postmodern critical reflexivity about their practices and theories that drive them. Such a reflexivity I believe was partially evident with Nigel (see chapter 6.7.3.1) and Peter (see chapter 6.8). It would enable teachers to not only critique all educational discourses that prescribe classroom practices but would also help teachers to think of the repercussions of their classroom practices in the development of an appropriate pedagogy. To implement this pedagogy, teachers' disciplinary knowledge would have to be far broader than the narrow 'method' of weak CLT, as it would involve not only a wider range of classroom approaches informed by a more critical applied linguistics but the understanding of the social, cultural and political dimensions of education and the ability to undertake ethnographic action research (cf. Grabe, Stoller & Tardy 2000).[57] The teacher as ethnographer is not just for the purposes of classroom research but for the purposes of teacher being able to critically analyses 'target' language-culture texts and teaching students to do likewise.

Such a teacher as a holder of specialised knowledge about language, culture and developing appropriate pedagogy is far more than a simple deliverer of a predefined 'method' with a set of teaching skills. This not only contributes to a redefinition of their professionalism but, with a critical reflexivity, it is possible to see that where there is a recognition of teacher power and where students tacitly accept a contract, the teacher's role is not that of a deskilled 'facilitator' but a knowledgeable expert who *teaches*.

This possible direction for pedagogy and its concomitant professionalism, in the light of present realities, could be accused of idealism. TESOL is controlled by the mainstream institutions. Redefining pedagogy and professionalism will not end low wages, short-term contracts and bad conditions. However, if critical applied linguistics and sympathetic teachers can help to redefine professionalism it would have two benefits: better language education for students; and an improved professionalism for teachers. It could be argued that with the power of the dominant discourse even a critically reflective teacher would find it difficult to teach such a pedagogy. I would suggest that such a teacher can instigate resistance in the classroom even with mainstream materials. Canagarajah's (1999: 188-190) example of using a mainstream course book is an illuminating example of this. Finally, change in the 'industry' can only be achieved by critical applied linguistics and sympathetic teachers becoming "socio-politically active" (Forham & Scheraga 1999) and attempts to change the institutions that produce this dominant discourse. This is then the case of not so much a postmodern critical pedagogy but a postmodern critical professionalism.

8.3 The Implications of Researching in the Postmodern

In this section, I will consider three interrelated implications of this study as a piece of research using a postmodern epistemology. Post-modernism had a multiple role in this study: it was used for locating my

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[57] Grabe, Stoller & Tardy (2000) suggest that ESOL teacher training should be informed by linguistics, psychology, anthropology, and education.

position in this research (see chapter 1); for the research constructs used (see chapter 2); for the research methodology used (see chapter 4); for the analysis of the dominant mainstream discourse (see chapter 3); for the analysis of the localised discourse (see chapters 5, 6 & 7); and finally for determining a possible alternative pedagogy and professionalism for BANA TESOL (see 8.2 above). As it underlies every aspect of this thesis, it was considering some to the implications of doing research using postmodern theory.

Using postmodernism in such multiple ways is quite logical and coherent. I am quite convinced that post-modernism does not lend itself to being used eclectically as one element in research. For example, in the creation of theory or as research methodology in a work that is primarily not postmodern. As I discussed in chapter 2.6, critical discourse analysis does suffer from being torn between being ostensibly neo-Marxist but adapting Foucauldian theory. The implication of this is that researching in the postmodern requires a thorough commitment to the epistemology, concepts and ideas otherwise a work could lack coherency. A counter critique to this could be that, as I stated in chapter 2.2, post-modernism is a heterogeneous set of theories, ideas and tendencies that cannot by its very nature be narrowed to one theory, idea and tendency. It is also by its very nature complex whether referring to the source texts of Foucault, Derrida, Lyotard *et al*, or the various interpreters of their work. However, as I also stated in chapter 2, there are certain commonalties in post-modernism in terms of its critique of modernism, truth, the subject and the Enlightenment project. Its distrust of metanarratives, of 'scientific' 'universalism', of claims to Archimedean perspectives of truth, and most importantly an acceptance of reflexivity all make for the possibility of a coherent approach in postmodern research.

Due to its inherent complexity, the development of research constructs and concepts can be problematic. In the 'scientific' world of positivism, defining constructs is perhaps an easier job, but in the postmodern this a far more hazardous enterprise. This is far more complex in the postmodern because meaning is not fixed. Consequently, much of the postmodern literature does not allow for concise definitions in its prose. This was particularly the case with the constructs of *culture* and *discourse* and the concept of *deconstruction*. What is interesting about them is that they made more sense in practice than when I was actually trying to determine what they are through the literature. Culture and discourse were essentially heuristic devices to help explain the phenomena I was investigating; they were not phenomena that existed in the physical sense. Deconstruction, on the other hand, was perhaps less a method than an analytical strategy used to reveal the conflicts, tensions and contradictions within the localised and mainstream discourses. The implication of this is that defining constructs and concepts should perhaps reflect cyclical ethnographic research where the researcher develops their concepts not prior to the research in a literature survey but cyclically in the process of the research.

Finally, there is the problem of the Derridian conundrum discussed in chapter 4.13 of this text being like all others open to multiple interpretations where meaning is never fixed. My ultimate hesitation in accepting an

extreme form of relativism in writing this and relying on a more moderate social constructivism (Lincoln and Guba 1985: 84) is the one point in which this research is not fully postmodern. This text follows then the traditions of mainstream social science because a fully postmodern text would not be acceptable as research in the academy. The implication of this is that in many disciplines, there are norms about what constitutes research and academic writing, which the novice researcher has to follow. A former colleague at my institution in a different department had to resubmit his doctoral thesis because he had written a postmodern text, i.e. he wrote an analysis of the detective novel as a detective novel. Therefore, research can be in the postmodern but not actually *be* postmodern.

8.4 Thesis Conclusion

This thesis has provided a postmodern critique of the TESOL profession as practised in the BANA sector globally through an ethnographic study into the theories and practices of a group of ESOL teachers working in an institution of higher education in Britain. The first chapter introduced the nature of the TESOL profession in terms of what it does, i.e. the teaching of English, and to whom, i.e. those whose first language is not English. More specifically, using Holliday's (1994a) typology, the teachers were understood to part of the wider activities of *International English Language Education* which has two clear sectors: BANA and TESEP. I then located this thesis within the current of critical applied linguistics that Pennycook (2001) describes as *problematising practices* which draws on postmodern and post-colonial thinking and is heavily critical of the norms and practices of mainstream applied linguistics which provides much of the academic basis to BANA TESOL practice. I finally dealt with the importance of reflexivity when undertaking a piece of research that claims to use postmodern theory. In the second chapter, I determined the epistemological basis of the thesis, postmodernism, and its analytical strategy, deconstruction. I then defined the terms and concepts used to conceptualise and analyse the data (i.e. professional, culture and discourse) which were located within this postmodern epistemology. From this discussion, I claimed that my investigation conceptualised and analysed the teachers' occupational behaviour as a *professional culture* which was both localised and reproductive of the wider professional culture of BANA TESOL. There was also a concomitant *professional discourse* produced by the localised culture, containing both the teachers' and the management's (i.e. Department) voices, which was in itself related, and to a certain extent, reproductive of the wider dominant discourse of BANA TESOL, which has both academic and institutional voices.

The purpose of chapter 3 was to describe the nature of the mainstream dominant discourse in the TESOL profession which was heavily reproduced in the localised discourse. I examined how TESOL perceives itself as professional at the institutional level, but as a low-status profession at the practitioner level. I then analysed how International English Language Education has been problematised by four authors: Phillipson, Pennycook, Holliday and Canagarajah. From their critiques, I established my own critique of the dominant discourse which differs from theirs in the sense that mine was not concerned with the

problematic transfer of pedagogy and the English language from the Centre to the Periphery, or from TESEP to BANA, but was concerned with the problematic operation of the pedagogy, which I described as *weak communicative language teaching*, in the BANA sector. My critique, using postmodern theory in general and the work of Foucault in particular, located the norms of the dominant discourse within wider tendencies in late-modern society. From this perspective, I examined the important influences of both mainstream applied linguistics (i.e. the academic voice of the dominant discourse) and learner-centredness on the pedagogy, and critiqued the fundamental elements of the pedagogy (i.e. 'methodology'; language; syllabus and teaching materials; learners and teachers; the classroom and classroom interaction). My overall critique was the following:

1. The pedagogy ideally fits a low-status, 'backpacker' profession because the main elements of it can be reduced to a series of 'universally-applicable' techniques, the rudiments of which can be taught on a one-month training course to 'native speakers'.

2. This 'universally-applicable method' is neither sophisticated nor responsive enough for the complex educational needs and cultures of students in any context, because these educational concerns are hardly accounted for in the 'method'. Consequently, in many BANA cases, it may be inappropriate.

3. There is a dissonance between theory and practice. The pedagogy claims to create certain forms of student-centred learning and to be responsive to students' needs. It claims a democratic, affective classroom. This is a liberal illusion for it masks the subtle operation of Foucault's concept of biopower.

The fourth chapter was concerned with describing how the study of the localised culture and discourse of the teachers took place and the theories that underlined this study. I described the research methodology used, *progressivist applied ethnography,* which was commensurate with a postmodern epistemology. I then described in detail the design and procedure of the study. I examined some of the ethical issues of the study and the issues concerned with the writing process as well as how the data was analysed.

The findings were divided into three chapters with the first two having a micro-level analysis and the third introducing a macro-level analysis. The first chapter dealt with how the teachers' practised their pedagogy. These findings suggested that there was a strong consistency in these practices in terms of lesson structure, content, and how lessons were realised by the teachers. These practices were also consistent with the pedagogic prescriptions of the Department where the teachers' worked as well as with the dominant discourse. In addition to this, there were apparent contradictions in the way that what appeared to be a learner-centred pedagogy displayed a great deal of teacher control. The second findings chapter examined how the teachers constructed their professional practices in terms of a what I called a *TESOL ideal*, a set of prescriptions of what constitutes an ideal lesson, class, student and teacher. The way in which the teachers

constructed ideal practices of how lessons should be structured and taught were consistent with their actual practices analysed in the first findings chapter. However, there was evidence of tensions and conflicts in the teachers' construction of an ideal class, ideal student and ideal teacher.

1. In the formation and maintenance of classes, there were tensions and conflicts between the teachers' ideal and the Department's actions which appeared to be a product of a business discourse of profit.
2. There was a tension in the teachers' TESOL ideal and their construction of students as 'customers' which appeared to derive from this business discourse. At its basis was a potential conflict between the teachers maintaining their educational principles and maintaining their source of income, the students.
3. There was a conflict between professional commitment to a TESOL ideal, and the Department, as part of the TESOL 'industry', which treated them as a low-status profession. This conflict resulted in the teachers constructing their working lives as being difficult and in giving outward indications of a lack of commitment, which seemed to be contradicted in practice.

There was also a series of contradictions in the teachers' TESOL ideal in regards to their construction of learner-centredness and of the superiority of the TESOL ideal.

1. There was a dichotomy between constructing learner-centredness as a form of student-student interaction and constructing it as an approach to a pedagogy. This was problematic in that it privileged student-student interaction over whole-class teaching even though whole-class teaching could be equally 'student-centred'.
2. There was a power-autonomy dichotomy deriving from the construction of the teacher being over-dominant in teacher-centredness and the construction the student being autonomous in learner-centredness. Evidence would suggest that this equation is false: autonomy may exist, and the teacher is equally in control, in both types of classroom.
3. The construction that learner-centredness is responsive to student needs while also being the theoretical base of an ideal pedagogy meant that there was an ideal-needs dichotomy. This dichotomy existed because of the impossibility of teaching the TESOL ideal and responding to student needs at the same time if the needs were for another type of pedagogy.
4. The TESOL ideal, with its basis in theories of learner-centredness, was in the final analysis ideally suited to an educational enterprise that is run as an industry. It is a 'business-centred' pedagogy because its affective concerns perfectly suit the requirements of customer satisfaction. The repercussion of this is that the business-education conflict between the teachers' TESOL ideal and their construction of the student as customer is rendered far more complex suggesting a tension that actually exists in the ideal.

5. There was a contradiction in the teachers' construction of the TESOL ideal being the superior means of second language teaching and the evidence that students capably learnt English with another pedagogy. This meant that the only 'superiority' of the pedagogy was its affective ability to please student-'customers' and teachers; i.e. to make learning 'fun'. In the final analysis, this ideal had the possibility of not being responsive to students' needs as learners or customers.

The final findings chapter brought together these substantive findings under a macro-level analysis. Using the three-part critique developed in chapter 3, the findings can be summarised as follows:

1. The localised discourse in reproducing the dominant mainstream discourse also reproduced the low-status of the TESOL profession and reproduced a potentially inappropriate pedagogy.
2. There is also a reproduction of Foucault's concept of disciplinary biopower. This reproduction is far more subtle than early examples of discipline in that learner-centredness masks its operations in a seemingly democratic, participatory veneer that promotes autonomy; operations that are intrinsically linked to late-modern consumer capitalism.
3. These findings not only have parallels with other sectors of education but also with tendencies apparent in many other professions where there has been the invasions of private-sector business discourses into public-sector domains.
4. The participants, however, did demonstrate resistance to dominant discourse in their working lives particularly with the use of humour.

The implications of this thesis were discussed in this chapter with reference to TESOL and applied linguistics; and to researching in the postmodern. In the first set of implications, I argued for the possibility of an alternative postmodern pedagogy influenced by *appropriate methodology*, *critical pedagogy*, and *teaching intercultural communication.* I then argued that this pedagogy could help to form a postmodern critical TESOL profession. The second set of implications concerned the problems of researching in the postmodern where I argued that postmodern research needs to have a coherent epistemology and that research concepts should be derived through a cyclical process of research and theory. However, I finally argued that postmodern research cannot be fully postmodern because postmodern texts do not fit into the norms of the academy.

The two introductory quotations in this chapter exemplify the two major themes of this thesis: the problematising of the TESOL profession; and the problematising of certain tendencies in late-modern consumer capitalism in education and in professions more generally, which have been analysed using Foucauldian theory. This thesis has attempted then to analyse the theory and practice of the TESOL profession in the BANA context from these two perspectives. Firstly, the pedagogy and concomitant professionalism of TESOL represented in its pedagogy has been critiqued for reproducing a low-status

profession and for being potentially inappropriate because it is culturally, socially and politically insensitive. Secondly, the operation of the pedagogy with its theoretical underpinning of modernist mainstream applied linguistics and humanistic learner-centredness can be seen as an example of Foucault's biopower. The fact that the pedagogy *disciplines* and encourages *docile bodies* is hidden in the façade of 'humanism', 'autonomy', 'democracy' and 'scientific universalism'. This tendency in late-modern society is not unique to TESOL, but can be seen as part of broader invasion of private-sector discourses into nominally public-sector domains such as education. In these tendencies, learner-centredness can be seen as a very useful individualising technology for the marketisation of this sector.

What I have attempted to do in this thesis is then link the critique within International English Language Education and applied linguistics of the theory and practice of BANA TESOL with this broader postmodern theory. A possible new direction for the profession and its pedagogy that I propose in 8.2 is then not just a reaction to the problems of the profession, but is also a reaction to these broader changes in education and professionalism in late-modern society. As I stated in chapter 7.2.4, TESOL is a pertinent example of these tendencies because unlike other professions it has always had these public-sector – private-sector tensions.

At the time of writing this conclusion, two stories have been in the British media which demonstrate not only the relevance of analysing these broader tendencies, but of analysing the practices and theories of TESOL. The first story concerns the issue of deprofessionalisation and professional low-status that appears to be a result of these broader tendencies. This is the British government's decision that there should be a new form of classroom assistant in state school education (BBC News: 2002a). The proposal is that these "advanced" assistants would not only assist teachers in the classroom but could teach certain subjects "such as drama, music and sport" (ibid.) in order to give teachers more free time for planning and marking. I interpret this as a subtle means with which teachers can be deprofessionalised, as such a move would in the long run undermine teachers' professionalism as these assistants, who would need neither a degree nor the level of teacher training that teachers have, would be allowed to teach. It would therefore seem that TESOL will not be the only profession where the under-qualified can teach.

The second story concerns the teaching of ESOL and the issues which surround this. David Blunkett, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, made several suggestions regarding the teaching of English and citizenship to 'asylum seekers' and 'immigrant' communities, and the suggestion that such people should use of English in the home (BBC News: 2002b). His comments resulted in an online debate on the British Association of Applied Linguistics' *BAAL Mail* system. There are two ramifications of Blunkett's comments. Firstly, he was reproducing a monolingual bias that is still subtly present in the dominant discourse; and secondly, that people should be made to learn English as part of becoming a British citizen

would suggest the increasing role for ESOL teachers in the UK. However, as Robert Phillipson noted in this email debate.

> What Blunkett ought to be doing is addressing the fact that ESOL has never been properly funded or professionalised, and adult immigrants are therefore effectively deprived of proper access to the learning of English…adult ESOL provision…is staffed by well-meaning but under-qualified people, and is stuck in a an assimilatory, fundamentally racist mode.
>
> (Robert Phillipson: Email communication: 27 September 2002)

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Appendix 1

1 Classroom Observations

Introduction 12/1/98

In the first week of term (5-11th January), there were no observations because Jaclyn decided that the classes needed a week to settle down. On the 7th of January, I attended the first staff meeting of the term at the Harmer building where it was decided that I would observe the 'Roses' class. This choice was made for two reasons: firstly, it would be the ideal class because it contained students that will continue into the summer term; and secondly, it was more convenient as a class because fewer teachers were teaching it.

I actually taught the class in the week preceding the research proper, as a teacher was ill. In this lesson I did the following:

CLASS: ROSES   **DATE:** 8/1/98
TEACHER: CHRISTOPHER   **TIME:** 11.00-12.30

STAGE 1   **INTRODUCTION**

I got to know the names and nationalities of the students. *(In fact, I soon realised that I had already taught some of the students last term.)*

STAGE 2   **DISCUSSION ON GROUP WORK**

I used a very similar set of questions to those I had used in my MA dissertation where I had got my students to discuss their views on group work. These were the questions asked:

1. What kind of things do you do in group work when studying English?
2. Why do you think the teacher wants you to work in groups?
3. What are the advantages and disadvantages of working in groups?
4. What size groups do you prefer? Why?
5. What kinds of people are needed to make a group work well?

Whilst the students did the task reasonably, they did not produce as many ideas as the dissertation class had done. I wonder if this was because it was the beginning of term and so they were a new class. However, they seemed to work in groups together reasonably well and showed signs of getting along together well as well as co-operating.

STAGE 3   **LISTENING AND READING**

This was a bog-standard skills task (from *Heinemann Integrated Skills: Upper Intermediate* pp22-23), which worked fairly well.

1.1 Observation 1 12/1/98

CLASS: ROSES   **DAY:** Monday

TEACHER: Sara   **TIME:** 9.00-10.30

INTRODUCTION TO THE CLASS AND CONTEXT

WHO?

The class are levelled as second out of four classes and are identified as upper-intermediate. At the time of observation, there were eleven students with a strong female and Pacific Rim bias. This is the class list:

NAME	SEX	NATIONALITY	AGE	WEEK ARRIVED
Fred	male	French		1
Laura	female	Italian		21/1/98
Yin	female	Taiwanese		1
Tomoko	female	Japanese		1
Rosa	female	Spanish		1
Christine	female	Uruguayan		1
Satoko	female	Japanese		1
Keiko	female	Japanese		1
Kei	female	Japanese		1
Hido	female	Japanese		4/2/98
Claire	female	Thai		1
Ahmed	male	U.A.E.		4/2/98
Yumi	female	Japanese		1
Ali	male	Turkish		1

Their teachers for the morning classes are Sara (1st lesson, and effectively her class), Simon and Sandra, who share the second classes.

WHAT?

The students are on a term-long EFL course which lasts from January to the beginning of April (13 weeks). This is a non-examined term. The students do classes on Monday to Friday from 9 to 10.30am with Sara following structure-based classes using a course book, and from 11 to 12.30am with Simon or Sandra doing a skills-based lesson without a text book. The students also have afternoon option classes where the times vary, but are usually for one hour and between 1.30 and 4.30pm. These are usually either content-based (e.g. film studies) or meet a specific EFL purpose (e.g. business English or exam preparation).

WHERE?

The students attend the institution. The course comes under the remit of the Department, which has two main sections: higher education based around teacher training and education, and further-education based language training (i.e. EFL and modern languages). Most of the EFL teaching during the academic year takes place in the Harmer building, which is a nineteenth century town house just outside of the main city centre campus.

WHY?

I am not yet informed of the reasons for the students doing the course.

THE OBSERVATION

The classroom (HG 02) in which the class in based in the morning has the following layout (see the diagram on the next page). Outside of the classroom, I asked Sara if it would be okay to observe the class and she said that it would be fine. On entering the class she actually tells the students what I am doing. I got the impression that she did not actually ask them before if I could observe, as I had previously asked her to do. The students were actually sat in the following places (see the second diagram). I notice immediately that the two male students were sitting at one end while the back row of desks were completely dominated by Pacific Rim female students. Despite the dark, dismal January weather, the room was bright and well lit.

9.05   STAGE 1[58]

Sara gives the students a copy of course book (Workout Advanced by Radley and Burke - Longman) to try out because the one they had been using the previous week was a little too easy for them even though it was described as upper intermediate. The students worked on pages 8-9 in this lesson.

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[58] These are my assumed stages to show how I interpret the stages of the lesson, not how the teacher has interpreted them.

TV/VCR   OHP

cassette recorder

bay French windows

students' desks

chairs

display of students' work

white board & OHT screen

teacher's desk

fireplace

door

display of students' work

map on wall

window

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Ali   Fred

Yumi

Keiko

Maya

Sara

Claire

Tomoko

Yin

Kei   Rosa   Christine

Observer
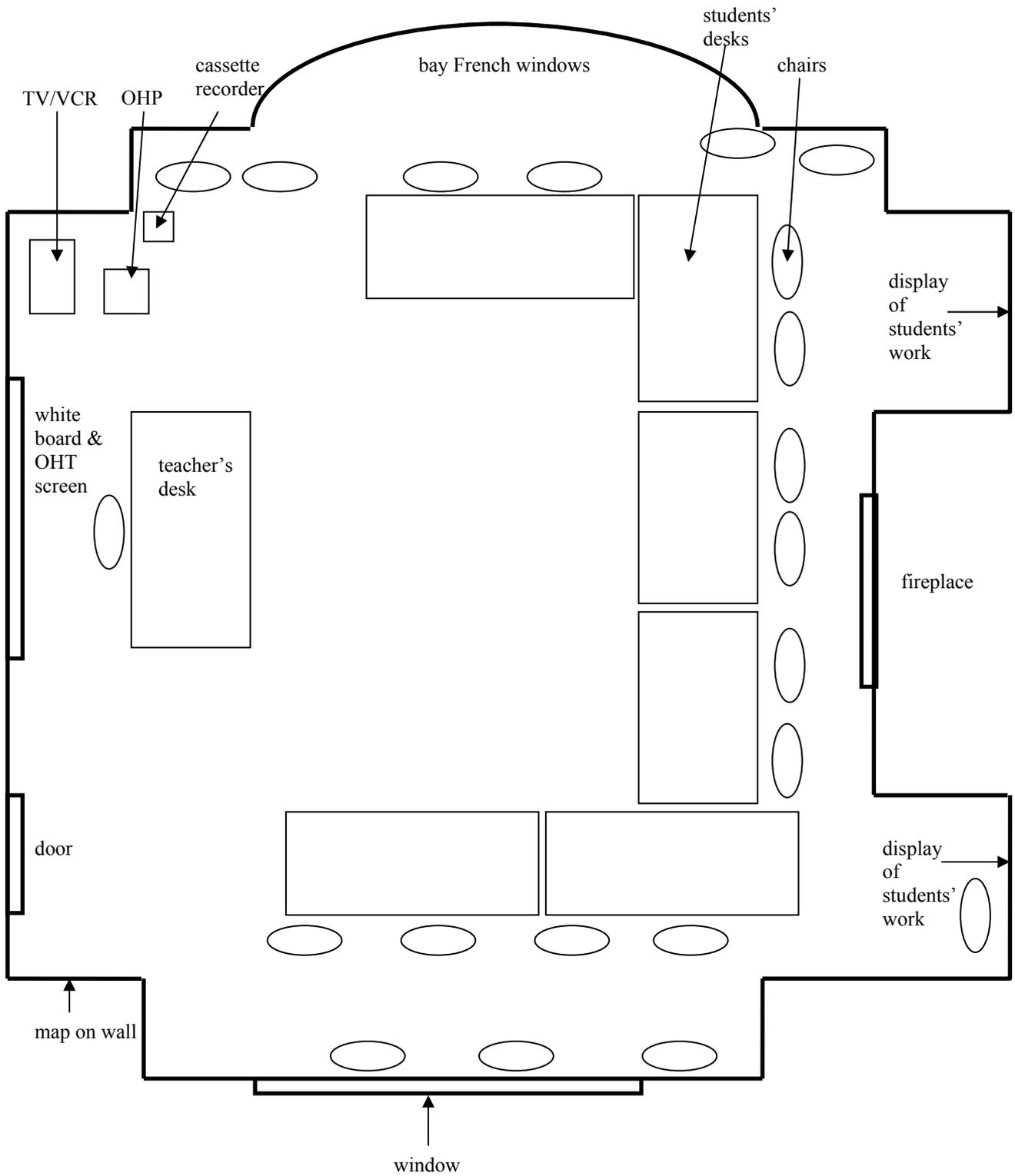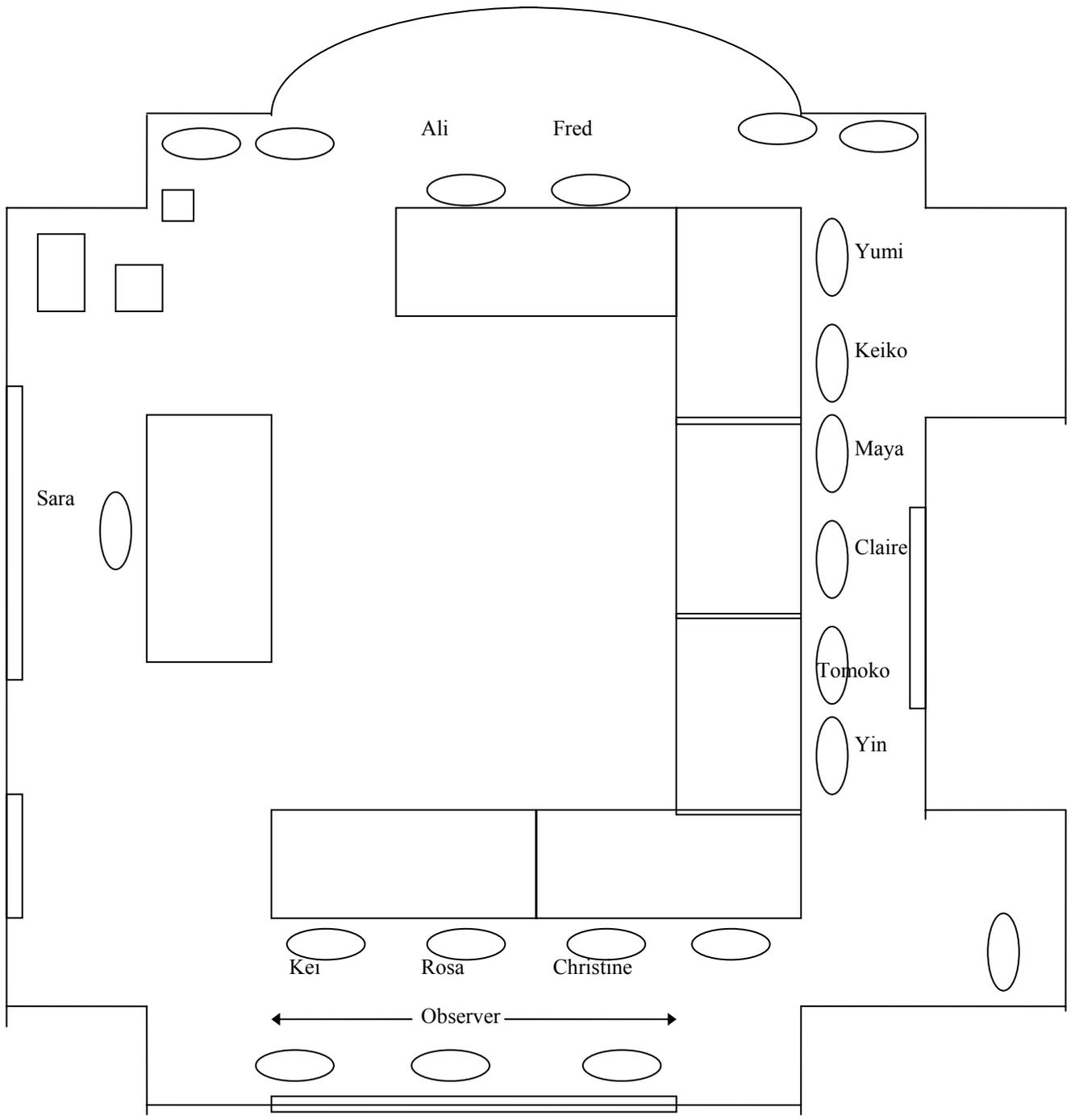
Group Discussion
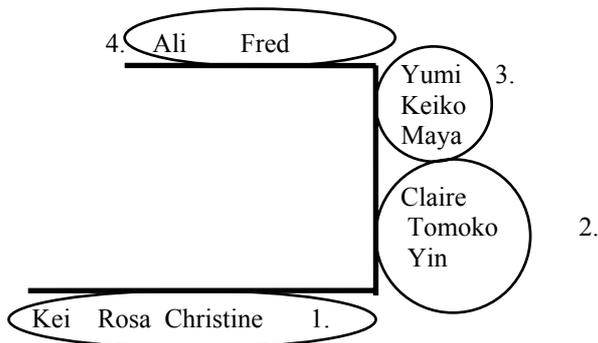
The students are asked to work in groups of three to discuss the causes of stress. The students are quietly talking and seem serious. They all seem quietly active, but not over the top. (The groups are represented in the diagrams above.)

2. Feedback

The students give the teacher their findings and she notes them on the board. Claire is chosen by the teacher to represent her group. She is slightly giggly. The other members of the group join in. Yumi is chosen by Sara to represent her group. She is quiet but contributes. The teacher does not nominate a representative from group 1 nor group 4, asking for a response from anyone in that group. During this process, Sara gives relevant personal anecdotes. She also explains some items of vocabulary as they come up.

3. Round Up

The teacher asks the students what causes them stress in general.

9.24 STAGE 2

1. Discussion: further discussion on how to relieve stress.

The teacher splits up the students into new groups which seems to be in order to destroy national/ethnic enclaves   (i.e. the Pacific Rim.) The layout is as follows.
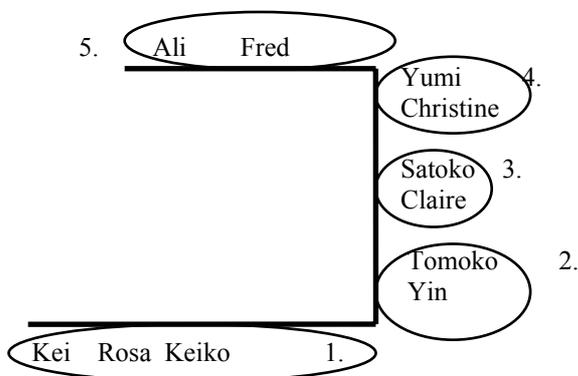
As in the previous stage, Sara generally stands behind her desk. She does not seem to interact with the students, although I had the impression that she was monitoring them.

9.26 STAGE 3

1. Two texts: half the class read one, half the other.

The students read it studiously on their own, although Sara did say that they could help each other.

Claire asks Tomoko a question, but apart from that it is a quiet murmur where you cannot tell who is speaking.
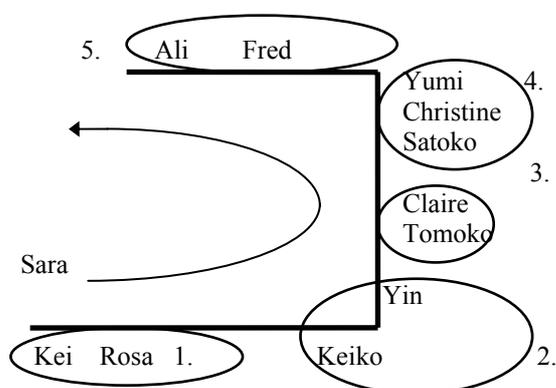
Sara goes to group 1 to see how they are getting on, kneeling in front of them and discussing the text, She then moves to the next group in an anti-clockwise movement. As she does this, the students talk more in their groups. Sara then again stands behind her desk monitoring the class. She then moves and leans on the front of her desk. Ali asks her a vocabulary question.

9.44 STAGE 4

1. The students compare the texts.

Sara moves some of the students so that they can compare. The students are chatty with some laughing and smiling but at the same time they are quiet and serious in terms of doing the task. They are obviously more serious about studying than the class I studied in my dissertation.

2. Feedback

Before the feedback starts, the students move back to their original places. I think they were asked to do this. Sara goes over the answers and then does a quick vocabulary-related feedback.

9.52 STAGE 5

1. The students are given words from the texts on different bits of paper which they have to define using the texts. They then swap the pieces of paper with other groups. The students were in the same groupings as in stage 3. They are again studious with a quiet murmur of voices which is never too loud. Towards the end of the task, Sara goes from group to group checking their work in an anti-clockwise direction in front of them.

2. Feedback

Sara instructs the students to go over the text and vocabulary for homework.

10.05 STAGE 6

1. Grammar exercise (ex. 2, p. 10 from the course book) comparing sentences used in the text with

those in the exercise in groups of two and three.

There is a quite murmur of working Sara is behind her desk writing on the board for the feedback.

2. Feedback

This is a plenary session. The students are attentive. Tomoko gives two answers, supported by Claire. Sara tells the students to do exercises 3 and 4 for homework. They finish a few minutes early but the teacher stays to help a few students (Fred first, then some others.)

1.2 Observation 2 12/1/98

CLASS: ROSES   **DAY:** Monday

TEACHER: Simon   **TIME:** 11.00-12.30

Unlike Sara, Simon went over the names in the register. The students are in the same positions as they were in the previous lesson.

11.05 STAGE 1

Eliciting on how one gets a job.

Compared to Sara, Simon seems more animated and lively. He has a slightly joky manner using humour in his teaching as well as anecdotes. As he elicits how to get a job, he puts key vocabulary on the OHP. The students seem interested in what is going on and are quite willing to respond to elicitation. They could not really be described as lively or animated, but rather as responsive and interested.

11.24 STAGE 2

Writing a CV.

Simon outlines what is in a CV and the students write their own ones. Simon leaves the class to get some photocopies, and the students work on their own with the two Marias chatting a little in Spanish. When Simon returns he goes round the class behind the students checking their work and what they are doing. He then goes over the next section of the CV, and the students consequently write the next section (this process is repeated section by section.) The students respond well to the teacher's humour laughing a lot. When the students are writing on their own, there is some talking between them. Simon structures the lesson a lot more loosely than Sara (e.g. in the separation of points when the students work on their own, and when the teacher speaks to the class.) Because of this, it is more difficult to separate teacher and student-centred parts of a stage. This may be because he planned this lesson at the last minute as he only realised he was teaching it a few minutes before it started.

Simon speaks to me about the lesson, and then goes round the back of the students monitoring and making comments. I notice again that when the students work on their own, they do talk with each other, Simon makes comments and goes around.

12.00 STAGE 3

Speaking: A/B pair work gap fill using a CV and letter.

The groups were the following:
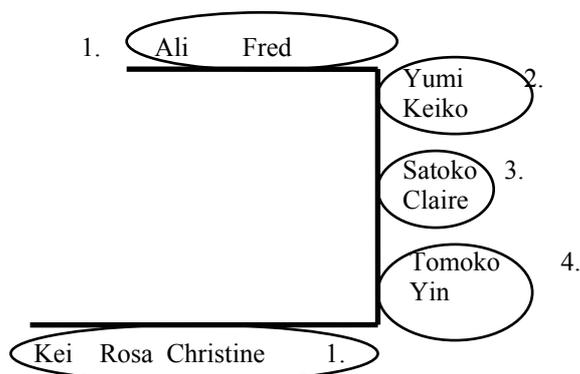
Simon decided the composition of the groups. The students willingly take part. Some of them ask Simon questions. Simon monitors walking about more. The students are willing but quiet with a low murmur of work. However, they are not reticent. Simon interrupts groups to make comments. He monitors around the front and the back of the students.

12.15 STAGE 4

Simon goes over the form of a letter of application.

It is set as homework (i.e. write one) and then Simon sets up what they will be doing tomorrow.

12.24 STAGE 5

Simon goes over some vocabulary for tomorrow.

1.3 Observation 3 15/1/98

CLASS: ROSES   **DAY:** Thursday

TEACHER: Sara   **TIME:** 9.00-10.30

I had an informal chat with Sara before the class started in order to establish a rapport with her as I do not know her as well as the other teachers.

9.00 STAGE 1

Sara goes round the class giving back homework and talking to students individually.

There is a quiet murmur. Some of the students are looking at the work while others are talking about work (I think.)

9.07 STAGE 2

The going over of work from the previous day's lesson.

Sara asks for responses and does not nominate. There is plenty of rustling as students note things down, going through their files and papers looking for things. Sara checks pronunciation on one point with Ali.

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The layout of the students is the following (with Christine absent, I do not know why) :

Ali   Fred

Yumi

Maya

Yin

Keiko

Claire

Tomoko

Rosa   Kei
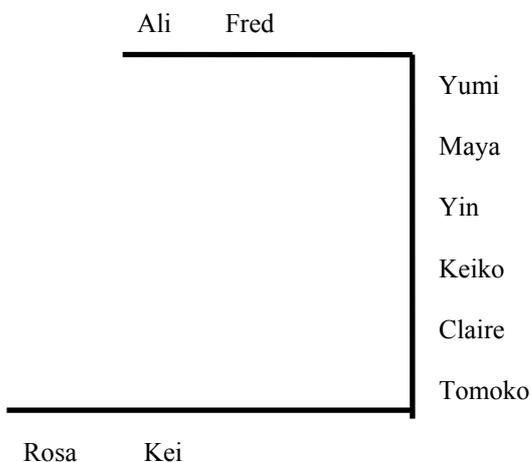
9.11 STAGE 3

Going over the grammar homework exercise set.

Sara asks the students to see if they have the correct answers by checking in pairs, if they are correct they can continue (see below for pairs.)

Ali   Fred

Yumi

Maya

Yin

Keiko

Claire

Tomoko

Rosa   Kei
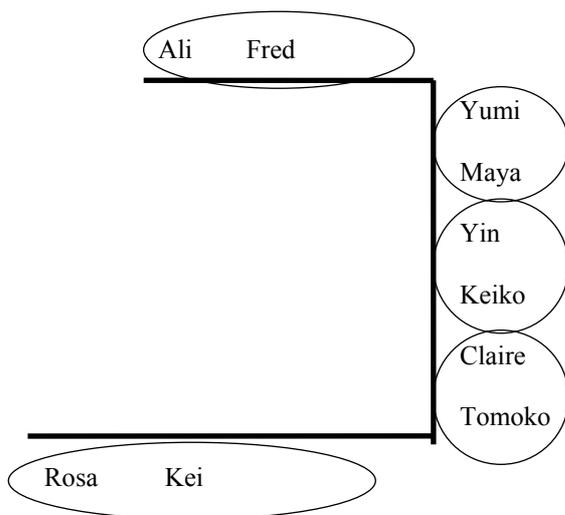
The students are asked to get into pairs, they are not nominated into them. Sara talks to certain pairs as they check to see if they have understood the exercise (e.g. Ali and Fred.) There is a quiet murmur, the students seem to be co-operative with each other, Ali and Fred seem slightly more distant, but they are co-operative. Other pairs seem to be slightly more chatty. Sara then asks for the answers. She is generally sitting behind her desk. She then sets further homework from this homework.

Sara is female, in her early thirties (at a guess) and Welsh with a soft voice and appears to be relaxed and understanding, but yet seems to have a cooler, more 'teacher-like' rapport with the students compared to Simon. She does not tend to use humour.

9.20 STAGE 4

1. Vocabulary: finding a definition of an item (from Workout Advanced ex. 1, p. 6, which has been adopted as the class course book.)

Sara stays behind her desk and uses classic eliciting, questioning, and concept questioning techniques to arrive at a meaning for the students.

2. Pairs: students write a definition of 'humour'.

Sara leaves the class to get me a copy of the course book. The students are in the same pairs as before. Some are working while some seem less committed. The teacher returns, wipes the board and then goes in front of Ali and Fred to help them (asking if they had a problem.) The noise level rises. Sara then goes round and checks the other groups by moving clockwise in front of them. She spent the most time with Ali and Fred.

3. Feedback.

The students give her a definition, she writes it on the board starting a contribution from Fred. She asks the other students if they agree with the definition. She then does Ali's definition, and then goes round with the rest of the pairs. The students then look up the definition in English-English dictionaries (which most of the students seem to have.) They then read out the various definitions. The teacher compares and leads the discussion on these definitions.

9.36 STAGE 5 VOCABULARY

1. Matching exercise (ex. 2, p. 6.)

Sara puts the students into pairs saying "work with your partner." The students then do so, but she asks Ali and Fred to work together, which confirms my suspicions that they are reticent to work together, although they appear to voluntarily sit together. Sara kneels in front of them to help and ask them to work together. She then goes to each group kneeling in front of them, monitoring and helping them. Ali and Fred now seem to be working fine together. There is a quiet murmur of work. Sara seems to follow the course book closely, but it does not appear to be a "course book" lesson (e.g. she does not seem to refer to the book at every moment, or read out the instructions.)

2. Feedback

Sara asks the students what they found the easiest. Then there is a non-nominated feedback, starting with the easiest and then progressing to the most difficult. As they give their answers, Sara writes the items on the board with some of their collocations.

9.51 STAGE 6 VOCABULARY

1. The students do ex.1 putting items on a continuum.

They do this in pairs. However, I am not sure if the teacher asked them to do so. Ali and Fred seem to be working together okay, as well as all the other students. There is a quiet murmur of work. Sara monitors standing behind her desk. She then asks Keiko for the answers and puts them on the board. Tomoko says that hers is slightly different, and Sara puts hers on the board for comparison. She then does this with Ali, and then the other students. Some of them say that it is the same. She then chooses Yumi, who gives her response, and then asks me for a definition of a word. Sara then quickly goes over ex.4 with the whole class.

10.04 STAGE 7 DISCUSSION

1. The students discuss national humours in two groups.

Sara moves the students about to create the following layout:
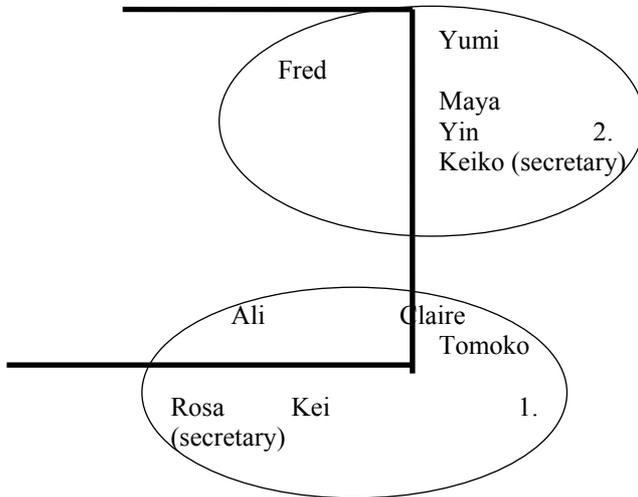
Each group has to choose a secretary, and Sara has to encourage this. Sara then dictates the questions to the secretaries. When the dictation is finished, the students move closer together to form tighter groupings. The Maria group were particularly physically close. The closeness was shown not just by the sticking close together but by their leaning of elbows and torsos over the desks. Sara aids group 1, and then goes to monitor group 2, getting on her knees. She gets involved in the discussion and comments although they did not need their help. Group 2 is less huddled together than group 1, although they are still closer together than when they work individually. Fred, however, is leaning back. Ali speaks a lot. Sara returns to group 1, kneeling, monitoring and helping. Tsui seems to be taking the leader role in group 2. Group 1 may have more balanced interaction with both Claire and Tomoko speaking. Sara is now leaning on her desk, and appears to be monitoring the groups, although perhaps paying more attention to group 2.

10.19

2. Feedback

Sara asks the students to go back to their original places (i.e. Fred and Ali), the rest of the class slightly shift, but still seem more huddled together than usual. Sara asks Tsui to be the group representative, although others like Fred make comments as well. From group 1, I am not sure who, if anyone, was chosen. The feedback is developed by Sara into a more general discussion about national jokes and the types of jokes popular in the students' countries.

10.31 STAGE 3 SET HOMEWORK

Sara sets a vocabulary task for homework which she puts on the board and informs the students about the Friday test. After the lesson had formally finished, Sara went and helped a student.

After the class in the coffee room, I had a chat with Sara in order to find out about documentation (e.g. needs analysis forms, test results, application forms.) It appears that some documentation is held by Jaclyn (tests), while others (application forms) are held in the Overseas Unit office (the section of the college responsible for foreign students at the institution particularly in terms of welfare, housing and entertainment. Sara also pointed out that there had been a conflict between Ali and Claire in the previous term's class. Ali, according to Claire, often asked stupid and irrelevant questions to the teacher. Apparently this "problem" had been resolved in the first week of this term. In addition to this Ali does not like working in pairs preferring to work on his own, while Fred, at present, prefers working with Ali as he is a bit shy of the girls.

1.4 Observation 4 15/1/98

CLASS: ROSES   **DAY:** Thursday

TEACHER: Sandra   **TIME:** 11.00-12.30
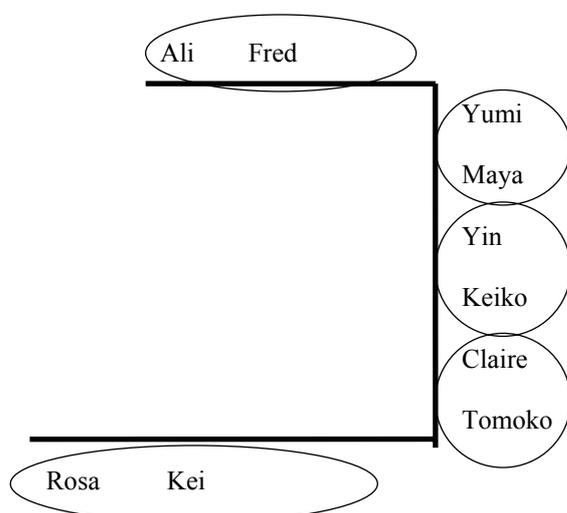
11.00 STAGE 1 HOMEWORK/REGISTRATION

Sandra discusses the homework that has been done and what the students are doing.

11.06 STAGE 2 INTRODUCTION TO THEME AND VOCABULARY

Sandra introduces theme of education. She has a mild, soft voice (she had actually forgotten that I was coming, so I have decided to inform all the teachers when they will be observed by e-mail rather than by word of mouth.) Ali arrives late. Sandra passes around, clockwise, a photocopied vocabulary exercise. She then explains to the students how to do the exercise, starting with asking Fred, then getting Claire to help. She puts the students in pairs (see above) and then goes round checking the students by standing and bending in front of them clockwise and then anti-clockwise. She then goes behind her desk to monitor, and then back to checking the students in front of the desks in an anti-clockwise direction. The students work well, but they are definitely less noisy than the class I observed for my dissertation. Sandra stops the activity and goes over the vocabulary items on the board checking

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the pronunciation (I think these are the errors she noted in monitoring.) She directs a quick choral and individual repetition of the items.

11.15 STAGE 3 VOCABULARY ELICITATION

Sandra elicits vocabulary based around the language used in meetings (i.e. function types.) She uses classic 'EFL' techniques of giving definitions and examples. This is non-nominated; the students just give answers. Then she nominates Claire for one answer. All the students seem to be involved, writing stuff down or observing the teacher and the board. Tomoko makes a comment and there is a 'positive' giggle from the Pacific Rim students. The teacher goes over the pronunciation of the functions with student repetition.

11.31 STAGE 4 ROLE PLAY

1. Role play preparation.

The teacher explains the situation sitting behind her desk. She gives the students role-play cards (on which are explained the roles and an explanation of the role play.) Ali says that he has done the role play before to which Sandra replies that that is okay as he can take another role. She gives some students a choice of role as she goes round the class giving out the cards. She goes round in front of them as they read through their cards. She then takes a chair and sits in front of the students. Some of the students are reading on their own, others are confirming what they are reading with other students. Claire appears to be quite a giggly student. Some of the students ask the teacher questions, and the teacher goes to help them individually.

11.45

2. The role play

Sandra asks Claire to organise all the students into a circle, which she duly does by going around the class moving desks and getting other students to move desks. The desks are formed into an approximate circle with the teacher's desk part of this form. Sandra sits in the corner next to the door (on my left) and she has some paper on her lap on which she takes notes. The role play is based on a staff meeting at a private language school which has problems. Claire plays the 'owner' and consequently chairs at meeting sitting at the teacher's desk. She chairs the meeting extremely well naturally falling into the shoes of a teacher. She gets each student to introduce themselves. As the meeting progresses, the students begin to make comments independent of Claire (e.g. Yin and Rosa) It is interesting to note that some students are using the target language that was previously taught (e.g. Ali.) All the while, Claire controls the direction of the discussion. The debate is very maturely and professionally done by the students, almost text-book perfect. Certainly this is not the traditional cliché of claimed-up Asian girls. The debate is done with good humour in a light-hearted way but the debate is taken seriously. Sandra gives Claire a message on a bit of paper. When the students have to do and say something from their imagination beyond their role cards, some find it difficult to make up something on the spot (e.g. Yin and Tomoko.) I notice again students using the pre-taught functions (Ali and Fred.) Claire finishes off the debate well; she is really professional.

12.22

3. Feedback

As the task is ended, there is a slight movement of the desks, but they are not moved completely back to their original positions. Claire returns to her place. Sandra is sat back behind her desk. She says that she noted some common errors in the debate which she will go over the next day, and then she pointed out that the students need to work on their accuracy as their fluency is already good. She also says that they did the task well. She praises Claire and then makes general comments on the content and theme of the debate and the way they did it. However, these are only short general comments; it is not a detailed feedback. She reminds the students of the homework for the next day.

12.25

Sandra stops the lesson.

1.5 Observation 5 16/1/98

CLASS: ROSES   **DAY:** Friday

TEACHER: Sara   **TIME:** 9.00-10.30
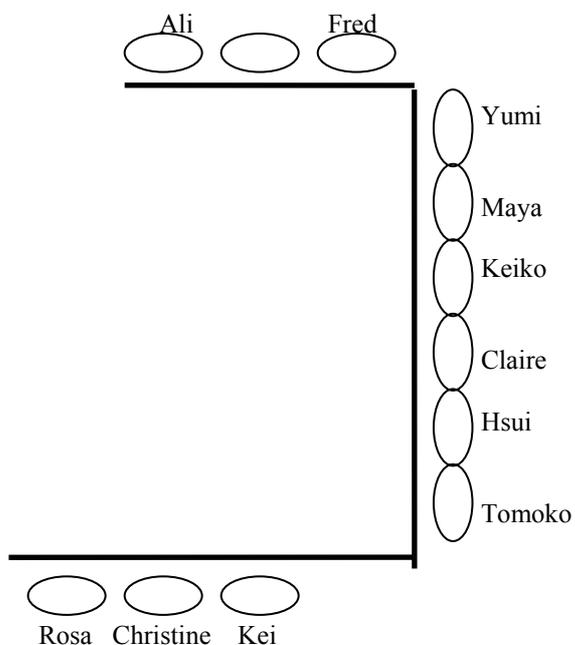
(All the students were present when I arrived)

9.02 STAGE 1 FORTNIGHTLY TEST

Both Sara and I arrive late partly because we had been in the coffee room beforehand chatting. The class quickly gets down to the test with no resistance. The students had already asked to have a test as a means of motivation because there are no exams this term. The test appears to be constructed from exercises in the course book. As such, there is no photocopied paper, rather Sara has written the instructions on the board and the students follow them. As usual, Sara does not take a register; she seems to do this afterwards without actually calling out the students' names. She leaves the class once they have settled down and she informs me that she is going to do some more photocopies. Whilst she is out of the classroom, the students do not appear to cheat, although Christine asks Rosa a question

very quietly. In fact, the students work extremely quietly. On returning, Sara monitors the students by walking in front of them anti-clockwise. Keiko asks a question, there are other comments. She tells them what to do. She does this monitoring again observing what the students are doing and making occasional comments. She repeats this process again. Ali asks Sara a question quite loudly. She responds and makes a comment.

9.27

At the end of the test, Sara makes a couple of comments unrelated to the task (about the birds singing and her brother's birthday). There is a very relaxed and calm atmosphere at the end of the test. Sara asks the students to write their names and the date at the top of the test.j

9.30 STAGE 2 INTRODUCTION TO LEARNER DIARIES

Sara hands out a photocopy which has a series of questions on them about the previous week. Sara asks the students to fill it out on their own, and tells them that they will be comparing their results in threes. They fill in the forms quietly. Ali asks Sara a question. There are also comments between the students on a few occasions.

Ali's approach to the classroom appears to be to develop a constant discourse between himself and the teacher. In this way, problems, comments and questions seem to be between himself and the teacher; whilst other students appear to often use their neighbours as a first port of call.

9.27

Feedback.

Sara moves Christine and Maya, and then after her explanations, Ali moves.
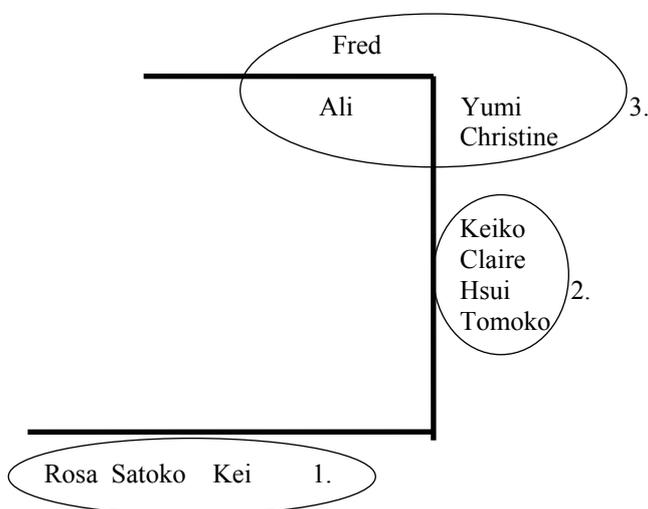
Ali seems to dominate his group using a touch of light sarcasm. Sara joins group 2 by kneeling in front of them. She then joins group 3, but just standing this time. The atmosphere is lively and chatty. The noise is beyond a murmur, but could not be described as noisy. Sara returns to group 2, and is again on her knees. Group 1 seems quite huddled together and close. Ali shouts out that his group has finished. Sara is now sat behind her desk. She asks the class to stop the task. They do not stop immediately. Then, in the feedback, she develops a conversation with the students on the general subject of keeping a study diary. When going through the actual questions with the students seeing what they wrote, she

asks the contentious question about any complaints about the class. There do not seem to be any, apart from jokey references about too much homework. Tomoko looks a little disgusted. (Is this her general demeanour?) After going through the responses, Sara develops the conversation into the general subject of learning outside of the classroom and learner diaries.
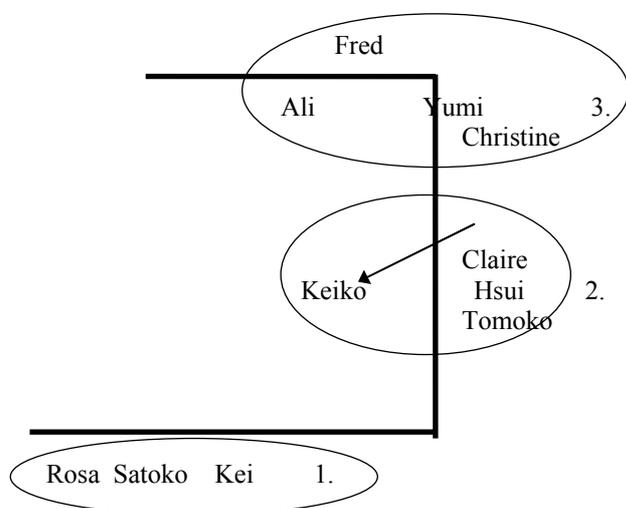
9.51 STAGE 3 DISCUSSION

The groups are the same, apart from Keiko moving (see the diagram above.) Sara asks each group to choose a secretary that will be different from the secretaries in the previous debate. The students are given a questionnaire on speaking outside of the classroom. When the discussion starts, Sara kneels in front of group 2. Even though I am sitting at the other end of the classroom (see observation 1 for my normal observation position) group 3 seems to be the loudest. Group 1 are huddled together again. Sara goes to this group, again on her knees. Fred acts as a good secretary for group 3. He has a light-hearted attitude but does the task well guiding others to speak. Ali does not dominate. In group 2, Tomoko seems a little bit lost. Perhaps she is introvert. The others in her group speak well and more. I have started to walk a little around the class (particularly around the teacher's desk) to observe the students more. Sara is going around the front of the students monitoring. I move away as I feel I am dominating her space. It is hard to see if anyone is dominating or controlling group 1. It seems that Rosa and Kei speak more. I am a lot more mobile compared to other observations (see the diagram below.) In general, the class seems to do group work well. It is well-balanced in terms of turn taking even with what I had thought would be the dominating students (Claire and Ali in particular.) Observing here compared to a nearby FE college is different: I feel more confident, at home, my rapport with the teachers is different because I know them. I wonder if this makes me too 'native' as an ethnographer. I still find it fascinating that the Pacific Rim students are not conforming to the introvert cliché. Feedback.

Sara asks Keiko (not Ali) to move back. Claire acts as the spokesperson for group 2. (I think she was nominated secretary.) Sara comments on what the students say. Claire seems very confident and is very fluent in giving responses. Sara points out straight after Claire finishes that she made the "she don't" mistake. Sara accepts that Claire knows that this is an easy error. Sara chooses Fred to give feedback for group 3. Again, this is handled confidently, well and fluently. Again Sara makes comments and

questions develop from the answers, which she then asks the students. Tomoko makes a good point, and then Kei makes a comment. So Tomoko can contribute even if she seems shy.

10.21 STAGE 4 HOMEWORK/CONCLUSION

Sara gives out a photocopy where students will write down, and comment on, the conversations they will have during the week. Sara also gives them a copy of the same sheet, but already filled as an example. She then gives out a needs analysis questionnaire. Sara has e-mailed me about this as I had asked her if this had been done because the information could be useful for me. A lot of what she is doing today is related to her MA dissertation research. She also gives out a questionnaire based on "speaking outside of the classroom" so that she will have a written response to her research.

10.31 CLASS FINISHES

Sara talks to and helps Fred. There is not the rush out of students as there was at a nearby FE college where I had previously worked. They are definitely more mature, not just in age (some have similar ages?)

Observer

Observer

Observer
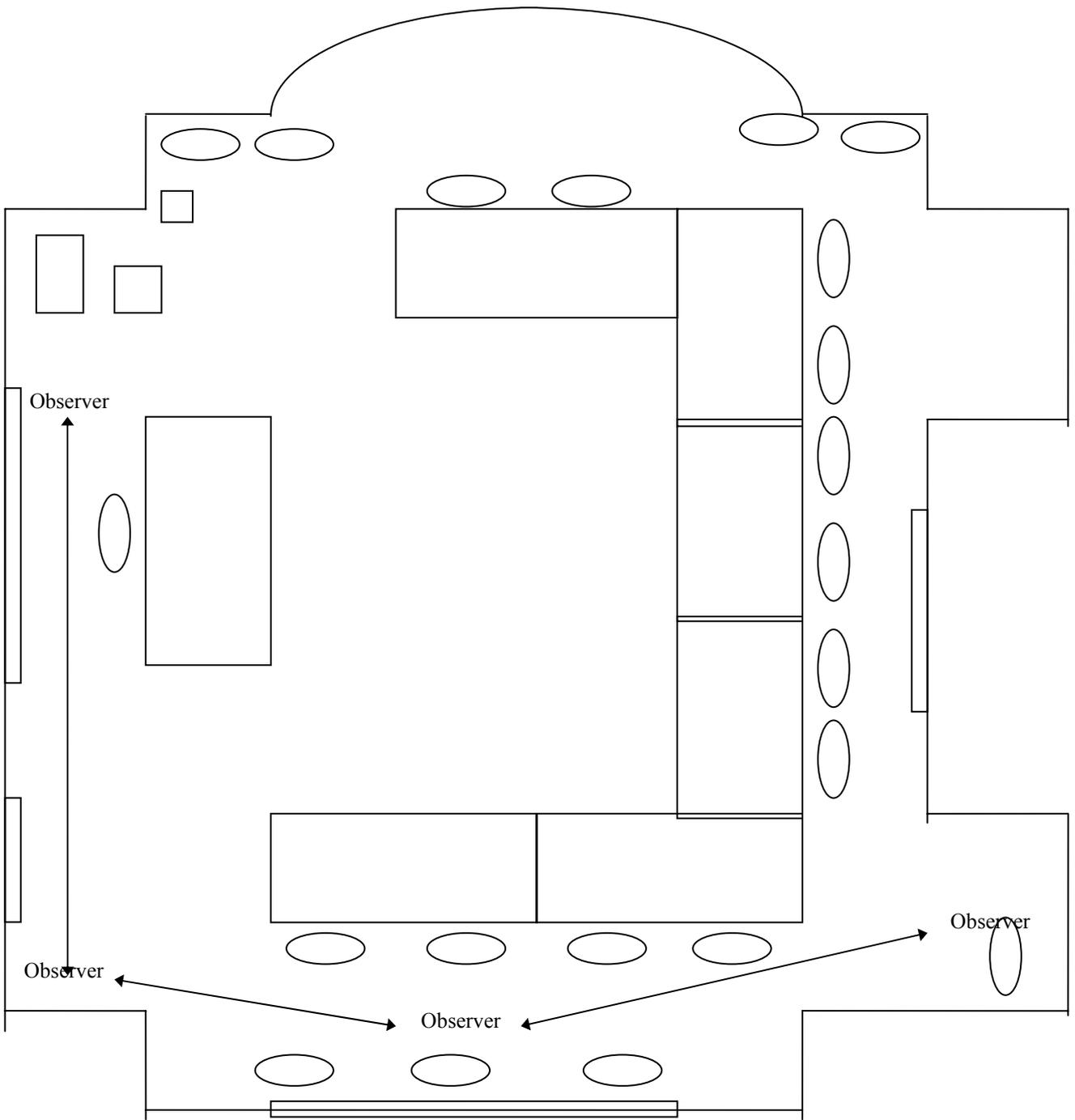
Observer

Observer

1.6 Observation 6 19/1/98

CLASS: ROSES   **DAY:** Monday

TEACHER: Sara   **TIME:** 9.00-10.30
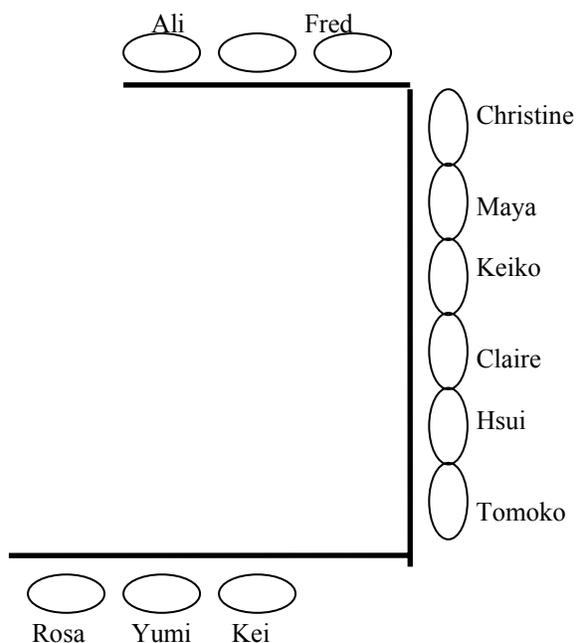
9.00 STAGE 1   LESSON START UP

On arriving in the class at about 9 o'clock, I have a chat with Sara about the weekend. (We have bumped into each other at a pub where she works last Saturday.) Then I settle down into my normal observation position. Sara goes round giving the marked Friday tests back to the students and giving each student individual comments. I notice that Mara R. is not sitting in her usual place, and because of this Yumi sits down where Maria normally sits. Fred arrives five minutes late. The classroom layout is as above.

Sara goes over a point from the test with the class (vocabulary: to "tease"). The students do not seem to know the meaning so she makes them look at the text being used, and uses concept questions. Then she goes over some other points.

9.13 STAGE 2 INTRODUCTION OF WEEK'S WORK

She informs students of the topic of the week (the press), and also tells them about the language areas they will be covering, adding that most of this will come from unit 2 in the course book.

9.15 STAGE 3 VOCABULARY

Sara asks the students to turn to page 13 of their course book and to divide a set of vocabulary items into categories with the categories not being given. She divides the students into groups of threes and twos (see below) and then explains an approach for doing the task (marking the words they do not know on their own and then comparing in groups), which appears to be an attempt at introducing study-skills techniques.

Ali   Fred
4.
Christine
Maya
Keiko
Claire   3.
Hsui
Tomoko   2.
Rosa   Yumi Kei
1.
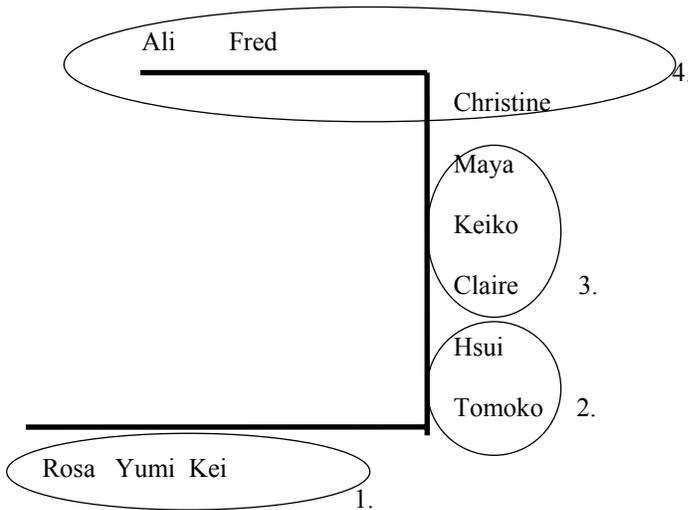
The students are, at first, very quiet. Then there is a murmur of voices. Ali's voice comes across as the loudest. Then the sound of the murmur increases, but this is still essentially quiet talking. The groups are turned into each other being slightly huddled. They are using monolingual dictionaries, as asked by the teacher, with pens in their hands. Kei stands and bends across to see the dictionary in front of Maria and Yumi. Sara was originally monitoring standing behind her desk. She now moves to the students and goes round anti-clockwise. She kneels in front of group 2 to explain an item. She then moves and kneels in front of group 4 and then returns clockwise and kneels in front of group 2, and then kneels in front of group 1 and talks to Maria. Ali's voice is always the most noticeable. Sara goes to group 3 kneeling to check that a part of a task has been completed. She then goes and sits on the front of her desk and monitors. She goes to group 4 and answers a vocabulary problem. She goes to group 1 to help them, and then 2, kneeling in front of them. Thus a pattern of anti-clockwise circular movement has developed.

All the groups seem to be involved in the task. They seem serious about doing it, although some students do smile (indicating that they are enjoying it.)

The classroom itself has a perfect temperature with little outside noise despite the window facing a busy road. (This is winter and the windows are closed with double glazing.) The lighting and the acoustics are very good. The acoustics may be helped by the fact that it is a small room with a fitted carpet, soft seats, curtains and wallpaper.

Kei is standing and leaning again. I have now moved my observation position to the corner under the map of Kent. Sara is still monitoring, now kneeling in front of group 1 (she has moved around the class in an anti-clockwise direction.) Ali looks at me; occasionally some students look at me. I do not feel that there is any 'showing off' because of my presence, but I cannot say if any of their other behaviour is affected by my presence. Unlike at a nearby FE college, the students do not refer to me for questions of any sort (perhaps because I have hardly taught them and because the teacher is more mobile in her monitoring.) Ali says that his group has finished, but after Sara goes to them, Fred disagrees. Ali has his hands on his face and is saying nothing: it appears that he has decided that he has finished. Once Sara leaves, Ali seems to get involved again. Finally, to check that each group has finished, Sara goes around clockwise asking each group.

9.45 FEEDBACK
Sara ask Fred for the categories, which she puts on the board. She then checks what the other groups have (non-nominated.) She asks Fred to list one category, which she puts on the board. She now fills out the other categories asking the students for them (non-nominated.) Kei makes a point. All the students are either writing, looking at their books or looking at the teacher and board. They do not seem to talk when Sara talks. I help Sara find the name of a local newspaper; I say it rather than her asking me for it as I can see that she cannot remember the name.

Ali and Kei make further comments.

9.55 STAGE 4 DISCUSSION
Sara has pre-written the questions on the OHP (on the subject of the press). She puts the students in pairs, swapping Claire and Keiko (see the diagram below.)
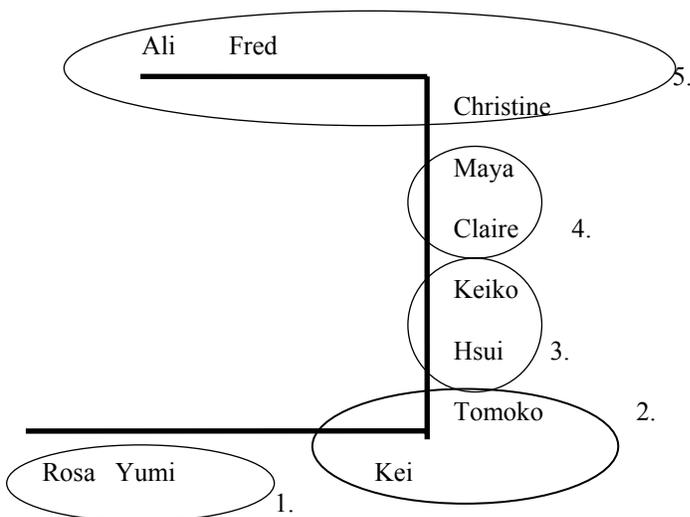
The students are quite lively once the task has started and seem noisier than in the previous group work they did (e.g. Ali's voice does not easily come over the parapet.)

Sara is behind her desk monitoring (and standing.) Then, after a few minutes, she goes and kneels in front of group 1 to monitor. She makes a comment, picks up a vocabulary point and puts it on the board, which is used later. I move my observing position to next to the left corner of Mari H.'s desk to get a better view of the students working. Sara goes and kneels in front of group 2. Again there are many groups smiling. Sara now goes to group 5 and gets on her knees to monitor. The movement is anti-clockwise, Group 5 does not appear to be such a lively group.

10.03 FEEDBACK I AND TASK 2

Sara refers to the vocabulary that she has noted down during the monitoring. She then refers to the questions on the OHP asking the groups to write down two more questions for further discussion. Sara monitors standing to the left of her desk. All the students seem quite involved and are working. Sara likes a question that she hears Fred come up with and proceeds to write it down on the OHP. She is now sitting at her desk.

The class seems slightly quieter as the students write things down. I get the feeling that Tomoko is occasionally watching what I am doing, especially as I am more conspicuous because of where I am sitting. Ali asks Sara a question. Sara asks Claire what her question is (although this is not the feedback section as others are still working.)

10.09 FEEDBACK II

Sara mentions the two questions (Fred's and Claire's) that she has already on the OHP. She asks group 3 what questions they have and writes them on the OHP, whilst also eliciting the grammar corrections for them. Keiko speaks for group 3. With group 2, a non-nominated asking for responses sees Kei giving the reply (Sara corrects the sentence in the same way as before.) This is all repeated with group 1 where Rosa Responds.

10.12 SECOND DISCUSSION

Sara changes the groups so that there are different people who wrote different questions. The groups are illustrated below
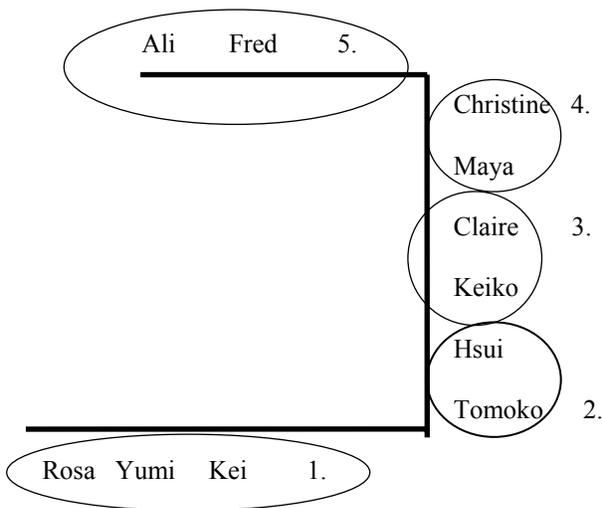
They then discuss the new questions. As they begin, the volume gradually increases and there appears to be a lively discussion.

Sara again goes to the groups and listens and comments. She goes to group 2, then 1 (I did not see if she had done the others beforehand.) She then goes and kneels in front of group 4. She then stands to her left of her desk. (Is this because of where I am sitting? Does this infringe on her personal space?) The class quietens down a bit, and Sara stops the activity.

10.18 STAGE 5 SETTING HOMEWORK

The students can choose any two of the discussion questions and write about them or they can write and answer their own questions. As she goes over the questions on the OHP, she is still to the left of her desk. Perhaps, she has been to the left of her desk because she is right-handed and the OHP is on the desk.

Sara collects some homework going clockwise and then anti-clockwise. She then sets some more homework (p13 of the course book: comparing rules of writing headlines with actual headlines, and rewriting headlines.) She explains what the students have to do whilst leaning on the front of her desk. Fred asks for these instructions to be repeated.

In general, it seems that Sara takes a lot longer to explain homework than I have ever done.

10.29 CLASS ENDS

Ali is out quick as well as Christine The others are sitting and talking, taking their time. Sara completes the register.

POST LESSON

In the coffee break, I ask Sara a few questions:

I wanted to know why Christine has changed places. Sara said that this was voluntary and perhaps due to the fact that she has been moved there in most classes (to get her away from the other Spanish speaker, Rosa) This may have also been due to the talk on Friday about how much English students use outside of the classroom. As expected, her reason for swapping English students about is to create multilingual groupings. I asked why the groups were changed for the second discussion (this is explained in these notes.)

I asked if the students behave different in any way when I observe and she thought they did not. Tomoko and Ali looking at me was typical of them and due to their concentration levels and personality. I also wanted to know if my moving about when observing was a problem, and she did not think it was. I also told her that I would explain what I am doing and that she could see my notes if she wished.

PS

I have noticed that Sara uses none of the warmers and fillers that I employ when teaching; in fact, none of that touchy-feely stuff.

1.7 Observation 7 19/1/98

CLASS: ROSES   **DAY:** Monday
TEACHER: Simon   **TIME:** 11.00-12.30

11.00 STAGE 1 WARM UP

The seating layout is the same as in observation 6 but Ali is absent. As I enter the class, Simon is talking to the students giving them humorous anecdotes about Mondays.

11.02 STAGE 2 LESSON ON HOMELESSNESS

It is difficult to divide this class into stages because of Simon's teaching style. This lesson is based on homelessness and is a predominately teacher-led discussion, but with other elements such as vocabulary and reading included.

Using the OHP to write down vocabulary and points, (11.04 Ali arrives) Simon elicits vocabulary related to the topic and develops a discussion. He asks a representative of each nationality to describe the homelessness in their country. He then moves the discussion to the causes of homelessness. This is very much teacher-led: he tells stories, gives his view of the situation almost like a mini-lecture and then asks the students their opinions or elicits ideas and vocabulary.

The students seem interested in this either watching the teacher, noting things down or looking up items in dictionaries. My impression of his "lecture" is that it is rather anecdotal and not based on any form of research.

A pattern very soon develops:
1. Elicit "cause" and then put it on the OHP.
2. Ask students questions about the particular cause.

11.27
The students are then put into groups to discuss solutions to the problems. Before they start, Simon talks a bit more with an example of a solution taken from Ali and he outlines the problems with this solution.

As the students start, Simon walks around in front of the students occasionally making comments and monitoring. The groups are as follows:
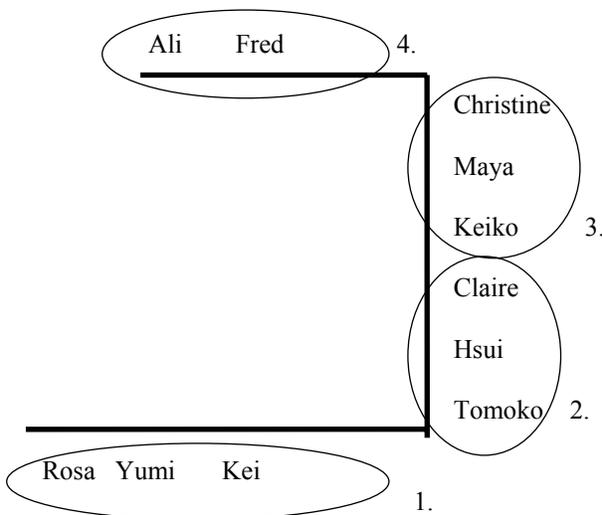
Group 1 seems involved and slightly huddled, with group 2 being very similar. Group 3 seems less involved, but later they get more involved. Group 4 are talking but Ali seems less involved.

Simon comes over to me to talk about how the theme is unusual for a class, but he is doing it because this is not an exam term. I ask him if he thinks the students like this kind of theme. He does not give a definite answer, but he thinks that it is important that they cover social issues, and it is a useful device to create a debate (the theme of the lesson.)

11.37 FEEDBACK

Simon asks for solutions. He asks each group for their solution, but does not nominate individuals. Rosa speaks for group 1. Simon then develops the debate from her response and other students join in. All the time Simon guides the debate, commenting, adding, but letting others contribute. This seems to be quite a good flowing debate. Simon takes a contributor's point and develops it into a question to ask others.

The process is repeated with each group's solution.

11.53

Most of the students are just listening or contributing to the discussion.

12.00

Simon hints at a possible solution which has not been mentioned which is in a text that is given to the students. He asks them to read it through once and underline any vocabulary they do not know.

The students sit silently and read. Most of them appear to marking their texts.

12.08

Simon stops the students and asks them a series of general comprehension questions (non-nominated) and again uses the answers as a means of developing the discussion asking the students their opinions of the answers. After having answered the first comprehension question, Ali tries to answer the second and Simon stops him, and asks anyone else to answer, and then finally nominates Kei. Fred answers the next comprehension question (non-nominated.)

Simon is very physical in his explanations and definitions, and he uses anecdotes and humour.

12.20

Simon gives out another text (photocopy) which the students are to read for homework. He then develops the discussion further.

As in the previous observation of Simon, the lesson has a smooth oneness, which is hard to divide into distinct stages. Everything seems to be intertwined. Students may be given individual and group tasks, but everything is always fed through Simon who directs the discussion throughout the lesson.

12.29

Simon sets the homework (the students have to bring a copy of the Big Issue to the next lesson.)

12.30

The class ends. Simon leaves quickly and the students move out more quickly than previously at break.

PS

It is interesting to note that Simon explained the theme of the class at the beginning, but I do not think he actually explained what the students would actually be doing in the class (unlike Sara?)

1.8 Observation 8 21/1/98

CLASS: ROSES   **DAY:** Wednesday

TEACHER: Simon   **TIME:** 11.00-12.30

N.B.

With these field notes, I have experimented with a note structure that was influenced by a research seminar on 20/1/98 led by Adrian Holliday.

OVERVIEW OF LESSON

The lesson continued work started the previous day where students prepared a presentation on solving the problems of a developing African country. The students worked in three groups; created a presentation on a large piece of card; and gave a presentation at the end of the class.

TEACHER

Simon was dressed rather chicly, coming in with an overcoat and a dark Nehru suit. He seemed confident and in control. He used humour; but slightly less than in some of the previous classes.

PRE-LESSON

I arrived at the Harmer building at about 10.20, and had a coffee on my own in the coffee lounge. During the actual break, I had a chat with Jaclyn and she wanted to know how I was getting on with my research. I was sat at the table near the photocopier, which has a guillotine on it. The teachers tend to congregate around this table more, although not all the teachers drink their coffee at this table nor in this room. I notice Sara was sitting at the table where the students sit and talking to them.

I arrived in the classroom at 10.58 and noticed most of the students were there. There was lots of chatting in English and in their mother tongues. I noticed that there was a new student in the class and later found out that she was Laura, from Italy, and that she had been here last term, but had arrived late. Fred arrives in the class, and then Simon.

THE LESSON

11.02 STAGE 1 INTRODUCTION AND GROUP WORK PREPARATION

Simon asks the students how they got on with the task the day before, and then asks the students to return to the groups from the previous day's lesson. This is the layout:
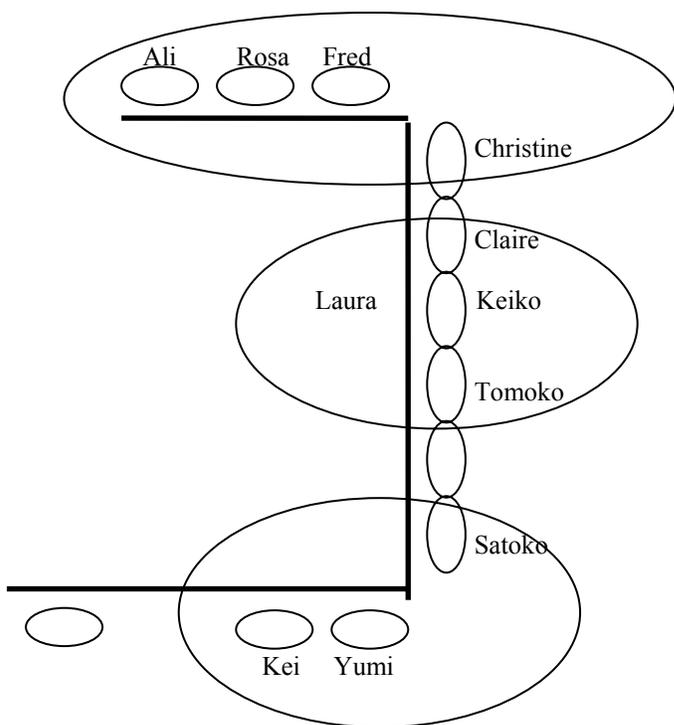
The students duly, and without problem returned to these groups. Simon gives out large pieces of card to each group.

Once the students have started, Simon comes to me to explain the lesson and how it relates to the day before. The students go straight to their task easily. They appear to be active, interested, and they get straight down to the task.

Simon goes round the students (behind them) in a clockwise direction to check their work before they can write up on the card. In this process, he has quite a long conversation with group 1, speaking mostly with Kei. It appears that with group 2, Claire takes a controlling role. Simon gives out pens and helps (in front of them in a clockwise direction.) Group 3 seems to be working reasonably well together, but Christine says to Ali, "You don't like working with us" in a slightly questioning intonation. He replies that he is the spokesman and he is trying to keep quiet, or that is the impression of what he said. I cannot really understand what is going on here.

Simon monitors again, in front of them in an anti-clockwise direction. I gradually move to under the map and then to between the door and the end of the students desk so that I get a better view and so that the students get more used to me.

I have the impression that groups 2 and 3 are less cohesive than group 1. In 1, all seem to be involved, even if Yumi and Satokoseem to be just watching. However, with 2, Tomoko seems slightly apart, with 3 Fred seems slightly apart, and even occasionally Christine However, this is just an impression - I am not completely sure. Tomoko certainly has that lost, slightly sad look about her. When Simon goes to talk to group 3, Fred is involved.

Simon comes to me to have another talk. He explains that he is doing more projects this term because it is non-examined. He thinks the students like this. Later in the term, he intends to take them out as the weather gets better. I asked him how the syllabus was organised between him and Sandra. Apparently, they do not really have a topic list from which they choose; rather it is from informal liaison between them and through seeing what each of them has done before on the register. I asked how the groups were constructed as I was surprised to that group 1 was monolingual. He said that he chose the groups and that group 1 had had Tsui the day before, but she was absent today. He also considered how people get along when forming groups (for example keeping Ali and Claire apart.) He noticed that students speak English even in monolingual groups in this class. I get up and move around in front of the students in an anticlockwise direction to look at the presentation posters. I notice that in group 3, the two Marias are talking in Spanish. I ask Ali and Fred if they speak Spanish (no.)

11.30
Simon tells the class that they have another ten minutes and then goes to leave the class to find his watch.

When he returns, I chat more with him. I ask him if the students behave any differently when I am there. He thinks that he behaves differently and that the students behave differently. He is more nervous and they are slightly more reticent in elicitation and speaking in front of the class. I mention what Sara said. This does not surprise him as they would be different in the accuracy-based morning classes, where freer production is not required as much. However, he notes that there are always students who do not normally speak anyway, and others who do.

Simon then goes to Ali who has asked a question. Having a conversation with a teacher like this would seem inconceivable when I was working at a nearby FE college. Perhaps this is because I am part of the department, and also because the students can be trusted to work on their own.

I have another conversation with Simon talking about the maturity and seriousness of the students (e.g. when they thought yesterday that they would be doing the presentation straight away they arranged to meet each other after classes.) Simon also noted that the one criticism BASELT made in their inspection last summer was that the teachers were afraid to leave the students to get on with their work. Simon returns to help the students. I notice that Tomoko is looking at me as she practises reading her presentation text.

11.42

The students end the work with Simon's instructions. Laura moves to behind the desks and sits between Tomoko and Satokoand I move back to under the map. Then I move back to my position next to the door when I realise I will not be in the way.

11.52 STAGE 2 PRESENTATIONS

Simon gives an introduction setting the scene as if the students were in UN working groups.

Group 2[59] speaks first with Tomoko giving the presesentation. Claire holds up the poster. All of group 1 seem attentive. With group 3, everybody is attentive apart from Rosa who is still writing up the poster. As it is difficult for some of the students to see the poster, Simon takes it and holds it in front of the class. He then pins it to the wall next to the white board. Tomoko reads the text in a slightly staggered way but it is well-done. Kei is flicking through her file, and then stops. When Tomoko finishes, Simon asks if any students have any questions. There are none, so Simon asks some questions and makes some comments about the content of the presentation. Laura responds to a question. Simon continues this question and response with the group. The poster is quite colourfully done.

With group 1 a very similar pattern is followed. Their poster is pinned up in the same place as the previous one was. Yumi speaks; she reads her text, but more fluently than Tomoko did. All the students seem to be listening apart from Ali who is looking at his presentation text. Kei takes over the presentation. She does not read but uses the poster as a prompt. All the class now seem attentive. The same pattern as before arises when Kei finishes, with Simon directing questions and answers, after the class the class has no questions.

With group 3 the same pattern is followed. The poster is put on the wall near to Ali so that he can read it. Ali starts speaking, and everyone is attentive. He is fluent, but does have some pronunciation problems. At the end, Simon asks for questions from the floor and quickly moves on to ask his own questions when no one responds. It is mostly Ali with Fred who respond to Simon's questions and comments.

12.25 END OF LESSON

On finishing, Simon makes a few comments: summing up with anecdotes. The students seem interested in this.

POST-LESSON

The students pack up and leave quite quickly.

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[59] The presentations are done from where they are sat.

1.9 Observation 9 22/1/98

CLASS: ROSES   **DAY:** Thursday

TEACHER: Sara   **TIME:** 9.00-10.30

OVERVIEW OF LESSON

This lesson used the course book and dealt with three areas: a vocabulary task where students looked for definitions of words contained in a text that they had listened to in the previous day's lesson; a listening task which continued from the previous text and involved checking a text summary which had six content errors; going over some grammar homework and discussing the points arising from this.

ENVIRONMENT

The only noticeable difference was in the listening when there was some crackling noises on the cassette recorder (because of the machine, not the tape) and also some banging upstairs. However, this was not a great disturbance to the listening, which was reasonably clear.

TEACHER

Sara arrived at 9.03 and seemed a little tired, with that just got out of bed look. However, her manner and teaching style did not seem any different

PRE-LESSON

I arrived at 8.30 so that I could observe the students as they arrived. On arrival there was just Keiko and Tomoko chatting in English with the conversation directed by Tomoko. At 8.54, Kei, Yumi and the two Marias arrive. They all say "Good morning." Then after putting their bags down, the two Marias leave. All of the students speak in English. At 8.59, Fred arrives and sits in a position he does not usually occupy (see seating plan below.) There is a quiet chatter in English mostly based around Tomoko, Keiko, Yumi and Claire. At 9.01, Tsui arrives. The Asian girls do not want to sit next to Ali and joke about who has to sit near or next to him. At 9.03, Sara arrives with the two Marias. Sara starts with a bright "hello" and says to Fred, "You've changed position."

SEATING LAYOUT

Ali   Tsui

Claire

Yumi

Keiko

Tomoko

Fred

Satoko

Rosa   Kei   Christine
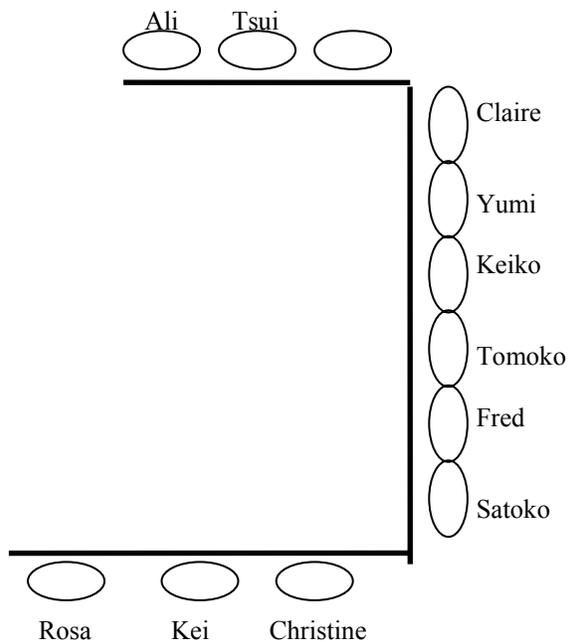
LESSON

STAGE 1 INTRODUCTION

Sara writes on the board the content of the lesson:

1. Vocabulary
2. Listening
3. Past tenses cont'd

She then asks the students on a scale of 1 to 10 how difficult the previous day's lesson was. The students do not really reply, and Sara says that it was quite difficult. The following vocabulary exercise seems based on the listening.

STAGE 2 VOCABULARY

Sara asks the students to get into pairs to discuss what the listening text was about.

Ali   Tsui

Claire

Yumi

Keiko

Tomoko

Fred

Maya

Rosa   Kei   Christine
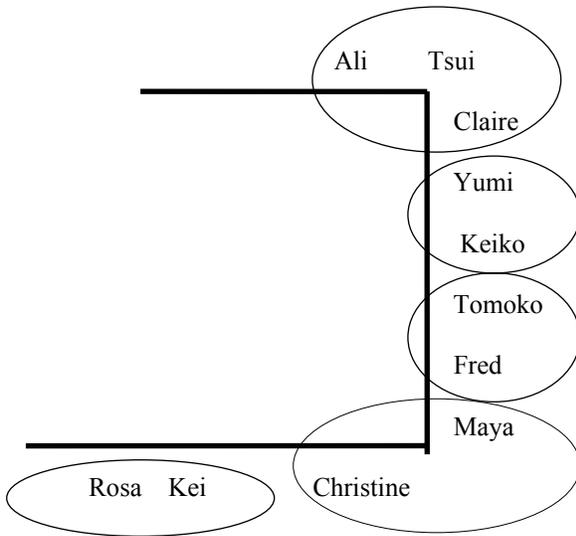
9.06

Ali arrives. As he is late, he does not get involved in the task. All the other students are involved in the task. Sara stops the activity and puts the students in the following groups.

Ali   Tsui   Claire   4.

Yumi   3.

Keiko

Tomoko

Fred   2.

Maya

Rosa   Kei   Christine   1.
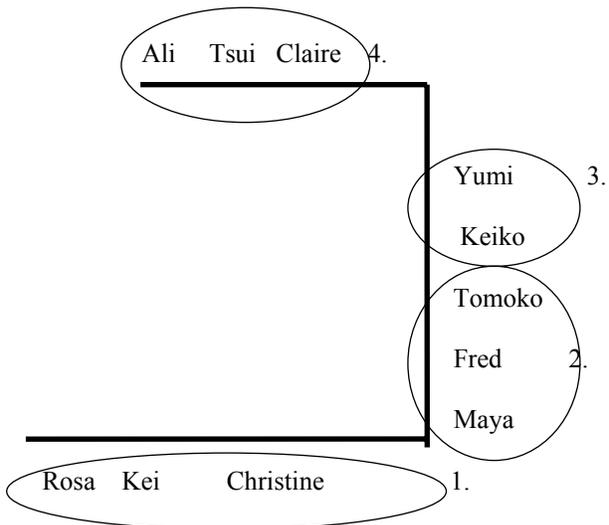
She then gives each group a copy of the tapescript but with different vocabulary items hilighted. I move to in front of the door to get a better view. All the students seem involved in looking up the items in their dictionaries. I ask Sara what they did in the previous activity as I was not too sure what was going on. She kneels next to me and helps. She then stands behind her desk for about a minute and then goes to monitor and check the groups, kneeling in front of group 1, 2, (I did not see if she did with 3) and then 4. When she goes to group 1, Tomoko looks up to see what Sara is doing.

Group 1 give the impression that they are working together as a group, even though they are doing things on their own from time to time. Group 4 are more physically spread apart, although they are working together and occasionally discussing things. Group 2 is similar to 4 in that there is a physical distance but they are working together. There is a general pattern with all of the groups where the students work on their own, and then occasionally check and discuss things together. I have the impression with group 4 that most of the talking is between Claire and Tsui. Group 3 seems to have the physical closeness of group 1 with their shoulders bent round so they are facing each other most of the time. I move into the semicircle of desks to get a better view of group 1.

Sara continues her monitoring anticlockwise and standing in front of the groups, checking where they are and helping them. Sara then goes to group 1, on her knees, then straight to 4 talking to Ali and then to 2.

9.26

Sara informs the class that when they finish the task, they will be put into new groups so that they can share vocabulary. She gives them 1 minute to finish. Ali is now speaking with others in his group. When he speaks, he leans towards them. Tomoko is quite involved in her group speaking out quite loudly. Group 3 are extremely quiet. They are working, but I am not close enough to know what is going on. Group 1 seem to work extremely well together: all are contributing and helping together, Group 2 are slightly more apart working on their own, but they confer.

9.31

Sara stops the activity. She reorganises the groups getting the students to move.
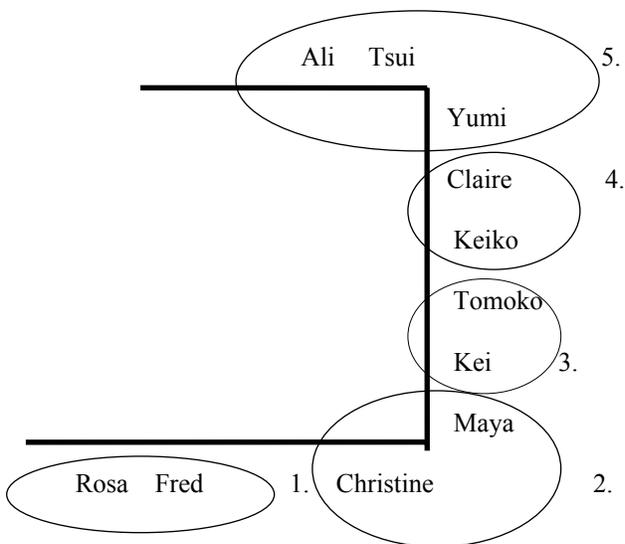
When they start, there is a slightly louder murmur of voices. All the students are working and active. Sara wipes the white board and writes up the vocabulary items. All the students in all the groups seem involved.

9.41

Sara stops the activity. She refers to the items on the board and asks if any have given problems. There is no response from the class and so she does not go over any. She then asks the students if they want to listen to yesterday's tape and none of them want to (they are not responsive to this question.)

STAGE 3 LISTENING

Sara asks the students to turn to page 129 of their course books and look at exercise 3. She asks them to cover the tape script (which is on the photocopy they had been given.) She asks them to read the summary of the interview (which contains the errors) and asks if there is any vocabulary they do not understand. Sara looks for the correct place on the tape while the students read the summary. Some students are holding pens as they read and occasionally marking the text. Ali and then Kei ask Sara a question about the vocabulary.

9.46

Sara checks that they have all finished and then plays the tape. All the students appear to be listening with most looking at the text at the same time, while a few look at the cassette recorder. After the tape has stopped, Sara asks the students to work with a partner comparing answers. Ali had not listened to Sara's instructions and did not know what to do. Sara goes to talk to him (on her knees.) She then resets the tape.
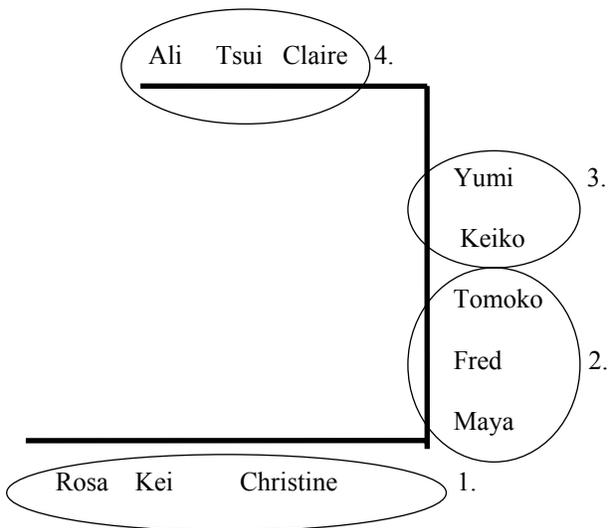
10.46

Without any feedback, Sara plays the tape again. All the students are listening (looking at the text most of the time.) Sara stands by the tape recorder. She then asks the students to compare again with the same partners. Ali joins in with Tsui and Yumi. There is a quite murmur of talking, all the students seem quite close together. The teacher then goes and wipes the board and stands behind the desk. All the students seem involved in the activity.

9.57

With the feedback, Sara asks the class for the answers and puts the correct ones on the board. I move my chair slightly back to give Rosa a better view of the board. The students do not know the sixth error, and so Sara sets that as a homework task where they have to look through the text.

10.02 STAGE 4 GRAMMAR

Sara asks the students to look at page 15 of the course book, which contains several grammar exercises they did as homework. She asks the students to compare their home work. All the groups are the same as before (she only chooses Ali, Tsui and Yumi - the rest are non-nominated.) Sara writes the first exercise on the board, and I ask if she thinks it is a bit cold in the classroom. The students seem quite noisy compared to the previous group work. Sara monitors from standing behind her desk.

10.13

In the feedback, Sara first comments on how the students used hand gestures in discussing tenses, and the students with her at these comments (so she has injected humour.) The feedback is non-nominated. On getting the correct answer, Sara changes the sentence on the board. Tomoko asks Sara a question which Claire answers.

I notice today that with my more overt observation position, Sara does stand near me when she talks to the class. Other students also ask questions on the grammar (e.g. Ali) which Sara answers, sometimes using timelines as an aid on the board.

10.15

Sara asks the students to compare in the same groups a further grammar exercise they had done. Sara again writes the exercise on the board. All the students are involved, talking, some smiling (particularly the Pacific Rim women.)

10.18

The feedback follows exactly the same pattern as before (sans humorous observation.)

When the teacher talks, all the students are silent and pay attention. It is the same thing when one of the students speak in front of the class. Most of the students have pens in their hands occasionally writing things. Sara has neat white board handwriting and she uses black.

10.27 STAGE 5 SET HOMEWORK

Sara gives out a photocopied grammar exercise, and says that it is optional only, and for those who still think they have problems.

10.29 END OF CLASS

Tomoko asks and then talks to Sara concerning a book she has. There is not a massive rush out of students. Some leave (e.g. the two Marias), some stay (most of the Pacific Rim girls.)

Laura arrives. I have a chat with Fred (which he instigated) about what I am doing and the subject of football. I then have a chat with Sara about Fred and why he moved:

1. In the previous class the students moved a lot.
2. He is getting used to the other students.
3. He may have had enough of Ali because he can be hard work in groups because he orders you about and he does not like working in pairs.

After the chat, as I leave, she goes and sits with the students in same place in the coffee room (i.e. under the telephone.)

1.10 Observation 10 26/1/98

CLASS: ROSES   **DAY:** Monday
TEACHER: Sara   **TIME:** 9.00-10.30

OVERVIEW OF LESSON

This lesson dealt with the introduction of a new unit and contained discussion and a great deal of vocabulary work.

PRE-LESSON

9.58ish

I arrive there and there is about half the class there quietly talking.

9.00

Sara arrives and while sorting her possessions out on her desk, she speaks in a very informal way to the two-thirds of the class present about the weekend.

THE LESSON

9.03 STAGE 1 COLLECTING HOMEWORK

Most of the class have arrived and Sara is collecting homework. This is the seating layout that emerges.

Ali   Yumi   Tsui

Rosa

Fred

Keiko

Claire

Laura

Satoko   Christine   Kei   Tomoko
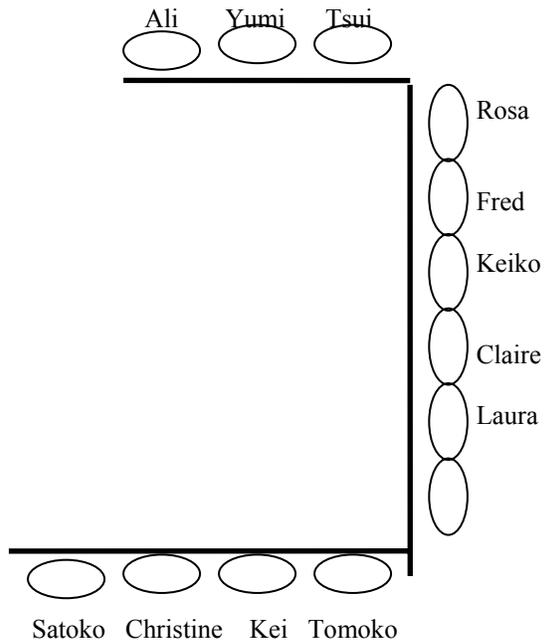
9.06 STAGE 2 GRAMMAR EXERCISE

Sara explains what topics and language areas will be covered this week. She asks them to do a sentence building exercise (page 19, course book.) She introduces them to the exercise using the board to explain and slightly adjusting it for them. She asks them to work in pairs. Whilst some get into their own pairs, she organises others (see below.)

Ali Yumi Tsui   5.

Rosa

Fred   4.

Keiko

Claire

Laura   3.

Satoko Christine   Kei Tomoko   2.

1.
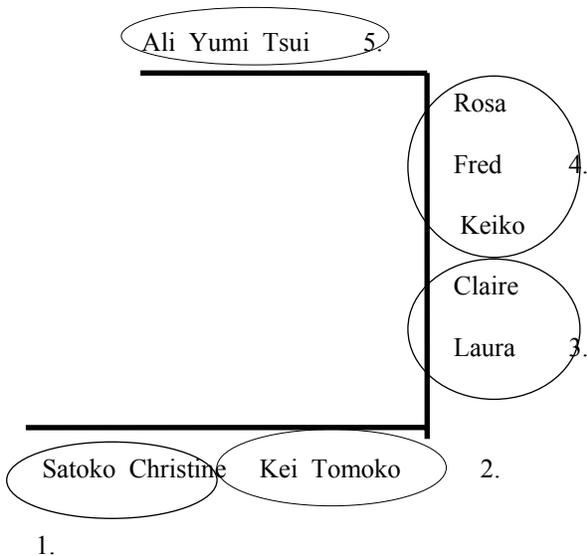
She goes round to help students, kneeling in front of group 5. There is a quiet murmur of voices.

9.10

Claire, and then Laura, say that they are finished, Sara goes from group 4 to see them and tells group 3 that they can expand what they have done. Sara then goes to group 1. Ali puts his hand up, looks at me and I nod in the direction of Sara (who has her back to him.) Sara, once she has seen his request, goes to help him.

9.14 FEEDBACK

Tomoko is nominated by the teacher. She reads out the sentence they have created. Tsui is then nominated (Sara is standing next to, and then behind, her desk.) Then Fred is nominated, and then Laura. Sara uses the board as a means of showing parts of the sentence to ask concept questions in order to get the students to correct Laura's sentence. All the students seem attentive. I have moved to next to the door. Kei is now nominated and Sara uses a similar board technique to correct her sentence. All the students are attentive to the board.

9.21

Sara writes another two examples for the students to do as homework. The students copy them down. I have a strong impression that she made up the examples as she wrote them.

9.23 STAGE 3 DISCUSSION AND VOCABULARY

Sara asks the students to turn to page 23 of their course books and she introduces them to the new unit referring them to the title and asks them to discuss the meaning of the quote below it. She only selects Kei (and others?) to go into certain groups; the others appear to be self-selected (see below.) Sara monitors standing in front of her desk. With group 4, Ali seems less involved than Yumi and Tsui, who speak more together. Sara writes "maze" on the board and elicits its meaning. Humour is used, but from what the students say rather than from what she says. She elicits adjectives to describe maze and related items.

9.31

Sara asks the students to give their opinions of the quote and then asks them for examples of making bad decisions in life. The students return to their previous groups (asked to by Sara) to discuss this. After about a minute monitoring from her desk, Sara goes to the groups kneeling in front of them starting with 2, then 1, and then 3. Group 1 demonstrates good humour, with close proxemics as Satoko and Kei are leaning towards Christine Group 2 are also laughing. Group 3 are involved but less giggly. Group 4 are more sober. Ali seems less involved than the others, although he is obviously listening.

The speaking quietens down and almost stops and Sara stops the activity.

Ali Yumi Tsui)4.

(Rosa / Fred / Keiko) 3.

(Claire / Laura / Tomoko) 2.

Satoko Christine Kei

1.
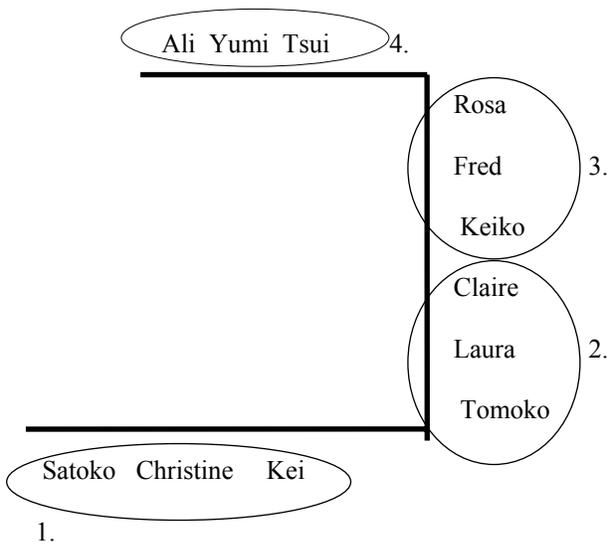
FEEDBACK

Sara nominates Rosa and puts her ideas on the board. Claire then contributes, but was non-nominated. There are non-nominated contributions from several students (e.g. Fred, Tsui) and their contributions are written up on the board. Sometimes Sara rephrases the contributions for the board to improve the grammar and vocabulary, either by saying it herself or eliciting a better form from the students.

9.41

Sara dictates two further quotes about decision making to the students. Then the students discuss these in the same groups as before. I look at Satoko's course book to read the original quote. Students start the discussion, but Rosa, and then Fred, ask what they are supposed to be doing. Sara goes to them to explain.

At the same time groups 1 and 2 are working at the task. In group 1 Kei and Christine are talking the most. Satoko is, however, involved, leaning round and listening. Kei is leaning towards Maria too. With group 2, Claire talks the most, Tomoko is second and Laura is just listening. There is quite a lot of silence. (At the same time, Sara is wiping the board and then writing stuff.) Laura then speaks. (There was not enough time to observe groups 3 and 4.)

9.47 FEEDBACK

Sara gets Kei to dictate the first quote and Sara writes this on the board. Then the sentence is corrected through eliciting from the students. This is repeated with the second sentence from Laura.

9.51 STAGE 4 VOCABULARY

Sara draws the students' attention to two pictures on page 22 about two types of career. She elicits the careers and gives instructions for an exercise where students decide which vocabulary item goes with which career. She asks them to stay in the same groups as before.

I observe each group individually whilst trying to avoid eye contact with the students because I would rather they did not know I was looking at them. Group 4 are sitting apart and not leaning inwards. (Sara monitors group to group and then goes and reads her text book.) Ali then bends round and Sara kneels down in front of them. Ali looks at me. They all speak: Ali sees to speak the most, then Yumi, but then Tsui gets more involved. (Sara is going round clockwise monitoring and kneeling in front of the groups. She asks group 1, "Can I help you?" and then kneels down in front of them.) Group 3 are all slightly apart, with Maria and Keiko slightly leaning round. All three contribute. They seem a quieter group, which means that it is not so easy to perceive what they are saying, There are also periods of silence when they are looking up words in dictionaries. Sara goes to ask them if they need help, I think they say no. Sara then goes to put some stuff up on the board for the feedback.

10.00 FEEDBACK

When this starts I slip to a less obtrusive position. Sara nominates Laura and writes her answer on the board. Sara corrects her pronunciation on one item. Laura then smiles. Then Sara asks who agrees or disagrees with Laura's answers. Ali comments. (Sara is standing right next to me.) Kei comments, then there is more student-generated laughing. Rosa, then Christine, comment. All the students are involved and there is good humour. Then Fred and Kei contribute. When this is finished, Sara asks the students if they would choose either of the careers.

10.09

The students are then asked to turn the items from nouns into their adjectival forms. Sara starts with few items with the class. She says, "Help each other in your groups if you need to" at the same time she writes some items on the board. Some students are working together (group 1), Laura and Claire also help each other from time to time. Everyone else is working on their own. Fred looks up as if he has finished. He then asks to borrow Keiko's dictionary. Sara goes to Keiko, standing in front of her, commenting on her work.

10.15 FEEDBACK

Going from item to item on the board, Sara directs a non-nominated feedback. Most of the contributions come from Fred, Kei, Christine, Ali and Laura. Sometimes it is individually given, sometimes more than one student responds at once.

10.20

Sara draws the students' attention to vocabulary exercises 2 and 3 in the course book and explains the instructions. For exercise 2, the students have to find synonyms for vocabulary in sentences. Sara sits on the table talking and helping groups 3 and 4 with the first sentences whilst groups 1 and 2 work together fine without any help. After helping the groups for about a minute to a minute and a half, she monitors the class, and does some stuff on the board.

With group 4, Ali appears to be doing nothing while the women work together. Group 3 work quietly together.

10.25 FEEDBACK
Sara nominates Claire, and then the rest of the answers are non-nominated with Laura, Christine, Fred all contributing as well as Claire again.

10.28 STAGE 5 HOMEWORK
Sara sets exercise 3 for homework.

10.29
She then asks what new vocabulary the students have learnt and talks about methods of learning vocabulary. Fred then asks a question about an item covered and Sara helps him.

10.34 CLASS ENDS

POST-LESSON
I have now more of an impression that Sara follows the course book but uses it in such a way that it is not a mundane 'course book lesson.'

Once again the register was not taken.

1.11 Observation 11 26/1/98

CLASS: ROSES   **DAY:** Monday
TEACHER: Simon   **TIME:** 11.00-12.30

PRE-LESSON
During coffee break, I noted that most of the students in the coffee room sitting in the 'students' seats were the non-Asians (i.e. Europeans and Latin Americans.) There were, I think, two Japanese students.

10.50

In the classroom there are four Asian girls chatting, then Ali arrives. He sits and listens to them, but is not really a part of them or involved. A fifth Asian female arrives (there is Satoko, Yumi, Tomoko, Keiko and Claire.) I leave at 10.55 to talk to Jaclyn about term times and then return at 11.00.

11.00

Most of the students are now here, then the others arrive including Simon. The layout is the same as the previous lesson. Fred has not arrived yet. Simon sets the O.H.P. up on his desk. He then says that he forgot something, goes for twenty seconds and returns with a file. He reminds the students of the staff-student meeting on Wednesday. He pulls the screen down.

LESSON

11.04 STAGE 1 INTRODUCTION AND VOCABULARY

He introduces the topic of food with humour. Fred arrives. He then introduces related vocabulary putting it on the O.H.P. and eliciting from the students. I move forward to the position by the door. He now develops his talk/vocabulary elicitation on the subject of traditional English dishes. Again a lot of humour is employed. He elicits recipes and ingredients. I help him when he is looking for a name of a pub that sells traditional English food. There is a lot of humour.

11.32 STAGE 2 VOCABULARY

Simon introduces a vocabulary game writing categories of food on the OHP, which the students copy down. He then does the game where he dictates items of food and the students must write them in the right categories. As he dictates the items, he adds comments, sometimes humorous ones. Claire and Laura are the only people conferring in this activity. All are interested and doing the activity.

11.39 FEEDBACK

This is non-nominated and several students answer at once each time. Simon elicits with some of the more obscure items what they look like and how they are eaten.

11.46 STAGE 3 SPEAKING

Simon gets some laminated photographs of various dishes (from what looks like magazines.) He looks through them to choose some and makes comments. He hands out the photographs clockwise giving one to each student. He asks the students to decide what the dishes consist of and guess how it was made. He suggests that if they are not sure about something, they can ask their neighbours. They can guess; they do not have to get it exactly right. He goes round to individuals to help them. Some of the students work on their own, while others automatically slot into groups. Ali, Fred, Rosa and Keiko are on their own; whilst Yumi/Tsui, Claire/Laura, Kei/Tomoko, and Satoko/Christine are together. Then Rosa confers with Fred on a point. Ali also confers with Rosa

11.54 FEEDBACK

Simon nominated Rosa, then nominates Claire (the pattern is Simon taking the picture, showing it to the class and getting the student to do the recipe), Satoko follows, then Tomoko, Laura, Keiko, Tsui, (he makes a lot of comments between when the students speak and uses a lot of humour), then Fred (Simon helps him out when he lacks ideas), Christine, Kei, Ali, Yumi.

12.04 SPEAKING

Simon talks about the poor quality of the food at the college dining hall in a humorous manner and suggests that the students should develop an international menu for it. He then gives them a couple of minutes to think about this.

12.10

Some of the students appear to be just thinking, while some are writing and some are talking. At the same time, Simon is encouraging and talking to them.

12.12 FEEDBACK

It is nominated in the sense that he asks for certain nationalities to suggest national dishes (i.e. Japanese, Latin, Thai etc.) This is repeated for the starters, main course and pudding. When going back to the same country, he chooses some people specifically, saying that they have not spoken much (e.g. Keiko and Tsui.)

12.25 LESSON ENDS

He reminds students to speak to either Ali or Fred, who as class representatives will be at a staff-student meeting on Wednesday.

All the students pack up and leave.

POST-LESSON

I felt that in a way it was good to see such a balance between the two distinct teaching styles of Sara and Simon. With Simon it is not only more difficult to work out when stages start and finish, but also to easily define their pedagogical aims: speaking or vocabulary or both?

1.11.1 The Development of My Role in Observation. 27/01/98

My role as an observer is not one of the unknown outsider entering an institution to research. I consider that I have built up relationships with many of the teaching personnel and I am quite familiar with the institution on several levels.

My first contact with the department was at the beginning of 1996 when I was looking for work and I had just completed the RSA/UCLES Diploma in TEFLA course (if not the examination.) I was interviewed by Jaclyn, effectively the course director of the EFL general course. I later taught a month's closed ESP course there at Easter. My course director was Simon Thomson, so I therefore got to know him. In this role as a student I got to know the higher education teaching staff in the department. I also asked Jaclyn if I could do some supply teaching, which I subsequently did, and this helped me to get to know other members of the F.E. staff. In 1997, I did a research project for the MA which involved interviewing members of the department staff (both H.E. and F.E.) and again this helped me to develop relationships.

This meant that by the time I was asking if I could do research at the centre in November 1997, I was a familiar face in the department who had taught many times. I had little trouble gaining access to classes and I wonder if being known helped. In addition to this, there is the considerable factor that the department has a strong research tradition. This means that students from the H.E. section, as well as the staff members, have often done research at Harmer building, and so the Harmer building teachers are quite used to being observed.

My position of being known has meant that my role seems very different to that at the institution where I did my MA dissertation fieldwork. There, I not only had to get past the administrative hurdles of different levels of management, but also had to build relationships up, as well as trust, with teachers who I did not know. This was the case even though I was not a complete outsider, as I had worked for the organisation before, was working at the time of the research, and I knew a few of the teachers.

This all means that in the observations I have been doing I feel more confident to move around and make comments to the teacher. In a sense, from the outset I feel more at ease. However, this does not mean that I over dominate the class (at least I hope I do not.) But, I do think I feel more confident in doing these things. I have also spoken to the teachers about moving about during lessons and they do not seem to mind. Nevertheless, I feel that I must be careful and not have too much of a strong role when observing. This is something that I probably need to discuss with the teachers.

1.12 Observation 12 28/1/98

CLASS: ROSES   **DAY:** Wednesday
TEACHER: Sara   **TIME:** 9.00-10.30

PRE-LESSON

I arrive in the class a few minutes before nine. Four of the Asian woman are there sitting at the back and Christine comes in. Sara is also there helping Claire with something. I chat with Sara. I then go to get a coffee asking Sara if she wants one (she has one already.)

9.00

I come back with the coffee, most of the students are there. Sara is setting up the O.H.P., checking if the students can read it.

9.04

Sara asks if all the students have arrived (she does not take the register) and most are there. Jaclyn knocks on the door and has a quick chat with Sara concerning the arrival of the course books, Sara goes to collect the books. The two Marias are chatting in Spanish.

9.06

Sara arrives with the new books and explains to the students that they can exchange them with the borrowed, old books they have if they wish.
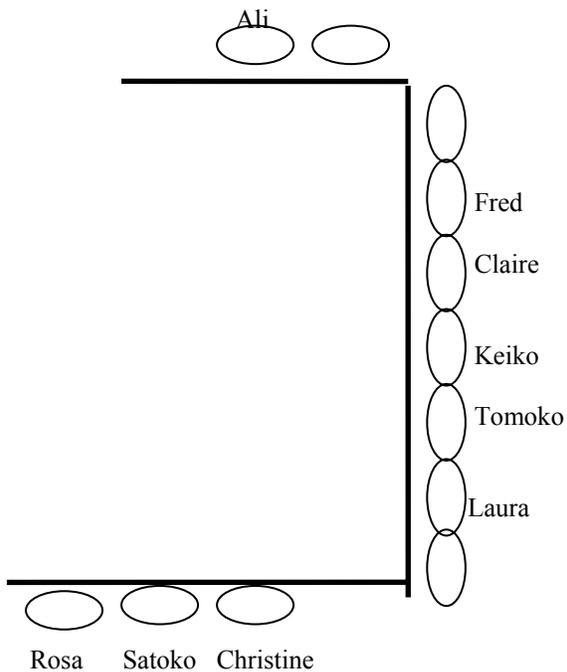
THE LESSON

9.07 STAGE 1 INTRODUCTION AND STRUCTURE TASK

Sara introduces what they will cover in the lesson: adjective order and the present perfect continuous.

She then shows two sentences on the board to students. These are the same but with different adjective order. She asks them to work with a partner, and then changes her mind and asks them to work in three groups of three. She asks them to decide what differences there are between the sentences. The groups were the following:

Ali

Fred

Claire   3.

Keiko

Tomoko

Laura   2.

Rosa Satoko Christine
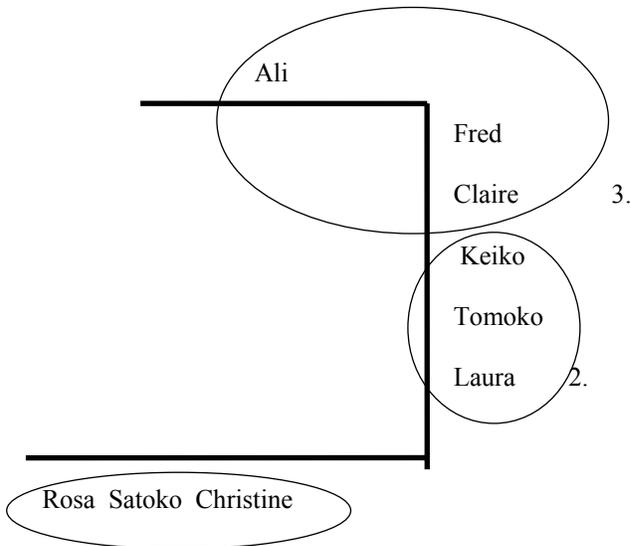
1.

With group 3, Ali cannot see the difference between them and verbalises this quite forcefully, however, Claire feels there is a difference but cannot identify it. Sara tries to persuade Ali to listen to Claire trying to verbalise her trying to work the differences out. Then Ali completely, and correctly, works the difference out himself.

9.11 FEEDBACK

Sara organises a non-nominated feedback. She asks if there is a difference and Christine replies "yes." She asks what the difference is and Keiko gives a detailed explanation of the meaning of the first sentence. Sara asks about the second sentence and several students give short answers. Sara ties it all together explaining again and rephrasing the students' answers. She then gives a short explanation about usage and rules.

STAGE 2 STRUCTURE EXERCISE

Sara rolls along the O.H.T. and shows the students a prepared exercise with three nouns in three boxes each followed by a scattering of modifiers (i.e. adjectives, nouns, quantifiers etc.) She asks the students, in the same groups of threes, to put the modifiers in order before the noun. She then suggests a couple of ways of doing it in groups (e.g. do it on your own and then compare.)

Group 1 show reasonably close proxemics with the Rosa and Christine leaning towards Satoko. Sara then explains what she calls "the rules," "If you don't understand, use your monolingual dictionary, if you still don't understand, ask me." Group two do not have such close proxemics. Laura is looking at her dictionary and the others are looking at the board. They give the impression that they are working on their own. Then Laura confers with Tomoko while Keiko is looking in her dictionary. Sara then goes to group 1 and gets on her knees. In group 3, Ali is sitting apart; he has not moved to get closer to the others. They seem to be

working on their own and then occasionally conferring on the meaning of lexis. Then Fred and Claire get closer and start talking.

Group 1 are busy doing the whole exercise together. Thus, it appears to be that group 1 are doing everything together; group 2 do the task on their own and then compare, and this is what I think group 3 are doing. Sara is monitoring clockwise; on her knees in front of group 1, then going behind her desk and slightly later standing in front of group 3. While she is at 3, I quickly fix the O.H.P. which had a slight problem with the roller. Sara is now on her knees in front of three.

Group 1 have stopped and so appear to be finished. Group 3 are conferring, group 2 still seem to be more on their own. Sara is monitoring from behind her desk.

9.26 FEEDBACK

Sara chooses a group and then a representative from it, starting with Satoko. She puts her response (to the first noun + modifiers) on the board. Sandra knocks on the door and asks if she could borrow a board pen as hers have run out. Sara then chooses Keiko for her group's version of the phrase and then does the same with Claire putting the responses on the board for comparison. She confirms with Ali that he had a different answer, which he says is the same as Keiko's. Sara uses a series of questioning and eliciting to get the correct order.

9.30 STAGE 3 STRUCTURE EXERCISE

Sara gives the students a photocopy with the answers to the previous task and the rules of order on it. She asks them to fold the paper in order to hide the rules and then do two things to compare: compare the order with their own orders, and then try to work out the rules. I am confused because she did not go over, in the feedback, the students' responses to the second and third noun phrases. She asks them to do this task in the same groups. She then asks Ali to move closer to Fred and Claire, which he duly does moving and sitting next to Fred.

As previously, group 1 have close proxemics and work together on the task. Group 2 appear to be working on their own. Keiko sneaks a quick look at the answers. With group 3, Sara is talking to Ali while Fred and Claire are conferring. Group 2 are conferring, still without close proxemics, and then they work on their own.

9.38 FEEDBACK

This is a non-nominated feedback. Ali gives the first response. Sara elicits, confirms and questions the students' answers (several at once and individually) and from this builds up some of the rules on the board on top of the O.H.P. projection. Many students give quick responses. All the students are attentive either

writing or observing the teacher and board. Sara leaves a few rules out and the students have to look at the rules on the photocopy. She goes over these rules, checking their understanding through concept questions. Ali yawns (covering his mouth with his hand); he seems a bit tired. Sara then gives quite a long explanation leaning on her desk. She uses an example she gets off group 1 to further her explanations. (I had the impression that she was not completely sure about one of the explanations and I think I might have given her a doubtful look, which I think she noticed.)

9.51 STAGE 4 STRUCTURE EXERCISE

She asks the students to do a practice exercise applying the rules from the photocopy.

Group 1 acts exactly as before. Groups 2 and 3 work on their own. Sara monitors, on her knees in front of group 3, she is just observing. Then as she leaves, Fred asks a question, she responds standing and Claire joins in. Laura finishes, does nothing and talks to Tomoko (this appears to be not related to the task.) Then they are on their own. Tomoko then looks for a short time at Keiko's work. Sara is still conferring with group 3.

9.58 FEEDBACK

This is a non-nominated feedback. Several students give short answers at the same time. Sara comments on the answers and sometimes concept questions back. One student asks a vocabulary question and Sara goes over this. Ali asks one previous answer to be repeated, which is done by Sara (and the students?)

10.04 STAGE 5 STRUCTURE EXERCISE

Sara asks the class to name the last thing they have bought for themselves recently. Ali responds with "soap" and Sara elicits from him a description. Then she asks for something that is more long-lasting and Rosa says "sports socks." Sara questions her in order to get a description of the objects and then asks her to reform the description so that it makes a "modifier + noun" phrase. She asks the other students to do the same and does not say if it should be done in or out of groups.

The students actually work in groups. Group 1 act as before, but are now quite giggly. Group 2 are working together, with the outsiders leaning slightly around. Group 3 are very similar to group 2 and they are also smiling. Group 2 are now smiling. Sara is behind her desk, adjusting her O.H.P. so that there is a clean O.H.T. Laura talks with Sara.

10.12

There is not any feedback, but Sara asks the students to write up the task for homework.

10.13 STAGE 6 STRUCTURE EXERCISE

Sara introduces the topic of the present perfect and gives out a photocopy with exercises on. She asks them to look at it and at the first exercise where they have to compare the meanings of three pairs of sentences. (Present perfect continuous and present perfect simple.) She asks them to do it in the same groups.

Group 3 are talking, conferring and smiling. They are slightly leaning towards each other. Group 2 are not leaning so much, but they are doing the exercise together. Group 1, as usual, are leaning and working together. All the groups are quieter than in the previous exercise. Sara monitors groups 3 and then 2 on her knees, checking and explaining. Sara then quickly glances over at group 1 but does not intervene.

10.18 FEEDBACK
Sara concept questions for the answers without nominating. Many students give responses. All the students are attentive: either looking at the exercise and/or writing or looking at Sara.

10.23 STAGE 7 STRUCTURE EXERCISE
Sara asks the students to do the following exercise on the photocopy, in which they have to decide which explanations describe the present perfect continuous. She asks them to work on their own and then compare with their partners. This was so quick that I did not really get a chance to observe properly, but I think that they were working in groups from the start.

10.25 FEEDBACK
Sara asks if they agree with their partners. Keiko drops a photocopy in front of her on the floor; Sara picks it up. Sara is leaning on the desk where Ali sat before, she uses this position a lot during the class. The feedback is a quick non-nominated 'no/yes' responses.

10.26 STAGE 8 SET HOMEWORK
She asks the students to do another exercise off the photocopy for Friday. Students start to pack up.

10.27 CLASS ENDS

POST-LESSON
Sara speaks individually to some students about their work. This includes mainly Christine and Fred. The students do not seem to rush off this time. I have a chat with Rosa about the differences between hers and Christine's Spanish. She asks me about how my research is going and if the class is useful for me. I reply "yes."

My seating position is now more permanently between the door and where Rosa was sitting. I move forward more when there is group work, and more slightly back when the class is teacher-centred.

I also asked Sara some questions at lunch time after writing up my notes in her office on Louise's desk. (I also wanted to see her regarding documentation and the lessons I would be teaching the following week.) She arrived later than she said she would and was then willing to help me with my questions. I wanted to know why she used an O.H.P. in this lesson as I had never seen her use one before. She replied that she did not want to give them a handout and having it on the O.H.P. leant it more flexibility as she can flash it on and off. I also wanted to why in the feedback of stage 2, she only went over the answers for the first word. She replied that it would be boring for them to do the two others, and in any case the answers were on the photocopy she gave out.

Whilst I was working in her office, I took a phone call for her. This was from a man who organises a basketball team. It became evident from this, and a post-it on the desk referring to a football team and a student, that Sara goes out of her way to help organise the outside social life of her students, particularly so that they can be with native speakers.

1.13 Observation 13 29/1/98

CLASS: ROSES   **DAY:** Thursday
TEACHER: Sandra   **TIME:** 11.00-12.30

OVERVIEW OF LESSON
This lesson mostly took place in the listening centre where the students had to do a number of tasks based on two listening texts in which personal ghost stories are recounted by a man and a woman.

PRE-LESSON
11.00
I arrive in the class slightly later than I had wanted because I had been chatting to Sara, Sandra and Jaclyn in the coffee room. Most of the students are there talking. I help Ali locate the local forests on the map in the classroom, something I had promised to do.

11.05
Sandra enters and opens some of the windows making a comment about the weather. She does the register and asks if the students have done their homework.

THE LESSON
11.07 STAGE 1 INTRODUCTION
Sandra says that in this lesson there will be a change of topic and that they will be doing a listening in the listening centre which will be in two parts. Sandra is sitting at her desk. She asks Claire to explain about the

ghost at the Harmer building, but Claire seems reluctant to talk about it. Sandra talks a little about the age of the Harmer building and about the existence of a ghost. She asks the students if they know about it and Laura explains quite fluently the story. Sandra explains more and then Laura and Claire explain more. Sandra teaches a few vocabulary items from what arose and gives a further ghost anecdote.

Sandra explains the task (2 listenings, 2 personal stories which they will compare.) Before they leave, Kei asks if it is necessary to bring paper and pens. Sandra replies "yes." Everybody goes to the listening centre.

ORIGINAL LAYOUT OF CLASS
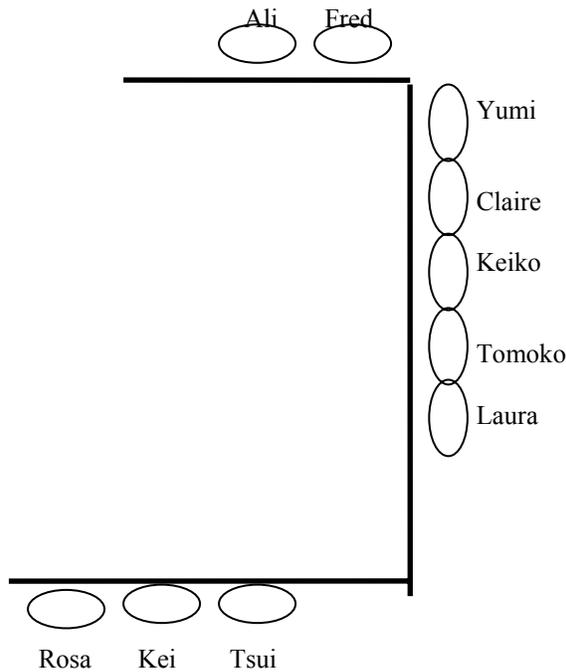
11.20 STAGE 2 LISTENING TASK 1

The listening centre is on the first floor in the Harmer building. It is slightly smaller than HG02 but has a similar feel in terms of decoration, carpets, curtains, windows and so on. In essence it is a language laboratory and is designed as a self-access centre. As such, there are sixteen booths spread around the room equipped with a reasonably modern lab system. In the centre of the room is a control desk with an electronic control board and master tape recorders, all of which I am quite familiar with as I have often used labs before. The booths are laid out in such a way that the students actually face the walls. In addition to this, three of the booths are in a separate room (there is no door separating it) which is referred to by Sandra as the cupboard. In the room there are plenty of self-access materials that have obviously been laid out for students' use. However, with a white board, an O.H.P., and a screen, this room could function as a classroom. A detailed plan of the room is found below.

(A)

Claire   Laura   Tsui

(B)

Fred

(C)

Ali

Kei   Sandra   Observer

Tomoko

Rosa

Keiko

(D)

Yumi

(E)
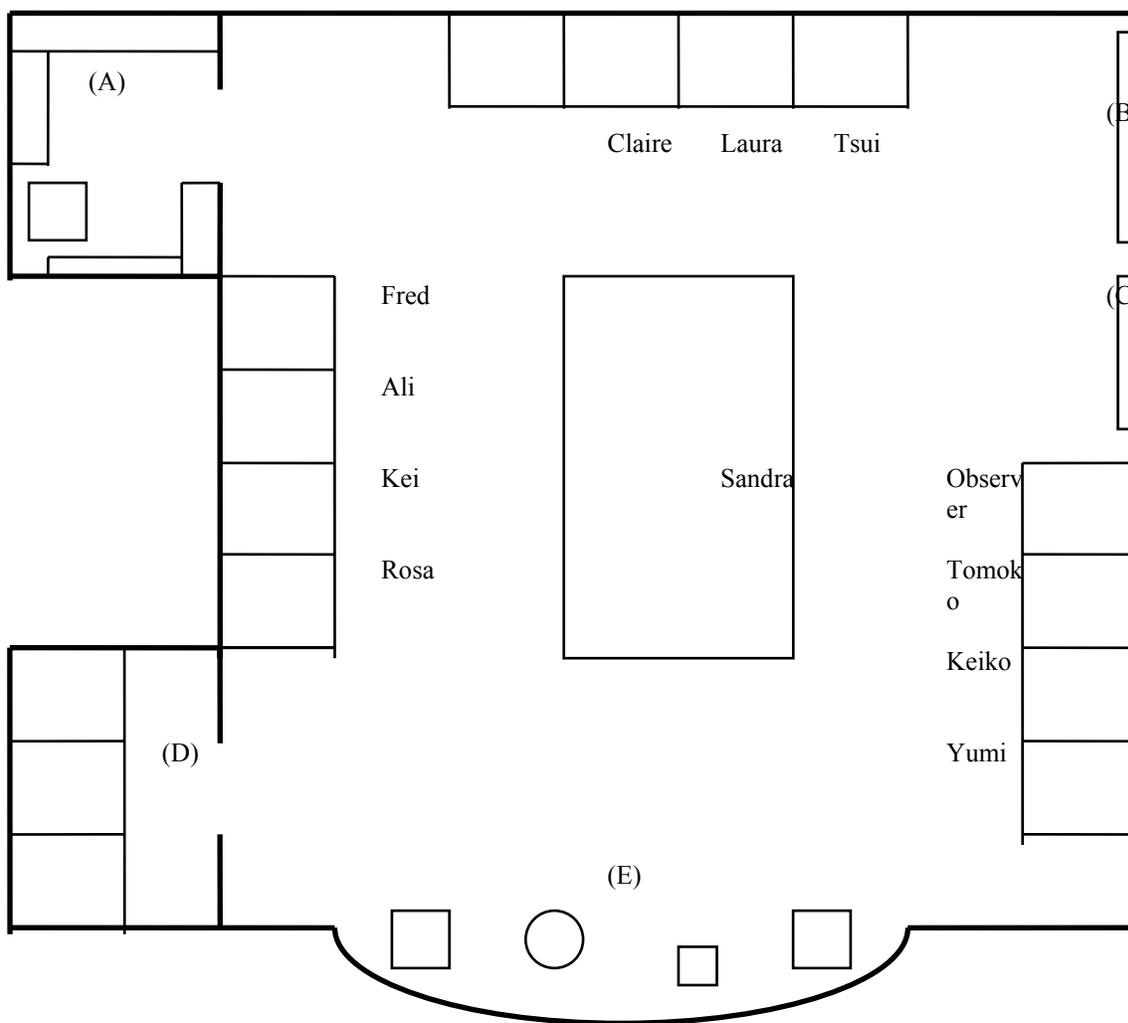
THE LISTENING CENTRE

KEY:

A) Cupboard with shelves carrying tapes and books, and a filing cabinet with self-access materials.

B) White board.

C) Door.

D) Cupboard with self-access booths.

E) Bay window area with two filing cabinets, an O.H.P., and a bookstand.

N.B. Several of the walls have displays on them including examples of students' work, a map, the phonemic chart, and guides to the self-access materials.

When everyone is sat, Sandra says she will change the seating around but first she will explain what to do. She dictates the questions, whilst doing this, she asks Ali if he is doing this. (11.25) She then puts coloured stickers on their hands: the colours responding to the listening they are doing. She moves Kei and Rosa to the cupboard so that they have the right tape. Kei asks a question, Sandra helps. Sandra then goes round checking that everyone's machine is working, and the students know what they are doing. She then asks if everything is okay. (Before this, she had suggested where I could sit and that I could hear the tape as well.) She goes round more, clockwise.

All the students appear to be working with most of them making notes. Sandra wonders around generally clockwise, then listens to her tape, and adjusts the window. Tsui says she has finished. Sandra tells her that she can rewind to listen and check her answers. Exactly the same thing happens with Laura. I chat to Sandra.

Claire takes off her headphones and then Sandra tells the class to stop and to check their work in the following groups, which she creates.
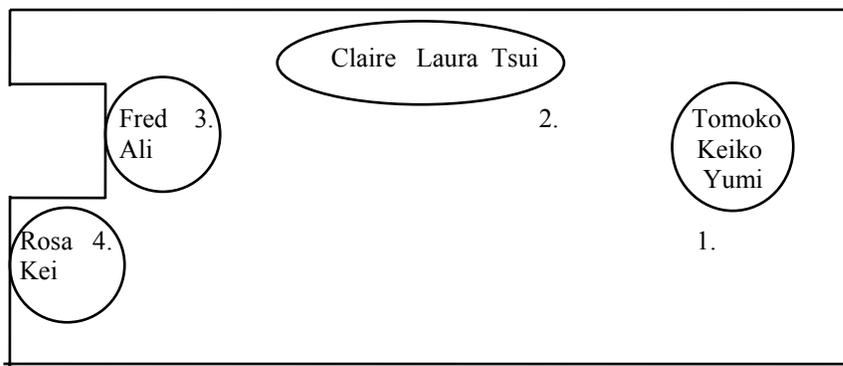
As they compare, Sandra goes round clockwise. She goes to group 1 suggesting what they should do. All the groups seem quite noisy. It is difficult to observe them as most of them have their backs to me. Sandra is at group 1 for a while.

11.42
Sandra stops the activity and asks Kei and Rosa to come into the room. She tells the class to find a partner with a different colour sticker. There is a lot of moving around and the following groups emerge.
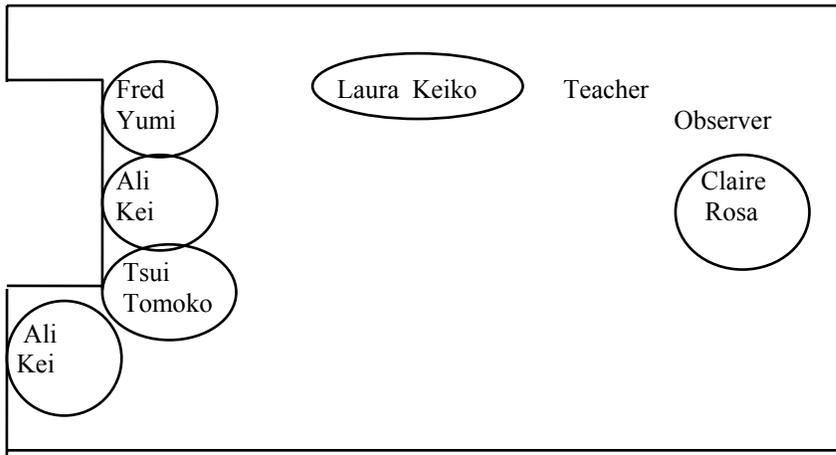
The teacher is monitoring sat down and appears to be noting things on cue cards. Ali and Kei move in the cupboard. The teacher moves and is kneeling, but not observing, near Tsui and Tomoko. She then goes and monitors Ali and Kei. Laura stops and looks round. Sandra tells her and then the other students that they can go and listen to the other listening (on a booth that has it.) I offer my booth to Laura, but she politely refuses and finds another.

All the students are now listening to the opposite tapes. Sandra is sat at her desk. I talk to Sandra and mention that I notice the European and Latin dominance in the coffee room at break time.

Laura has finished and comes into the main room from the cupboard. Sandra checks with the class who has finished and gives a few more minutes to those who have not. She asks the students to take their headphones off when they finish.

STAGE 3 LISTENING TASK 2
Sandra stops everyone and explains that she is going to give out a photocopy with exercises referring to the listenings. She gives out the copies (including to me) which contain a vocabulary gap fill. Ali does not seem to understand an aspect of the task, Sandra helps.

The students do the exercise and are all involved. Sandra tells them on the microphone that they can do part of the exercise that refers to the other tape (so they have to move another booth.) Laura moves first, then Rosa Sandra is at her booth marking. More students start to move. Fred says to Sandra that he cannot do the first exercise, Sandra goes through it with him using the master tape and loudspeaker. Laura finishes the second part before all the others. Sandra goes through Laura's answers at her desk, then she does the same with Claire who comes to Sandra's desk, then Ali. This continues with Keiko and the rest of the class. She tells the corrected students to do the following vocabulary exercise on the photocopy, in which you match

definitions to the items found on the tape. This checking process goes on for a while with everybody orderly moving about and working. Sandra goes to her office to check one of the answers on the second exercise (for Ali.) Whilst waiting, Ali looks at the books on the stand.

12.25 FEEDBACK

Sandra gives out a vocabulary worksheet. She asks Kei to come in out of the cupboard. Sandra goes over the answers with a non-nominated feedback. Several answer at the same time. All the students are facing away from the teacher.

12.29 STAGE 4 SET HOMEWORK

Sandra sets a vocabulary worksheet as homework. She goes over the first exercise as an example.

12.31 CLASS ENDS

The students pack and go.

POST-LESSON

Several students (including Ali, Fred and Laura) have a quick chat with Sandra about today's listening.

1.13.1   Taught lesson 30/1/98

CLASS: Irises   **DAY:** Friday

                                                                      TIME: 9.00-10.30

I received a telephone call on Thursday evening from Sandra. She asked me if I could replace her for the first and possibly second lesson on the thirtieth because she was having some "house" problems. I said I would do this, despite it meaning that I would lose an observation. In fact, I accepted it because also because I need to teach as much as possible for financial reasons and I also see this as a good insight into the institution and therefore another form of observation. As I have so much access to observing, missing one lesson, which would be partly a test anyway, would not be such a problem.

Sandra told me that she would leave me the materials and instructions on her desk, which she did. I arrived at the Harmer building at 8.45am, got the materials and looked through them after getting a coffee. I bumped into Sara and told her that I could not observe and she said that that would not be a problem, and that it would be a test anyway. The class itself was a lower level and contained a mix of nationalities and sexes. The classroom layout in terms of seating and decoration was very similar.

1.14 Observation 14 30/01/98

CLASS: ROSES   **DAY:** Friday

TEACHER: Sandra   **TIME:** 11.00-12.30

OVERVIEW OF LESSON

The lesson essentially consisted of two parts. Firstly, there was a revision section dealing with vocabulary that had been treated the previous week (or lesson, I am not sure.) Then there was a reading comprehension that dealt with the themes that had arisen in a video that they had seen the previous day. There was a strong emphasis on vocabulary in the reading element of the lesson.

TEACHER

Sandra seemed relaxed, confident and in control. Most of the lesson she wore a scarf. She utilised my presence as part of the lesson.

ENVIRONMENT

In this lesson, I paid particular attention to the location of objects and possessions in the classroom. On the students' desks in front of them, the students have various possessions laid out. These include files, pens, course books, pen cases, paper, notebooks, dictionaries, spectacle cases, computer dictionaries etc. So there is the impression that the desks are covered with stuff, although it does not seem messy. It is also discernible whose possessions are whose in the way that there are small gaps between each student's arrangement of possessions, and in the way that the possessions are laid out (e.g. with books more central.) The students bags are by their feet, or behind their desks. Their coats are on the back of their chairs, except Kei's, which is neatly folded on a spare chair behind her. There are books, the register, pen and photocopies on the teacher's desk. Her bag is on the floor next to the table.

The O.H.P. is today on the floor between the board and the television. On the table on the which the tape recorder stands is a dictionary, a newspaper and some text books. I notice that the posters that were done in a previous lesson with Simon have not been displayed on the wall, and the classroom does have a slightly bare feel. The bin is under the VCR. This is not a massive room, but it is airy.

DRESS

Most of the students are in casual clothes, i.e. jeans, sweaters, trainers or boots. A few are wearing trousers (i.e. Ali.) Kei is the smartest wearing a suit jacket. Fred and Kei are wearing scarves (this has been the coldest week so far this winter.)

Sandra is smartly, but at the same time casually, dressed with a skirt and a sweater. This seems typical of the Harmer building teachers. None usually wears jeans (except myself) and the men usually wear shirts and trousers.

I arrive in the lesson at 11.00am. I had wanted to arrive earlier, but I had to sort out an e-mail problem with Sandra. Most of the students are already here. Sandra arrives giving a big smile.

SEATING LAYOUT
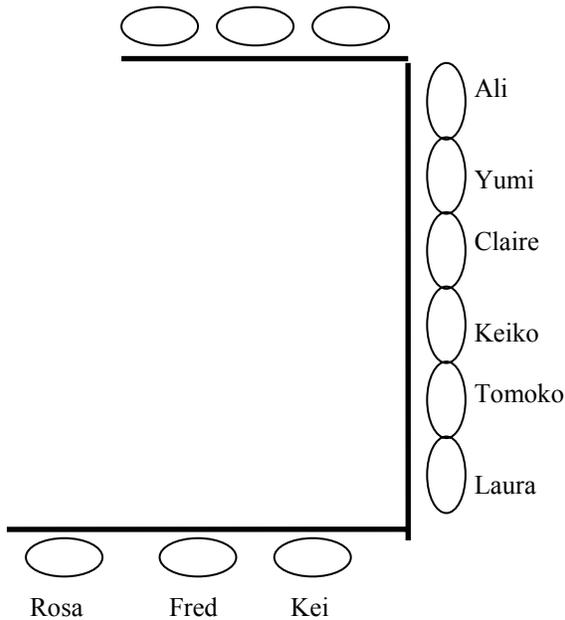
THE LESSON

11.03 STAGE 1 INTRODUCTION

Sandra arrives and starts with an anecdote about Simon's dog. She asks if everyone is here, and finds out who is missing, but I do not think that she took the register.

11.05

Sandra introduces the content of the lesson: reading, vocabulary including idioms. She then elicits (non-nominated) what idioms they did yesterday. At the same time she is cutting up bits of paper. She then asks me questions about the King's School (which appears to be part of the theme) and talks about King's and other public schools.

11.10

Jaclyn pops in to borrow the VCR remote control. This is handled with a smile and a comment about the remote.

11.11 STAGE 2 VOCABULARY TASK

Sandra gives the students items of vocabulary on cut up bits of paper based on vocabulary they covered last week. The students have to discuss the meanings. The students work in three groups (see below.) I move to next to Rosa to get a better view.
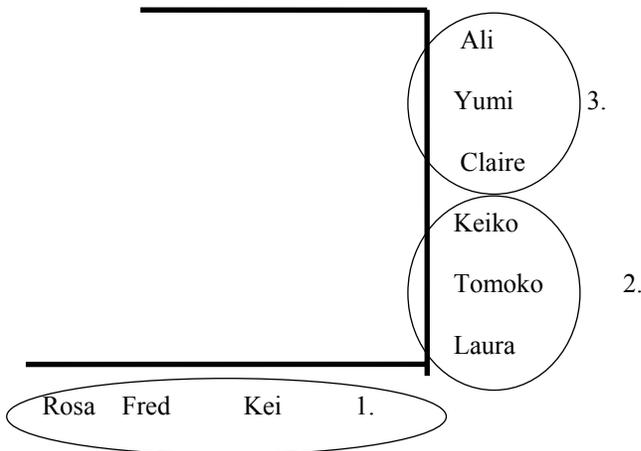
11.17

Sandra passes the words around from group to group. She asks them if she had given them a photocopy of these items and gets them to look for it and use that. She then goes round the class in front of them to monitor them. Sandra then goes to make extra photocopies of this sheet. The students are still working in her absence, and then Fred asks me a question about football. Kei asks me a vocabulary question. I move to the opposite side of the class sitting behind the empty desks (where Ali normally sits) to the left of the teacher in order to have a better viewpoint as there are no students sitting here.

11.23

Sandra returns. She goes round helping the groups in no particular order. All the groups are working. In group 1, Rosa and Kei are leaning around and there is close proxemics. For groups 2 and 3, the outside students are less bent round. They all seem to help each other and communicate nevertheless.

11.28 STAGE 3 VOCABULARY TASK 2

Sandra gives the students photocopies of an exercise where the previous items are put into sentences. She puts them into the following groups to do this, saying that they will work in pairs (see below.) She then monitors the groups. All the groups are working quite quietly. In group 4, Ali is slightly apart from the others. He is working on one photocopy, while Yumi and Claire are sharing one. This gives the impression that they are working separately. Sandra is still monitoring: walking past and watching. She intervenes less than Sara. She then gets the chair that I had been sitting on previously and puts it to the right of her desk and sits on it. She then goes and writes on the board some of the items (related to something Ali had said.)

Ali
Yumi 4.
Claire

Keiko
Tomoko 3.

Laura
Rosa   Fred   Kei 2.
1.
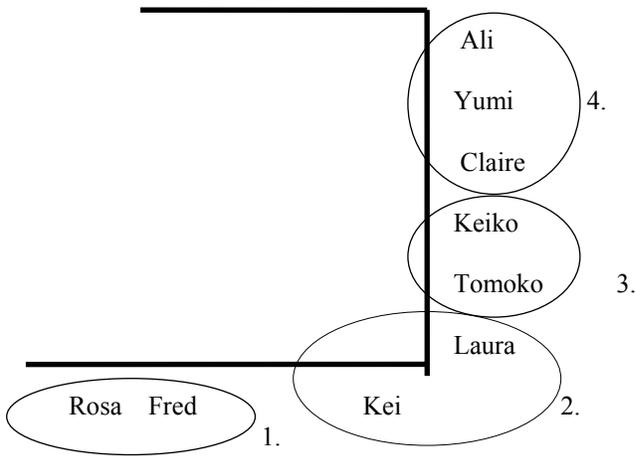
11.26 FEEDBACK

The students read back individually the dialogue with the items put in. She chooses group 1 to start, and when they finish, she asks the other students what they think. Kei then reads out the next answer. Sandra asks a non-nominated question related to the exercise. As the students read out the answers, all the other students appear to be referring to the text. Keiko reads out the next answer. Sandra asks a question back to the other students. (Ali is observing me.) When it is Ali's turn, he says an answer that has already been said. Claire then does the right one for the group. Sandra then asks the same group to do the next one. Ali only has half the answers, so Sandra asks if any other students could finish it.

Sandra puts some words on the board and gets the students to repeat them. As they do this, she marks the stress and puts the phonemic script above the sounds in the words that have been causing problems.

11.40 STAGE 4 READING

Sandra introduces the topic by talking about the video they saw in the previous lesson. She elicits the students' opinions about this video as well as eliciting information about its content. When a relevant vocabulary item comes up, she puts it on the white board.

11.44

Sandra then introduces the actual topic of 'Sloane Rangers'. She asks me for my definition, which I give. She gives out photocopied texts to the students and tells them that it is a difficult text so she will read the first paragraph with them. She reads it aloud and goes over the vocabulary, themes and ideas. She drills them to pronounce an item in a 'posh' accent. She then asks them to read the rest till a specific line half-way through. The students read it and there is almost absolute silence. Some of them are marking the text with their pens. Sandra is writing something on the board. Ali asks her what one of the items on the board means.

11.54 FEEDBACK

Sandra elicits for items from the text that use 'wildlife' imagery and then puts on the board in a bubble. Laura contributes a lot. All the students seem involved, either looking at their texts, or the teacher and the board.

Sandra then elicits from the students what I said previously, and gets them to check the text to see if anything I said is there. Ali does not seem to know what is going on, or does he? All the students on this in groups and then write the answers on the board. Laura goes first, then Kei. Sandra goes round checking. Rosa goes up.

She asks the class to describe what the Sloane world consists of. All the students seem to be involved in trying to answer the question. Again Sandra refers to me.
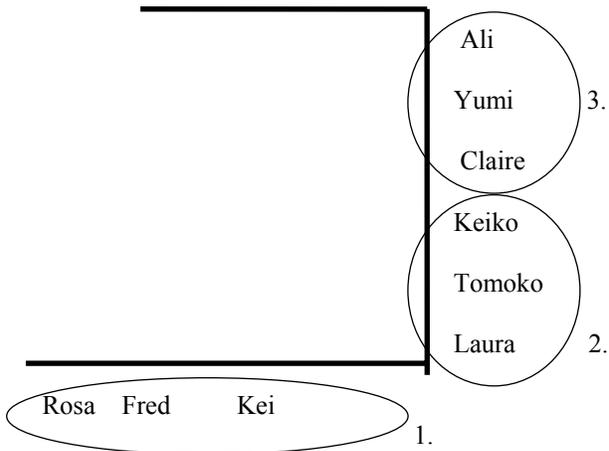
12.14

She asks the students to refer to the next part of the text. Before she starts, she elicits the elements of the first text that will refer to the next section. Sandra's stomach grumbles and she makes a jokey comment about this saying that it is not Tomoko this time. She then reads the first paragraph of the text, and then goes over the vocabulary and themes of it with the students.

Laura asks a vocabulary question and Sandra refers it back to the class. They do not know it so Sandra helps and puts the word with its definition on the board. Sandra says the word is difficult to pronounce, repeats it and then most of the students repeat it without Sandra actually asking them to. Sandra then asks the students to read the rest of the text. They do this in absolute silence. The teacher also reads it. Some students have pens in their hands making notes, others do not.

12.22 FEEDBACK

Sandra goes towards the board and asks the students if they are finished. They all look up except Yumi, then she finishes. Sandra asks the students to turn the text over. She elicits elements of the text and Laura responds. She then gets the students to write the elements down, working in groups.

Sandra monitors, checking that they are covering/hiding their texts. Everybody is working. Ali comments but seems slightly awkward with Yumi and Claire.

12.25 FEEDBACK

Sandra starts with the Fred group. All the members contribute, but Fred dominates. Then Ali adds something. (Tomoko looks at me.) Tomoko speaks for Laura's group. Then others confirm this and add automatically without being nominated. Yumi and Claire speak for their group. Then add-ons are elicited coming from others. Sandra then asks all the class.

12.29 STAGE 5 HOMEWORK

Sandra asks the students to finish the text and underline the bits they do not know. She asks the students their opinion of the women described in the text.

12.30 CLASS ENDS

All the students pack, wrap up and go.

POST-LESSON

I think it was a very enjoyable lesson. I had a chat afterwards with Sandra and Simon about the class. They agreed that the class, as well as themselves, were different with my presence. With the students, it tended to be that the ones like Yumi and Satoko were even quieter, while the louder ones did not seem to be affected by it.

1.15 Observation 15 2/2/98

CLASS: ROSES   **DAY:** Monday
TEACHER: Christopher   **TIME:** 9.00-10.30

OVERVIEW OF LESSON

I taught this lesson because Sara was away on a training course. I also taught her second class this morning for the same reason. It should be understood that I have become the de facto supply teacher when other teachers are absent. I am very used to assuming this role, as well as the staff and many of the students.

The lesson itself was mainly concerned with introducing the theme (and unit) of the week, travel, through discussion and vocabulary development. As such, this was a very similar lesson to the previous Monday's 9.00am lessons that I have observed. On the following page is the plan for this lesson.

Ali

Kei

Claire

Yumi

Keiko

Tomoko

Laura

Satoko

Rosa   Fred   Tsui   Christine
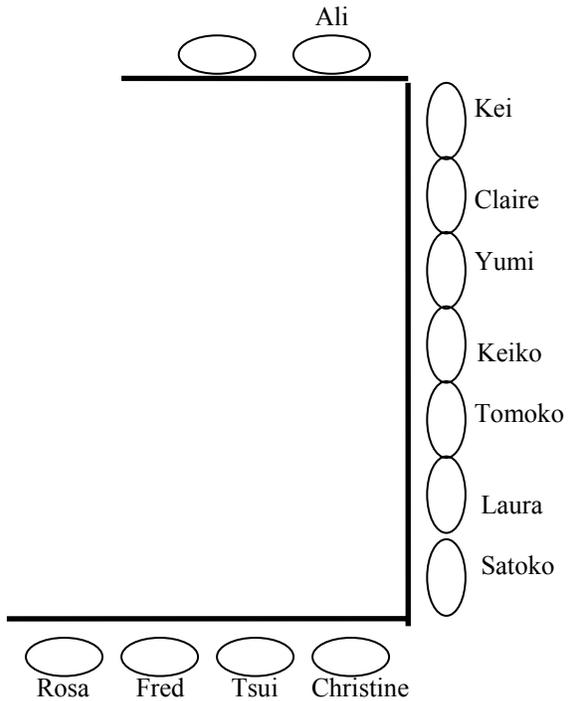
LESSON PLAN

OVERVIEW : Discussion and vocabulary - travel

                       Workout Advanced p.29

STAGE 1	WARMER
9.00	• Explain what I am doing
	• Get each student to talk about what they did
STAGE 2	INTRODUCTION AND DISCUSSION I
9.10	• Explain what they will be doing
	• Ask students the first time abroad? Where else? Why travel?
	• Students look at "Chesterton" quote.
	• Discuss 2/3s meaning - feedback/discussion
STAGE 3	DISCUSSION II
9.20	• Discuss cartoon 2/3s - feedback
STAGE 4	VOCABULARY I
9.30	• Discuss attitudes 2/3s - adjectives (check dictionaries) - board
	• Develop discussion on two types/where they fit
STAGE 5	VOCABULARY II

9.50	• Do exercise - choose - feedback/board (all on own)
	• Look up dictionaries for meanings - board (on own)
	• Look up moan/grumble/went on - meanings (own) - board
	• Discussion "circumstances" - 2/3s - board
STAGE 6	• Do 3/4s. Put in circles
	• Feedback/comparison - (try to get out/not involved)
	<u>FILLER</u>
	Look at individual sounds. Pronunciation.

<u>THE LESSON</u>

When I arrived a few of the students asked if I was teaching, and then, as the class began I explained why I was replacing Sara. Getting each student to explain what they did at the weekend worked well. This is something I have often done with my teaching and it acts as a good warmer and gives everyone a chance to speak. Warmers seemed particularly useful with this class because of student lateness. As the students arrived, they could easily join in.

With the first discussion (stage 2), I wanted to see what would happen if I asked the students to work with someone else without nominating groups. I wanted to see who would work with whom, and to see how they would adopt to such freedoms. The layout was the following.

Ali

Kei

Claire

Yumi

Keiko

Tomoko

Laura

Satoko

Rosa   Fred
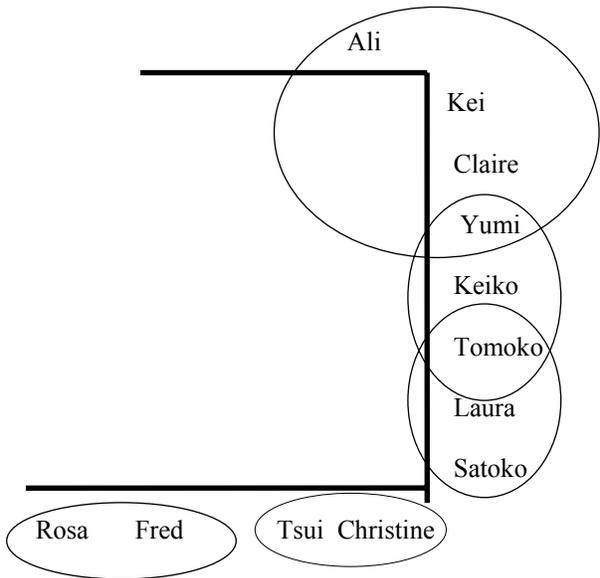
Tsui Christine

This led to more fluidity in group formation with Yumi and Tomoko working effectively in two groups at different times. They got into the activity quite quickly, although Christine appeared less involved at first.

With stage 3, I again told them to work with other students and there was the same fluidity. Exercise 1 was difficult for them and I ended up through elicitation explaining its meaning (it was quite culturally loaded in fact.) With exercise 2, I had them working on their own at first. All the time, I monitored from behind my desk and did not get too close to them. I put them into groups of three, perhaps because that seems safer and easier. This was as follows:

Ali

Kei

Claire

Yumi

Keiko

Tomoko

Laura

Satoko

Rosa Fred   Tsui

Christine
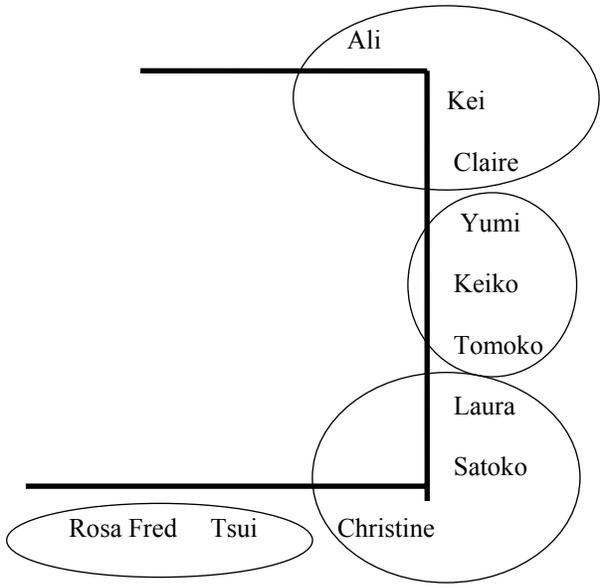
This was followed with a non-nominated feedback which led me to go over the vocabulary they produced in some detail. This took longer than expected because I thought it was interesting to develop their understanding of the meanings of the items using a context that they had focused on.

I had them do the vocabulary exercises 3 and 4 quickly so that there would be enough time for the final discussion. I nominated them into three groups once they had done the discussion task individually. This was the following.
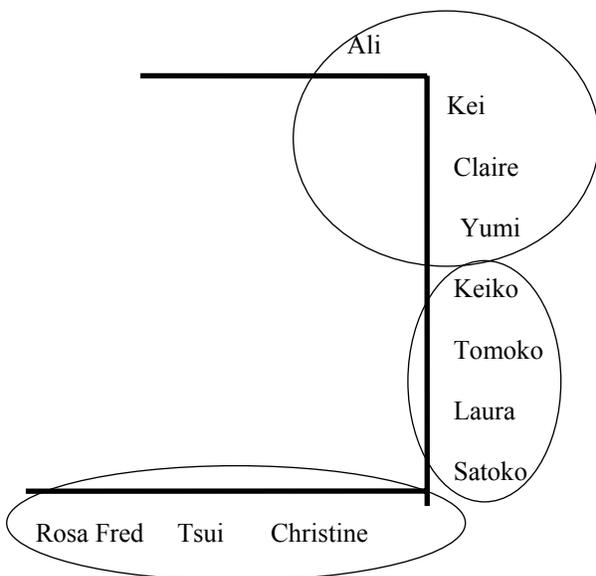
Ali immediately moved himself and a chair into the horseshoe so that he was facing the other group members. (I chose the groups because I wanted equal groups for the task.) This was the noisiest, chattiest group work with the students comparing. In the nominated-by-group feedback, it was interesting that a few members felt racism to be a problem in Britain.

POST-LESSON
I felt that I gave a very "energetic" lesson, which had a fast pace, which I was satisfied with.

Fred came up to me after the lesson to ask questions about how he could improve his chances preparing for CAE.

1.16 Observation 16 4/2/98

CLASS: ROSES   **DAY:** Wednesday
TEACHER: Simon   **TIME:** 11.00-12.30

CLASSROOM LAYOUT

Ali   Ahmed

Yumi

Laura

Keiko

Tomoko

Hido

Claire

Tsui

Fred   Rosa   Kei   Keiko
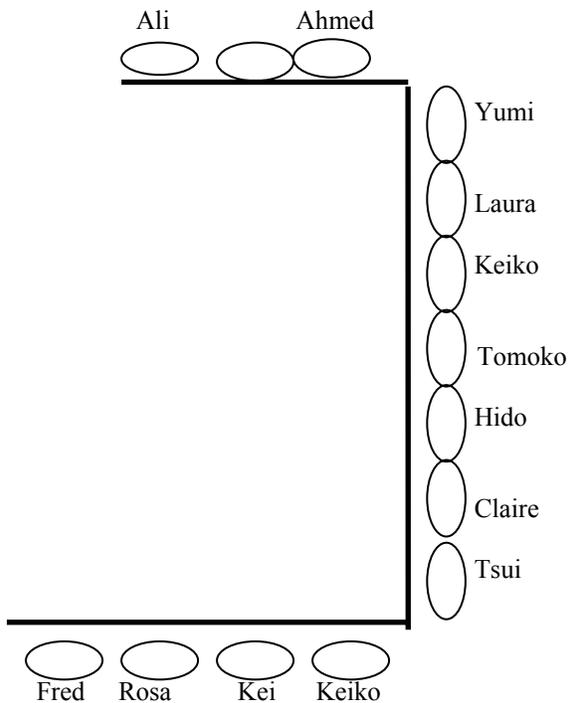
11.00

I arrive at 11am and the class appears to be just starting. I notice that there are two new students: Ahmed, male from the U.A.E. I think, and Hido, female from Japan. Simon explains to Ahmed what the class will be, and have been, doing (work concerned with the news). Whilst Simon is explaining, some students are talking and then they slowly begin to quieten down until they are silent. I am sitting next to Fred, and I notice that he is looking at my notes. Simon reveals on the OHP a news headline which he has copied out, this is projected onto a screen which has been lowered down in front of the white board. He will show several others, and prevents the students from seeing the others by covering the acetate with a piece of paper. Simon asks the class about this headline. The students respond to the questions by answering individually and not interrupting each other. Most of the students are paying attention to Simon. Simon reveals the second headline and he asks questions which the students answer individually. It appears that certain students respond more than others to this questioning, which is aimed at the class and not individuals. The teacher is sitting behind his desk facing the students. The students are sat behind their desks facing him. Their possessions related to their study (i.e. pens, dictionaries, files etc.) are placed in

front of them. The teacher is dressed in a casual suit and tie. Ahmed talks a lot and seems involved, after appearing initially nervous. Simon talks more than all the others making comments and questions which the students respond to. He explains that the they are going to watch a video of the news, stands up and starts setting up the television and VCR. He then sits back down. Some of the students are getting notebooks, papers and pens out. Simon asks the students to work out the headlines. He plays the video and most of the students appear to be watching it. He stops the video and asks the students to give a title to the story. They say them individually out loud. Simon responds to each answer making positive criticisms, whilst continually asking for a particular type of headline which tries to reflect the nature of the story. When a student gives the title he is looking for (motorway horror), Simon writes it on the OHP. He shows the same video clip again. As this is happening, most of the students are observing, Ahmed looks at me, Fred looks at his newspaper and then makes notes, the teacher makes notes. I notice that the only space around the students' desk is between Ali and Ahmed. The actual clip this time is the whole news story. Simon makes a comment on the accent of a person being interviewed and Ahmed responds to this. Some students are writing. Simon stops the video and asks the students questions about the clip. The students respond individually. The students, when not responding, tend to listen or note down the answers given. Most of them, however, are not writing. Simon's voice is the loudest. He speaks slowly and clearly. After each student response, he confirms what has been said, repeats it and writes it down in note form on the OHP. When the students do not know an answer to something, he gives the answer and also writes it on the OHP. Most of the students are wearing pullovers, some scarfs. It is extremely cold outside, although not particularly cold in the classroom. Most of the students are looking at the teacher and the screen and then looking down to write notes. Simon says that there are a lot of facts on the board with which you could write a nice article. He then informs the students about the lack of gory scenes on British television news. He plays the video again from his chair using the remote control. As he is talking Claire, Hsui, Keiko and Kei are talking. He makes them stop by saying "Ladies, ladies", which is done in a lighted-hearted way. As the video plays, Simon corrects one of the facts on the OHP. Simon and most of the students are watching the video. The students have serious expressions on their faces. I notice that it is very sunny, with sunlight streaming through the road-facing window. All the students can see the video easily from where they are sat as the television is high up on a bracket. As Simon stops the video, Ali asks about an item of vocabulary which Simon responds to. Simon says what the conclusion to the story is and as he finishes saying this some of the students say the same thing without being prompted.

11.29am

Simon tells the students to write a forty word summary of the story. He leaves the OHP on (the notes for the text are on it.) He then walks around in front of the students' desk giving them more detailed instructions including asking them what tense they think the text should be in, and the students respond, and he comments on them and confirms the right responses. He sits down and then says that he will help them as they write. He talks to me about the lesson, goes round the back of some of the students to look at

their work, and then returns to me to tell me "I'm doing a blitz on reading and writing" because they have not done a lot of it recently. The students are all sat in the same places working. Simon walks about, a student makes a comment about vocabulary, and Simon them asks the whole class about this comment. Ahmed asks him a question which he goes to respond to standing, and does this in a voice that all the students can clearly here. Then he talks to him in a lower voice. The students appear to be working on their own. Simon goes round the back of the students looking at their texts and commenting on them suggesting improvements and pointing out errors. He makes some of the students use more dramatic vocabulary befitting the story. Some of the students are occasionally referring to their dictionaries. Laura asks Simon a question when he is actually consulting someone else. He answers with a loud voice that everyone can here. However, when consulting he speaks in a lower, personal manner. His criticisms are couched in the discourse of advice. When he is with Claire he makes a funny comment not related to the work in hand, and some of the other students look up and smile. Simon calls the students by their first names. When he is with Kei, he tells the whole class about an error type that is occurring in many of the students' work. I move my chair slightly forward so the teacher will be able to get past in a few minutes. The students who have finished appear to be talking to adjacent students. Once the teacher has got past, I slip back to my original position between Fred and the door.

11.47am

Simon says "right" loudly, turns the OHP off, sits down and tells the students that if they have not finished it does not matter. He says positive things about the texts, and then makes some criticisms mainly concerning language and grammar. He says that they are going to do something different now. All the students should have brought newspapers to the class, and some of them have not. Simon comments on this in a light-hearted manner, and goes round distributing sections of the newspapers around the class. He then tells them that they are going to watch the news again, and asks them how news readers speak. He impersonates a news reader in a jokey way. They all watch the next news story. Simon stops it half-way through and asks how the reporter speaks. He comments on the student answers and makes a humorous example from it. He plays the next part of the video and most of the students watch. He stops the video and asks the students how he finishes. The students answer and he comments on and rephrases this. Laura asks Simon a question, and he returns to the class, who then answer. Simon confirms and rephrases. Again, this is all done in a humorous manner.

11.57am

Simon asks and puts the students into pairs. As Claire and Tomoko had already assumed partners, Simon puts the Hido with Fred. As the students look through their newspapers, Simon walks around giving instructions (find an article, understand, make notes and present it to the other groups.) There is a lot of rustling as they look through the papers. The students are working together, with some more physically close than they were before. Simon goes round the front of them, commenting and helping the students.

The noise from rustling and talking decreases as the students seem to have found articles and are reading them. Simon is helping and commenting in front of each group, advising them on the type of article they should choose. Some students are looking at their dictionaries, others are reading. In the process of going round, Simon makes a comment to me. He now asks them who will be giving the actual presentation. There seems to be more noise as the students are talking more. The teacher moves a lot, while the students generally stay in the same place. The teacher has more space around where he sits, while the students seem more cramped together (particularly in the back row.)

12.07am

Simon standing behind his desk makes a comment to the class on how to do the presentation. He then goes to individual groups answering questions, and checking who will speak. Some groups are speaking quietly, others more loudly. Simon returns to behind his desk and tells the class that they have two minutes left for preparation. He goes to one group and comments, and then gives louder comments to all the class. He makes a quick comment to me about the time. The students seem to be quieter. Claire and Hsui finish and Simon shows them some photographs of his garden to prove to them that he has tropical plants. I talk to him about this. He then says, standing next to the OHP, that there are a couple of seconds left. He seens to say "right" a lot as a means of indicating the end of an activity.

12.15am

Simon introduces the presentations using humour. Whilst a spokesperson from each group says the story, the other students either listen or continue working on their presentations. One group gives up, but Simon deals with this lightly and goes straight to the next group. After the last presentation, Simon finishes with a joke.

12.21am

Simon asks the students to talk about what the others had said. There is some laughing as the comments are made. With some, no one knew what the stories were about. With the students' answers, Simon comments, questions for more information and repeats or rephrases the answers.

12.24

Simon tells the students that they should try to watch the news as he will ask them at the beginning of classes about the news. Simon finishes the lesson. I have a chat with him about my next observations. The students are all talking, some leave quickly. They all pack up. Ali seems slightly apart. With the chatting, there seems to be a very friendly atmosphere.

1.17 Observation 17 5/2/98

CLASS: ROSES   **DAY:** Thursday
TEACHER: Sara   **TIME:** 9.00-10.30

CLASSROOM LAYOUT
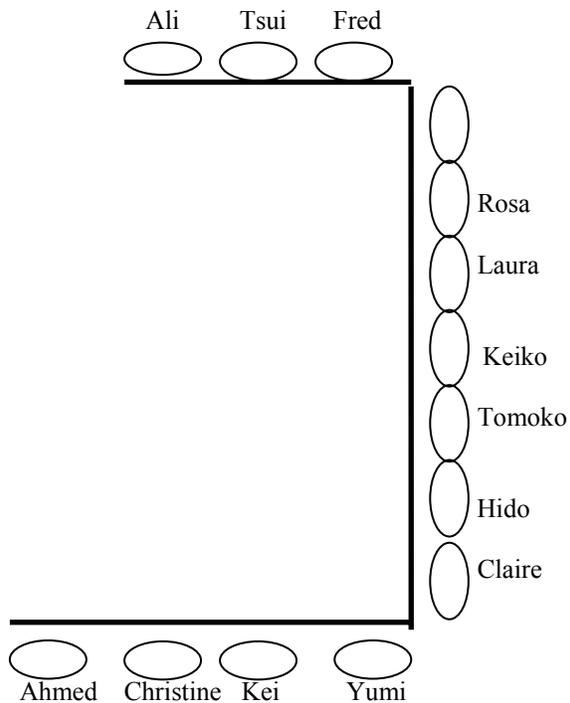
8.50

I arrive in the classroom and talk to the a few of the students who are there (Japanese females). I talk to Hido, the new Japanese female, to find out her surname and to explain to her why I am observing the classes. I then ask Kei surname so that I can differentiate the two in my notes (these are their pseudonyms; in reality they had the same first names). As more and more students arrive, there is a warm and chatty atmosphere.

8.55

Sara arrives and I talk with her. She has, like me, brought in a coffee from the coffee room, which none of the other students do. She puts her teaching-related possessions on her desk (e.g. a small clock, pens, a note book, a teacher's version of the course book. More students arrive, chat with the others, generally standing around for a short while before finding a place, taking off their coats, sitting down, and taking out their study-related possessions from their bags and putting them on the desks in front of them.

9.01

Sara begins the class by addressing them to ask them to imagine a holiday destination and then to discuss it with other students. She approaches this by saying that she is going to be cruel to them because they have to think about pleasant holidays. The students talk and Sara remains seated at her desk. She interacts with one group asking them to develop their ideas in more detail. The class appear to be noisy. Claire arrives, and there seems to be a sudden silence with many of the students looking at her. Sara is writing things on the board. Claire talks to the people next to her and this does not seem to be related to the classroom task. There is more talking now but it is not as noisy as it was before. Some are silent, a few are talking quietly.

9.05

Ahmed arrives, Sara smiles and says "Hi Ahmed", some of the class also say "hi". Sara then says "OK" to the class, and asks individual students to describe their imagined holiday destinations. As they say this, Sara comments on the contributions and uses a series of wh- questions as a means of getting more information from them. She does not appear to be choosing the contributors in any particular order. She finally only chooses about four students. She stops the activity and explains a new activity in which the students have to copy a short text from the board which contains a series of missing words. The students have to complete the texts with the adjectives that they prefer.

9.08

Tsui arrives, Sara smiles and says "Hi." Ahmed asks a question about the task, Sara explains. The students are either looking at the board and Sara or at the texts they are writing. Sara is behind her desk. A couple students ask Sara questions concerning vocabulary. There is then silence with the only sounds coming from a tape recorder upstairs. Sara then explains to Tsui what the class is doing. Tomoko looks at me. I notice that there is some more student work up on the wall from Simon's "disaster" presentations. It is only the alcove to the right of the fireplace (see the illustration below).
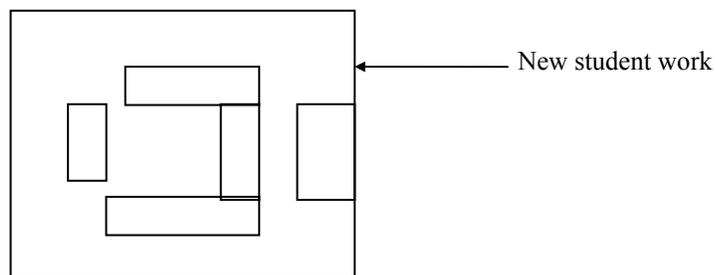
New student work

Sara says "OK" and tells the students that if they have finished they can compare their results with a partner. The comparisons start quietly with only a few students, then others start and it gets progressively

more noisy. The students are working together in groups of 2, 3 and 4 with communication also between groups. Some groups seem to be physically closer and more involved than other groups.

9.17

Sara says "OK" and then tells the students that she is not going to go over the answers logically, and asks the class for the answers to a space in the middle of the text. She takes several responses and writes them above each other in the space in the text on the board. She then asks the students for the rules to adjective order before a noun (something that they have already covered with her). She puts the rules that they have said on the board, and then gets more answers to another set of blanks which she then fills. My position is now at its most forward between the board and the door so all the students can see what I am doing. The students are either looking at their work, or Sara and the white board. In one of the answers from the students that she has put on the board, there is a mistake and Sara asks the students what is wrong and why (plurals become singular when acting as a noun). In establishing the rule, she cites an example which the students had seen in a previous lesson. She says that the rule is a strange thing.

9.24

The process of the students giving their answers continues. In this process, the students not contributing are quiet but seem involved. When Sara is told an answer, she comments on it. She asks if any students have comments and Ahmed asks a question which she responds to. Sara then asks the students more rules on adjective order. I have the impression that when she asks the class something, there are certain individuals who answer more than others.

9.26

Sara asks the students to work with a partner to answer a grammar question concerning adjective-noun syntax. She does not put them in groups. The groups vary in size of about 2 to 3.

9.27

Sara asks Tsui to give the rules. Sara then rephrases and explains her answer. Most of the students appear to be writing this rule, some are just watching. She asks the class about a further point.

9.29

Sara asks the class to turn to page 35 of their course books and look at the rule there. She asks them to name the two positions "attributive" and "predicative". She then tells them that it is important to understand the meanings not these actual words to describe them. She then goes over the rules asking the students what they can say. Laura makes a joke with one of the answers.

9.32

Sara tells the students to close their books. She is standing behind her desk. The students do this and are very quiet except for Claire and Yumi who are whispering something to each other. Sara then explains what "we are going to do", which is reading a text based on a tourist guide about Thailand and Malaysia. She writes these two countries on the board and tells the students to think of adjectives which describe them and write them down. She then puts them into groups of 3 and 4. Sara is behind her desk listening to one group, and puts on the board the items they came up with.

9.36

Sara asks the other groups to give their words, she repeats each item and puts them on the board. She also gets students who mispronounce a word to repeat it after she has said it and written it on the board.

9.38

She tells the students to open their course books on the same page as before and read the text to see if any of the adjectives they came up with are in the description. All the students are reading on their own. Claire is whispering something. Some are holding their pens, some are using their finger or pen to follow the text. Some appear to be writing on or underlining parts of the text.

9.40

Sara asks the students if they have found anything, one student responds. Some students still appear to be reading. There are no more contributions, and there is silence as they all look at the texts.

9.41

Sara asks if they can find synonyms to the items. Sara is standing behind her desk. The students answer individually, and Sara comments. When the answer is wrong, she explains why and then asks for another possibility. Most of the students are looking at the text, some are checking their dictionaries. I can hear the noise of the tape recorder from upstairs. The students cannot find the answer for one item that the teacher is looking for and she says that it is okay and that they do that later. In the break afterwards, Sara told me that she had intended to do that in the class later but she had forgotten.

9.44

Sara asks the students for examples of adjectives in predicative and attributive positions in the text. The students give examples individually, Sara comments on them, and puts them on the board. Sara comments on how she likes the sound and feel of one of the adjectives. Some of the students smile at this.

9.46

Sara asks the students to look at the grammar explanation below the text. They do so, while she reads through it and explains it. She is standing behind her desk.

9.47

She asks the students to work through the text looking for examples of two types of adjectives (qualitative and descriptive?) with a partner. Ali asks Sara a question. She answers and then asks him to work with Tsui and Fred to work out this problem. Many students are reading, then looking up and talking to a partner. It appears that they are all in pairs apart from the threesome of Ali, Tsui and Fred.

9.49

Sara goes to the pair of Ahmed and Christine kneeling in front of them to ask them what they have found. The other students now seem louder, with more talking. Sara then goes and talks to Hido, Kei, Claire and Yumi treating them as a group of four, although I had an impression that they were two separate pairs. She goes to Keiko and Hido, then Rosa and Laura. The students are talking in a quiet murmur. Sara goes back and stands behind her desk watching the students.

9.54

Sara says "OK, I gonna stop you now" and she asks some questions to classify some of the words on the board. She then explains more about the rules and usage, and tells them to look at the rules in the book. The students appear to do so.

9.57

She tells them to turn to the next page in the book and do an exercise for homework. Then she tells them to do another exercise now individually. She says that it is easy and quick to do. Ahmed asks a question and Sara goes to him to answer it. He still does not understand the difference between the two types of adjectives. Some of the students are working on their own, while others appear to be working in groups. The talking is at the level of murmur but appears to be getting louder. Ali has a really loud voice, but then Laura comments on what he says and her voice seems loud. Christine also gets involved in this discussion, and so there is work that it is at a class level between the students going on. It is quite noisy now with most of the students seeming to be involved in working in groups.

10.04

Sara asks for the answers, the students give them, she comments and asks the students further questions and class-level discussion develops. All the students appear to be observing Sara or the board. As Sara spends some time explaining one point, Laura says "OK, OK" (meaning that is enough), and smiling Sara says "Shut up Sara." Sara asks for the answer to the next exercise question, she comments on the answer and puts it on the board. The area of classifying adjectives has a level of subjectivity which means in some cases various answers are possible, and so there is quite a lot of discussion here with some of the answers. Laura makes a comment smiling. Sara says that they should not worry if they find the grammar difficult as

they will get as they are exposed to the language more and through reading. She then gives a lot more explanation standing behind her desk. The students are attentive.

10.13

Sara asks the students to look at a photograph in the course book (of a holiday scene). I look at Ahmed's and he then shows it to me. She then asks the students to read the description that accompanies the photograph, and then fill the blanks in the rest of the description using a box of words next to the text. She asks them to work on their own and then compare with a partner. She then sits down. The students are then all quietly working. Sara watches the students. The stuff she had previously written is left on the board. The students are reading, writing or looking in the dictionaries.

10.21

Sara says that even if they have not finished, the students should check with a partner what they have done. The students work in twos and threes, and then there is some checking between members of different groups. It is easy to identify groups from their close proxemics. Laura asks Sara a vocabulary question, and Sara replies. The class seems to be getting noisier.

10.25

Sara stops the activity, saying it does not matter if they have not finished, and tells them that they can find the answers at the back of the course book. She tells them that they can finish the exercise at home and check it themselves. She then sets another piece of homework where the students have to write a description of a favourite place as in the style of a travel brochure. They can also include a photograph if they wish, perhaps taken from travel brochure from a travel agents. This has to be handed in the next Monday.

10.27

Sara stops the lesson by saying "OK, I think it is time for coffee." The only student who rushes out is Christine The others talk. Sara speaks to some of the students individually. I notice the classroom does not have a classroom feel, more like a converted living room. Perhaps this is because of the original purpose of the building it is in.

Post-Lesson

I did notice that in this lesson, Sara was getting the students to work more in groups that they decide themselves. In the break I spoke to Sara regarding one point in the lesson when I missed what happened (if she had nominated a group or not) and to discuss my research. I asked her if she wanted to hear what I am doing as I had slightly changed the direction of my research. Although, she said she did not mind, it was hard to tell what she really thought as she seemed quite neutral. I explained that I was looking more at the

class as a whole rather than just group work, and I explained a little bit about my field note methodology. It was interesting to note that she felt that she had no problems with me sitting there taking notes, because the fact that I was doing research for a PhD legitimised it. I also informed her that I would be taking the following week off from observing in order to type up and analyse my notes.

1.18 Observation 18 6/2/98

CLASS: ROSES   **DAY:** Friday

TEACHER: Sandra   **TIME:** 11.00-12.30

CLASSROOM LAYOUT
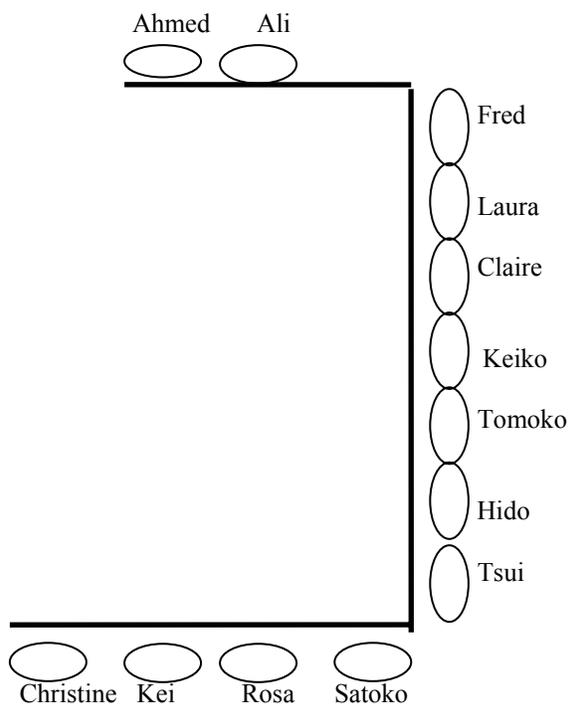
 Pre-Class

During the break, I notice that most of the students in the coffee room are the Euro/Americans and that most of the Asians come in to get their drink from the machine and leave. I received an e-mail from Sandra asking me to replace her next week as she needs time because she is moving house. I then bump into and I say that that will be fine. She says that because of this, she has a lot on her mind and she is tending to be not as prepared for lessons as she normally is.

The Class

When I enter the classroom just before 11, the students who are there are chatting. By 11.01, most of the students have arrived. Christine wipes the board. There is a lot of talking, then when they have all sat down it gets a lot quieter.

11.02

Sandra arrives and asks me if she has any board pens. I do not, so she leaves the class and the students' talking increases.

11.04

She comes back and does the register. I find out that this is Tsiu's last day and Sandra, with some of the students commenting, talks about this. This is done in a friendly way with humour. Then Sandra asks the class about the lesson yesterday and what they did in it. The students answer many things at once and it is rather noisy and it appears that some of the students (Keiko to Tsui) are talking about something else. Christine says "sssh" quiet strongly. Kei turns around and sneezes, and then asks her neighbours if they have a tissue, which one of them provides. Sandra develops through a series of questions a discussion from the previous class on the subject of cars and transport. From this some of the students give anecdotes about car accidents they have been involved with. There is a humorous, light atmosphere. Whilst the anecdotes are being given, the other students listen and seem interested. The teacher develops this conversation with more questions. I notice that there is a pile of books, I think poetry, under the table with the cassette recorder on it. I also notice a sign above the fireplace which reminds "tutors" to close the windows after lessons.

11.10

Fred arrives. Sandra says "Good evening" and then says that she is just teasing. When he comes in, I have to move my chair back so he can get in. Ali is now telling his anecdote and most of the students are listening. Claire makes a comment on this. Sandra then gives an anecdote about her mother cycling which all the students seem to find, and I definitely find, fascinating. Claire asks a question. Sandra asks the class if anyone is interested in cycling and I am the only one to say yes and I give a quick comment. Ali asks the age of the mother and Sandra will not actually give it. Sandra develops the subject of learning to drive through asking the students a series of questions. The questions tend to be wh- and again more anecdotes are given by some of the students.

11.22

Sandra tells the students that they are going to listen to a tape and then work on pronunciation and the phonemic script. She tells them that they are going to hear the voices of two people they have heard before and names them. She then asks the students to guess what they are going to talk about (the subject they had just been discussing). She then dictates some comprehension questions to them, first with the letters (i.e. write a to h leaving a space between them) and then the actual questions. I can hear a slight noise from the cassette recorder upstairs. I notice that there are a lot of chairs in the classroom: three around the teacher's

desk, and there seems to be spare ones spread around the sides of the classroom. The students are copying the stuff down.

11.25

Simon knocks at the door, comes in and asks to borrow the "zapper" (the TV remote). Sandra aids him and there is a friendly exchange between the two. Sandra continues with her questions, saying them slowly and repeating them. She spells an occasional word from some of the questions on the board and occasionally makes comments about the questions. In general, in all the classes Sandra speaks slowly and clearly. The students perhaps tend to speak in a more conversational way? I notice that the classroom does not have a very high ceiling. On some of the longer questions, Sandra dictates them in parts phrase by phrase repeating each one before saying the whole sentence. I notice that nearly all the students are dressed in casual knitwear except Kei and Satoko who are more smartly dressed. Tomoko looks at me, and notice that Claire had done the same earlier.

11.33

Sandra finishes the dictation and asks if there are any questions. A student asks a vocabulary question which Sandra had already written on the board (vehicles) and asks for examples of this and writes them next to it.

11.34

Sandra plays the tape, then stops it and says that it is difficult and asks for any "key words". It appears that she has decided to not do the questions that had been written down. There is technical problem with the tape recorder which means that there is sometimes a background noise. The students listen to the recording. They all have, except Fred, a pen in their hand. Some are noting things, others are looking at the tape recorder, some look down. Fred glances at me.

11.37

Sandra stops the tape and asks for a key word, the students reply and she puts it on the board. She asks comprehension questions based on the key word for the students to answer on the next listening. She then says that some of the spoken discourse devices such as non-lexical fillers and repetition are not important in the text, (however, she does not use this technical language to describe these devices rather she says the "oohing" etc.). Ahmed seems to be making weird nasal sounds in order to stop his nose running. Tomoko looks at me. Sandra plays the cassette again. She is either sitting at her desk or standing over the tape recorder.

11.42

Sandra stops the tape. Two students immediately make a point, then Sandra asks questions related to the key words. She is standing in front of the board and referring to it. Some students seem to respond more to the questioning. The students cannot answer one of the questions, so...

11.43

...she asks them to find a vocabulary worksheet about cars that they had done yesterday, and relate it to something mentioned on the tape. She plays the line containing the word, then stops the tape and asks the students to find the word in the worksheet. They cannot, and she tells them the answer. She plays the line again, and then asks then a question. She asks lots of questions referring to the recording. She tells elements of the story between the questions. The students call out the answers without being nominated to do so. Some of the questions are yes-no types using the key words, others ask for what happens in the story. She plays the tape again.

11.47

Whilst the tape is playing, Sandra writes an item on the board from it. She stops the tape, questions the students, and comments on their answers, and explains certain elements. Certain students answer most of the time. Yet all of them seem involved watching. There seems to be a regular pattern of questions (either yes-no closed, or wh- open), where the students respond, and Sandra then makes comments, gives part of the story and then asks more questions. Sandra's speaking tone is friendly.

11.52

Sandra says that she is going to fast forward the tape (which makes a horrible noise) and that they are going to hear the next person speak. Ali and Fred make a comment about having to leave the class early.

11.53

She plays the tape, stops it and asks questions about what happened. Fred makes a comment about Ali and everybody laughs or smiles including Ali, and particularly Laura (it is not a malicious joke). Then Sandra asks more questions. The students find this difficult and Sandra says that she will play the tape again, and then stop because the students look tired. She also says that the next time she will use an easier tape.

11.57

She stops the tape. Ahmed asks a vocabulary question straight away. Then Sandra ask questions, and comments on the responses retelling the story as she did before.

11.59

She asks the students to write the answers to the questions they had written down giving them three minutes to do it, and then checking with a partner. She asks Fred if he is okay, if he needs air as he looks a bit ill.

The students work on their own and are writing. The Sandra goes in front of the students looking at their work.

12.00

She asks then to stop and check their answers with a partner. She monitors the students at her desk. The students get into groups very quickly and there are several pairs and one three which can easily ascertained from their close proxemics.

12.02

She stops the activity and goes over the questions with the class. They give quick answers with several students responding at the same time. Then there are longer answers given more individually. Again there is a pattern of teacher question, student answer, teacher comment. I notice that in the 'comment', the teacher repeats or rephrases the answer or corrects it or suggests a different version/synonym and puts some vocabulary up on the board in the process. All the students seem to be involved.

12.13

Sandra says "Can we leave that now" and then says that they will do pronunciation. She asks if any students know the phonemic chart, which a few students do. She puts the O.H.P. on the desk, sets it up, and puts the projection screen down. She makes a comment about the red pen mark on the screen, which I confess to having done, and then borrows some Tip Ex to mask it. She shows the students an O.H.T. with a diagram of the chart (based on Underhill's Sound Foundations book, Heinemann?). She explains to the students an overview of the script and then concentrates on the monothongs. She then asks what the students know of these symbols in a series of question, response and comment (which is very similar to the process with the listening). She gets them to repeat the phoneme concentrated on with all the students repeating the sound together, and then individually. She is seated at her desk. She repeats this process concentrating on groups of 3 to 4 phonemes. The pattern seems to develop as getting them to attempt the sound, the class repeats, she gives an example, then gets the students to repeat it, then she questions them as to what the mouth does in order to create the sound, and then comments on their answers and if necessary explaining further. When she comes to the shwa, she asks the students to stand up (which they all comply to) and bend forward to make the sound and does the same with the longer form (i.e. as in 'her'). Laura makes a witty comment and everybody seems to laugh. The students all respond to and do this activity. The students are asked to sit down and then asked to repeat the sounds that they have covered. Sandra turns the O.H.P. off, wipes the board, and then with a change of mind puts the OHP back on with the image projected onto the white board. She asks the students to give a word for each sound (doing this sound by sound) and then writing the students' responses on the board next to the projected phoneme. A pattern develops with her writing the word on the board, Sandra sometimes repeating it, and getting the students to repeat it together.

12.26

Sandra asks the students for the time (she did not bring her watch), Christine jokingly says 12.30. I smile at her and she smiles back. Sandra asks the students to work in pairs to do a competition. She then writes 1 to 7 on the board, and putting a phoneme under each number. She gets the students to quickly repeat each phoneme. She asks the students the alphabet, and writes this underneath. She then asks the students to put each letter under a phoneme which matches its pronunciation doing a, b and c as examples. She gives them two minutes to do this (at 12.29). The students do it in the same groups as they were in when they were previously asked to work in groups.

12.31

Sandra stops the students and asks them to correct their work using a different colour pen. She asks for the answers which students often give at the same time. Certain students give answers more than others. She then checks the students' answers going in front of their desks to see if a group got them all correct.

12.35

The lesson ends with Sandra saying "have a nice weekend."

Appendix 2

2 The Teacher Interviews

Interview prompts:

- discuss a lesson you felt was successful
- discuss a lesson you felt was unsuccessful
- If problems, back up with examples of my own experience

2.1 Sara - 3rd June 1998

CA: ...I was looking at group work and how it fitted into the whole methodology student interaction, things like that, but because of the nature of what I was looking at, it has kind of flown on, more onto, it's focusing more now on methodology in general and teaching. I don't want to sort of get to the specifics, but what I want to do is just have a discussion about teaching and I'm just interested in some of the things that you say and that has a reflection about what teachers think. Okay?

S: Okay. Yeah, sure.

CA: If...what I like you to do is we're gonna go in two situations, two...uhm...incidents from your teaching. Now it could be teaching the class that I looked at in the spring, but if you can't think of any examples from that class, it could be any...any teaching situation, but preferably at the Harmer building.

S: Okay.

CA: Yeah, because...but...you know, if not that, anywhere in your life. Erm...what I want you to do is think about first of all...erm...a lesson that you taught that you felt was very very successful and you were really happy with at the end.

S: With that group?

CA: Yeah. Do you want me?...I'll stop it for a while...

S: Yeah.

(I stopped the tape recorder in order that the participant could think of an example which she found difficult to do, so I went to the second question)

CA: Okay, the other possibility, the second question, is to think of a class...erm...that, where you were particularly felt, a lesson, where you felt that it was particularly unsuccessful.

S: Mm...that might be easier to start with rather than...

CA: Would you like me stop the tape while you think of it?

S: Yeah, just for a second.

(I stop the tape)

CA: Sara has gone to the office (Jaclyn's) to get the register as a means of try and remember the names of the students in the first class, as a means to try and think of, first of all, an unsuccessful class.

(I stop the tape)

S: I think the problem with answering the question is I don't think of my teaching in terms of lessons...

CA: What do you think of it in terms of?

S: Possibly activities, possibly...erm...problems the students are having that need to be overcome or skills that they need to develop or knowledge that they need to develop, so kind of from a grammar point of view or something.

CA: So, when you say the students, you say individually...you're thinking...the way your memory works with the class, you think of them as a...as like a collection of individuals and each individual problem or are you saying it as a class?

S: No, I think I'm thinking of the class as a whole...

CA: So all these things you've said...

S: ...needs to have more, I don't know, needs more practice in...erm...speaking fluency for example that there not actually getting enough chance to...erm...take longer turns in speaking and so I'll try and make sure that they do some of that, but there are strands of things going on at the same time...

CA: So so when you say for example oh they need more fluency is that because you're thinking...I haven't done enough fluency or is it something that...that in my lessons, or is it more of a case of...erm...it's just something that you think they need? Because of...their output...

S: It could be either, it'll probably be more likely to be...erm...a...no...a mixture of something coming from them, so...erm...asking them what it was they want and then trying to respond to that, and then trying to keep a balance. I suppose it's also...erm...and then feeding back from stuff that they're giving me so you can see where weaknesses might be, but it is also, you're following a course book or something so you're in some way constrained by that, but...uhm...yes, I suppose it's kind of intuition of this group of people need to do a little bit more of this...uhm...and asking them what they want more, and obviously dictating myself what I think the should be doing more of.

CA: So you...in a sense you're saying yourself your evaluation is through responding to their needs as you see fit.

S: Yeah, I think so.

CA: Don't you ever get that feeling that you do something, I mean even we would reduce it down to an activity rather than a lesson?

S: Yeah, I think an activity is easier than a lesson.

CA: Could you try and think of an activity that you thought was particularly successful or unsuccessful?

S: Yeah, okay. It's gonna have to be short-term memory on it now. Right, okay? So...erm...last week we were doing...erm...a vocab exercise on...erm...words which are easily confused and it was just an exercise basically it was taken out of the book, but in the book it's very, very boring, but...erm...so we had to take it away from the book and then come towards it and I thought it was actually particularly successful because I thought they had learnt the meanings, differences between the meanings and the words by the end of the exercise and they were actually able to use them again...uhm...two or three days later which meant that it

had actually stuck and in recycling and consolidating they did seem to have conquered it and it was...erm...what was it? 'defect', 'mistake', 'error', 'fault', 'blame' and...

CA: It was a higher level?

S: It was a higher level, yeah and...erm...got them doing some pair work first, each pair had a definition of a different word and then they had to explain it to each other, they had to mingle around the class explaining them to each other...

CA: But...they were given the definition?

S: They were given the definition. Then they had to go to another student who explained the other four words, or they had to...

CA: So what did they do in pairs, I'm not with this...they had a definition in each pair.

S: Okay...they had in pairs, there were five words, luckily ten students in the class so in pairs they had a definition each and them...uhm...they had to mingle so they got the definitions from the other people and then they had in the end they had the five definitions.

CA: So how did they get these definitions?

S: Erm...each pair had been given a dictionary definition and after they studied the dictionary definition, they put it away and then they had to go around and explain their definitions to the other students and the other students likewise would give them the definitions so they had a grid and in the end they had...

CA: Oh they had something to fill out.

S: Yeah, but not whilst they were mingling, then they had to go back into their original pairs and together fill in the grid from what they could remember of the definitions of the words.

CA: So...so they were doing it in the pairs, you'd have a pair of students walking around working together.

CJ. No, only at the beginning when they were sat down studying the definitions. Then they split up.

CA: So when they were studying it they discussed it.

S: Yeah, and then afterwards they came back and then they discussed again the definitions that they'd got from the people in the mingle and obviously they didn't know exactly how to...or their definitions didn't match, they were slightly different because everybody was doing it from memory and they were all working on it kind of to negotiate a definition and then they looked at the definitions to see how closely, kind of Chinese whispers with the definition of the word, uhm...and asking them to look at the patterns as well. Because that's something that this class I thought needed was that they were learning words...er...individual items and they weren't learning how to use them within the structure of the sentence so from very basic things like 'Is it a noun or a verb?' to more complex things, collocations, prepositional collocations, verbal collocations and all that kind of stuff and so then we just did a lot of work on that but they seemed to be focusing on it...it seems successful because they seemed to be focusing on it and responding to it whereas other times they'd just think 'Ah boring, we're not interested in that kind if stuff.'

CA: So...so yeah, you measured your success in a, to a certain extent there by the fact, the level of interest of the students. Do you think?

S: Yeah, I think so, the level of interest, the level of engagement...and...erm...and then later the fact that they could remember them and that...I suppose...because I wasn't interested in those five particular items at all...er...they could have been any five vocabulary items, I was interested in training them to be aware of...erm...patterns and so, and that was nice because then I saw they carried that on to another to another exercise that we did, and that they were quite happy to search out the patterns for themselves because it was sort of training them to identify collocations and patterns basically...erm...so that seemed quite successful there because it was a building block, it was an important building block that is then gonna help a whole load of other activities.

CA: Yeah, did...er...I mean, how did they...you said that they had to, once they got these definitions together, that they had to apply in...in chunks of text or something.

S: Yeah...yeah, then they had exercises to do...

CA: What kind of exercises were they?

S: Uhm...one exercise was to...erm...match with an example, yeah sort of, there was an example of things that could of been defects, errors, faults, blame whatever, they had to match those so that would have been just...erm...a comprehension check of the definition and then they needed to use them within a sentence and then because it's a First Certificate class, there's that transformation question where you have to say the same thing in the second sentence using that particular word, so that's why the pattern was important as well because the mistakes they'd make would be they'd be able to write a sentence using the word but they wouldn't be using the right pattern, so they were able to do that as well, so I suppose there was the ulterior kind of preparing them for the First Certificate kind of goal as well...

CA: And they did these series of textual tasks, if you like, writing tasks...and...erm...that was it, that was the end of the activity was it?

S: That was the end of the activity and that would have been about forty-five minutes, fifty minutes of a class.

CA: And you said that...you were...because...you brought up the vocabulary again at a later stage.

S: Yeah, two or three lessons later but only very briefly, sort of first five minutes of the lesson or something it's just 'Can you remember those five words? Tell me what the patterns were? Use them in a sentence.' Very just, just very quickly would have been a warmer, you know the sort of the kind of waiting for latecomers to come in through the door kind of exercise or it might have been at the end of the lesson...

CA: And in summing up what I think you've said, you've said that you were satisfied with it, you thought it was successful in the terms that the students appeared satisfied, you're saying in what they were doing...

S: Yeah...yeah...

CA:...they seemed, appeared to be enjoying it.

S: Yes, also because the group dynamics of that group in particular is sluggish on the whole and it's difficult to get them actually actively doing pair work and that seemed to work, it seemed to get them actively using each other and interested in each other and helping each other and negotiating stuff rather

than just sitting back and saying 'Ah we're just doing pair work again,' which is a tendency with that group.

CA: So that was one satisfaction, and the second satisfaction you pointed out...erm...was the fact that they actually remembered the items...in a few lessons later.

S: Mmm.

CA: Do you think you felt any satisfaction, personal satisfaction in how you did it, in the way managed it, organised it...uhm...in any other...I mean not particularly...in any other way you felt 'Mmm that's good.'?

S: Uhm...yeah the dynamics was good, they were all happy, they were all, there was a lot of, you know, energy in the class, which was good and I like that. I'm not too happy with very quite classes which is my fault, it's something I have to get used to liking silence, which this class tends to be very quiet and I tend to worry that nothing is going on where I think it is probably sometimes stuff is going on but...erm...and...it seems to not...it seemed as well, because sometimes, I really don't like the course book we're following at the moment, and it's very patronising...

CA: What is it?

S: Uhm...New Success at First Certificate...

CA: Right.

S: ...and it's very...it dumbs down a lot, and I thought, I felt that they felt that they were being challenged at their level in that lesson, but it wasn't patronising and it wasn't dumbing down and so that they were responding to it because of that...erm...so that...yeah...what else? It's a mixed ability class, I thought, people had come up from intermediate and...?...was some upper intermediate students in there, and they were all really working nicely, the mixed ability actually worked because they were helping each other in mixed ability pairs and it was kind of...that was another nice thing so I think I was worried about group dynamics in that class with the new people coming in and I was, I also thought that they were getting stuck at that kind of intermediate plateau of not knowing how to measure their own progress, so I gave them a kind of little pep talk on the patterns thing after they'd got it and they all seemed to think that was a good thing because it showed them where to go next because they feel sometimes 'Oh we've done all the grammar' but, you know, it shows them well this is maybe the way you can improve...so I think it's that, so it had a kind of ongoing...erm...thing to it. Group dynamics would have been the major thing that I was happy with.

CA: Because you felt that it was a group that didn't work together well.

S: Yeah, it was a group that was reforming also and we were worried that the people who were in the group, who had been placed in the group initially as an upper intermediate group might have felt a bit off with having people coming up from what was obviously a lower group into their group was that bringing their group level down and stuff so that's why that kind of you know challenging them intellectually was important as well I think so that they saw...

CA: How do you think you challenged them intellectually?

S: Because they never thought of this patterns thing before and they were looking, they had to find it for themselves and they couldn't to start with and then it was as if they'd found a whole new way of thinking

about things...uhm...and another example of that recently actually with the same group of an activity which I thought worked really nicely was...uhm...a turn, we talked, we discussed turn taking from different cultures and there is a huge split in the class, massively quiet Asian culture, hugely noisy Brazilian kind of thing and there is one in particular who...erm...does all the Brazilian turn taking that you can imagine and there is a really shy little Japanese girl who is just stereotypically kind of Japanese kind of turn taking and we discussed turn taking, what it meant and they hadn't come across the term before, and a lot them said, well ? said in particular she had never thought about that before, that there were cultural differences about the way people take part in conversation and when I asked them to think what they thought their culture was like, she really didn't know to start with and then we did some activities where I made sure that they were mixing and asking them to be aware of the differences and to try and help each other and then they had to talk for four minutes...uhm...and you know sort of the Brazilians had to allow the others to speak and them we talked about it afterwards and sort of this Japanese girl in particular was still complaining that she couldn't get a word in edgeways and the Brazilian boy was you know protesting that he was helping her and letting her talk all the time and it was just interesting and then at the end ? said 'Oh yeah, I know, now I think, yeah I think we're more aggressive rather than gentle,' and sort of it had taken her all the way through, and then we just chatted about afterwards, after the class and a lot people who had been really interested about it...

CA: So the fact that they seemed interested and they got this recognition, this self-recognition you felt satisfaction.

S: Yeah, I think so, yeah and there is something that is actually a new idea that they haven't come across before something, I think it's that, the kind of woo, new, that's new, I'd never thought of that before is something that...erm...I like.

CA: What about unsuccessful. Can you think of any examples?

S: Uhm...yeah...uhm...

CA: I mean if you could go back to the last, but if you can't...

S: Yeah.

CA: ...think of this term.

S: Shall we stop the tape a second then?

CA: Sorry?

S: Do you want to stop the tape a second?

CA: Yeah.

(Tape stopped)

S: Er...my memories of that class tend to be memories of personalities and the problems...

CA: The class that I observed.

S: Yeah. The problems dealing with personalities in the class and...and obvious example of Ali, you know, sort of, woo what do I do? how do I help him because he has obviously got a very different learning style...erm...learning strategies to a lot people in the class, how do I make this class work as a

group...erm...whilst obviously having to treat him as an individual and I think its successes and failures in that which I remember more than anything else...have...because they were a lovely group on the whole, but it was quite challenging sometimes knowing what exactly to do with the clash between Ali and the rest and when Ahmed came in that was another shift in it and...erm...I think there were a few unsuccessful lessons after Ahmed came in where his expectations were totally different. The class had been kind of, you know, trained as it were to expect certain things from the lesson and Ahmed wanted different things and then that was disrupting my mode with that class as it were.

CA: How do you think you could tell this?

S: What?

CA: That things weren't working, or Ahmed wanted something different. How did you know?

S: Erm...it was, I don't know, having to re-explain instructions...erm...and that's, I think that's inevitable anyway because you get into shorthand with students who know you, and you don't have to, you hardly have to say anything at all, in fact you could probably ask them 'Okay what are we going to do next?' and they'll know exactly what the next step in the lesson is going to be...erm...so Ahmed wasn't used to that...erm...he was very demanding in individual attention, he wanted his questions answered all the time when they might not have been relevant to what was going on...erm...although obviously he thought they were so, the typical thing is vocabulary questions which go off on a tangent which he wasn't willing to leave until later or make a note of or whatever, whichever students would have been doing because...they knew I would be there at the end of the lesson to answer any extra questions that they had because they just knew that that was the way it worked, well probably at the beginning of term I would have been slower about giving instructions, more careful, so I had to take that step backwards Ahmed, which would maybe have made other students in the class impatient because they would know what I was going to say so I didn't need to repeat things twice...I don't know.

CA: So...in a sense you're saying that with a class, when you get the class fresh, that you get them all at the same time, you...they're trained or that you train them to...I mean is it a sense of you training them to know what to do or they just become used to knowing what to do?

S: I think it is just getting to know each other and me getting to know them, they get to know me, ground rules have been set, they know how to behave in a certain situation, they know when I am being serious about something or, you know, they know that, they know when they are being reprimanded or whatever, they know when they've gone too far, they know when they should shut up, you know sort of discipline things which are very...erm...which has to be in shorthand with adults because you don't discipline them the way you do kids, you build up a group, you build up the dynamic of the group and that, that group was nice because it stayed more or less the same, we had few interruptions, the dynamics of it whereas the group I have been working with this term has been constantly changing so group dynamics is more of a problem.

CA: I was just interested in you said that they knew what to do next like in a lesson they'd know...what to do next...

S: Yeah.

CA:...you say almost without instructions, is that, I mean, do you think that has developed through habit doing a...through, through doing certain things in a certain way.

S: I think it probably is, yes certainly because...

CA: Rather than you training them.

S: No, yeah, I think it's habit more, I mean also because with that group...erm...we had quite a set pattern for the way the work was set out over a week so it would start with vocabulary building and they knew that that would be the beginning of it and then they knew, they had expectations of what would happen during the week...

CA: Yeah, I remember this.

S: ...and yeah so the advanced planner of, you know, this is the vocabulary we're going to cover, these are the grammar structures we're going to focus on and so they'd know that that was, and I suppose they just kind of got to know that...erm...my styles of presentation or what she is going to expect us now to be able to do this with it or that with it, and also that they'd say to, so they'd ask...erm...they'd ask me initially right at the beginning that they didn't want to spend a lot of time on grammar rules but that they wanted to be able to put them straight away into practice and preferably into spoken practice so that they, they had this expectation that I would focus on grammar structure and then...erm...set up situations when they would be asked to use that grammar structure and so that was something that they were all, so when I was setting up any kind of group work or pair work, then they were ready for it because they knew that that's what they'd asked me for and I'd said that's what I was going to give them. It was quite rigid this kind of, okay you asked me for this so that's why I am giving it to you thing which seemed...erm...was very overt I think from the beginning because it was a non-examed term so they wanted motivation of some sort, so hence the advanced planners and the fortnightly tests which they'd asked for, they seemed to be a group who wanted a lot of structure, and so the structure was there, we followed the structure, they got used to it, they seemed to like it in as much as they did respond to it when it was something that they...they knew...I don't know.

CA: But, you're, as I say, you're measuring a lack of success with them as in terms of how to deal with someone like Ali who didn't fit into the group...

S: Mmm. Okay, yeah. I can think of another example of...glaring failure, it was a listening exercise that we did about...erm I don't know if you, if you observed this lesson or not, the one about the Madonna sex book...coming out and...

CA: No.

S: ...ah right okay, er I had totally misjudged how difficult they'd find the listening...erm and...they found it almost impossible and they struggled through it but they got really demotivated by the fact that they had found it very, very difficult to follow and so I had to do a lot of damage limitation on that the next lesson, went back to it, we did loads of work on whatever problems there were, I think there seemed to be lots of, well the speed was one thing, there was, they couldn't cope with the hesitation, they couldn't cope with overlapping voices, there's lots of things they couldn't cope with...erm...and...so I can't remember exactly what I did but I remember we went to the tape script different people had different ? from the tape

script...uhm...they did different exercises on what they thought would have been the problems, listened again, saw if they were right, that was the problem etc.   but a lot of damage limitation was required after that because they had been demotivated by it.

CA: Oh right, so that's, that's the lack of success was the demotivation because they found it so difficult...

S: Yeah.

CA: ...hence the damage limitation which you felt was necessary.

S: And also because I felt that it was a mistake that I had made, I'd misjudged the listening so I felt that I hadn't been fair on them and I needed to show them that if I make a mistake I try and put it right so that, and also okay I make mistakes...

CA: Do you think they consider it as you making a mistake, you doing that listening...?...

S: Erm...I don't know if they would have seen it as a mistake, I don't know if they would have seen it as me making a mistake, but they would have seen it as...a difficult listening, 'I wish we hadn't done it' and then they would have felt they failed that listening...erm...so I felt that I made a mistake and I felt I wanted them to be able to trust my choice...?...it was fairly early my choice of materials and stuff and so...erm...and that trust thing is really important for me, I like my students to think that...'okay this might be a strange thing that she's asking us to do at the moment but if she's asking us to do it there must be a reason why' so they might have come away from that listening thinking 'oh was she just, just put the listening on and we forgot about it afterwards it was too difficult and that was it,' so I think there is that kind of...erm...my standing as the teacher who's someone who...who will answer questions, maybe not immediately or if there is something that is difficult, 'okay, we'll just say today that was difficult, sorry that was difficult, we'll come back to it' and then not making empty promises, so if I say 'we'll come back to it' then I have to go back to it because then, because often I will say things like, 'don't ask me that question now, it's not the right time to ask that question, do you mind if we come back to it later,' and try to remember to come back to it later, not that I always will because sometimes with Ali it was just 'Ali, that's a stupid question, find the answer yourself,' but...but so I like them to think if I do say that, then I gonna follow up on it, I think...in an ideal world, I don't always do it...?..

CA: I don't of you think of it...I mean...I don't want sort of overdo it, I mean, if there is something else, I think it's really excellent what you said...erm...is there anything else you think about success, unsuccess...how you measure it, I mean, to me, just as a kind of...err...as a ? to me you do tend to stress a lot of success and failure on yourself don't you?

S: Yeah, I suppose so because your ask...yeah...your asking me about the lesson, so I kind of think of the lesson as being my responsibility whereas...erm...the learning is the students' responsibility but I'm there to run a lesson and so, the facilitating is my responsibility and so yeah, I do take it personally if I think the facilitating is going wrong.

CA: It's just if you're giving them, I just find, you know...erm...if you're giving them a listening and it's too difficult for them, I just don't think its your fault.

S: Oh it is, because I should know what level they are.

CA: But how can you judge? Every level, every cassette

S: Yeah okay, but I read the tape script, I didn't listen to the cassette, you know, it's one of those, I should have listened to the cassette, I didn't, I hardly ever did...then that was my fault...

CA: I mean...was it...was it way up...higher than the other cassettes?

S: It was...yes it was, it was, I mean okay it wasn't, it wasn't the usual standard of the book, it was more difficult than the listenings in the book usually, but I didn't listen to it...I'd never used it before, so I didn't know, and if I'd listened to it, I would have known...'ah God there'll have problems, I'll need to...' so...so that was, it was my fault, because I could have done something to avoid that, I didn't...it was laziness...you know...with ideal standards of what you should be doing to prepare a lesson I hadn't done everything I should have done or I could have done...to prepare that lesson.

CA: Can you?

S: No, you can't but if you've done, your there, you're thinking 'oh why didn't I' whatever it was...then personally I think I've got a responsibility to put that right, because I got a responsibility towards the students.

CA: And you feel that quite strongly?

S: Yeah, I do...and they've got a responsibility towards themselves, which I get angry with them if they don't take that, oh yeah, my, the bargain is kind of, I gonna take responsibility for running the lesson and if I...you know...if I make a mistake then I'll try and put it right...likewise you've got to take your responsibility...chunk of responsibility which is, to actually realise that you're learning...and I'm not teaching you...which I like to sort out quite early on with an adult group that there's that...that is a kind of a charter...

CA: So you...you don't consider that teaching and learning is a...the same thing, a kind of equation, you just think it is...?...

S: No and I'm responsible for the facilitating...

CA: Yeah.

S: ...and they're responsible for the learning...

CA: Right.

S: ...but I'm there to offer them a resource to input, to help them, to guide them, whatever...you know, so that's what, I should do what I do properly...

CA: Right, so what you're saying is that...yeah it's...as you say, your vision of teaching isn't...I'm repeating this because I'm interested in this...

S: Yeah.

CA: Your vision of teaching isn't...isn't....that you...a transference.

S: No not at all

CA: It's facilitating.

S: Yeah exactly...erm...very strongly I don't think that there is any...you know...teaching does not equal learning, by any means, the learning is their responsibility, but the teaching is creating conditions whereby

they can learn...yeah it's the old one, you can't teach anyone anything...so you can't teach a language, but you can create the conditions under which a language will be learnt, which is an old chestnut isn't it? ??? like that

CA: So do you think that's something to do with the nature of language learning, compared to say other subjects...say content-based subjects?

S: Yeah, I think so...I think it's a huge difference, I think, I'm not sure that I'd enjoy content-based teaching at all...because I don't think I'd like that...erm...empty vessel filling mode of teaching, I like the skills, I like skills teaching I think and in a way...yeah okay you're facilitating, there is knowledge there but it's not a content-based thing in erm...your facilitating the learning of the language as if it were a skill, an ability rather than...er...rather than knowledge...yeah, that's probably true...which is why I'm not always comfortable with the structure-skills split...

CA: That they do here.

S: Mm...

CA: Why's that?

S: Erm because I don't think you can split them that much, because I think that there is this expectation when they say nine o'clock lessons will teach you grammar, and expect me to stand up and spout grammar rules at them and personally I don't think that's the way they're going to learn grammar, although I'm, you know, grammar awareness exercises and all of that kind of thing...erm is very important and but...I don't like splitting the two things...and anyway it doesn't make for a balanced lesson I don't think.

CA: So you think that the grammar should be in some kind of skill context, is that what you're saying?

S: Yes, I think...meaning before structure always so therefore...I'd rather we were picking something out of the context of something that we've already discussed...or listened to, or read and so that there's a context to it and that, so that they know, they what they've been ta...they know the meaning of what they've read, listened to, spoken about, whatever, then afterwards we can look and see what structures was allowing us to put those meanings across successfully, or maybe getting in the way of putting a meaning across successfully...so kind a meaning first, and so therefore there has to be some kind of skill I think...doesn't have to be a huge skill input but a little, there has to be something.

CA: Right...okay...right thank you very much.

2.2 Simon - 4th June 1998

C: If you want to stop the tape recorder because you want to think about something, you can...

S: All right.

C: ...okay, and we can continue....?...I explain what I want you to do, what I want you to do is I want you to think about...erm...when you were teaching, it could have been this class in spring, in spring term, the class you had before...

S: Yeah.

C: ...or it could be...any class you taught here really...

S: Right.

C: ...but preferably sort of on the general course, but it doesn't necessarily have to be that, and I want you to think of two incidents or two instances and one is, if you could think of...erm...an example of a lesson, or even an activity, that you felt was really really successful, and you felt really satisfied with it...and secondly...erm...if you could of a lesson or...erm...part of a lesson or an activity that you felt was really unsuccessful, if it, you know, preferably with a class that we observed but doesn't necessarily have to be that, it could be this term, I mean Sara felt it was easy for this term...and then just talk about it, we'll just talk about it...

S: Right.

C: ...the whys and where fors, do you want to have some time to think about...

S: Erm...well as you know, this term I'm actually teaching...erm the Lipstad girls which are quite different, yeah...erm, I do teach on the general course in the afternoon...so uhm...I mean, I may look at this term, and also last term...

C: Yeah, that'll be fine, it could be more than one instance...

S: Right, okay...

C: ...it's up to you

S: ...okay well the, the Lipstad girls in particular are actually a difficult class to teach, you know, they actually know specifically want they want...uhm, but surprisingly enough, it was only about two or three weeks ago...erm...I did a grammar exercise...prepositions and...erm...partially because I think prepositions can be illustrated very visually...erm...they actually found it quite entertaining without me having to humiliate myself so to speak...and erm...

C: What do you mean by humiliate yourself?

S: Well in some respects...erm...I think as a teacher...you've also got to be an actor or an actress, yeah, and I also believe that in order for a particular grammatical point, you know just as an example...erm...to actually sink in, I believe that if it's being delivered in an amusing way and an entertaining way...uhm...then the student has a greater chance of being able to retain that in the memory, you know because they specifically remember that classroom incident...erm...I mean this has certainly worked for me when I've been in the position of being a student...uhm...so...?...humiliating with the German students is because their level or their particular sense of humour is quite different, yeah, and culturally I think they have a substantial amount of respect for their tutors, but they see them in a specific role...uhm...a provider of information as opposed to a stand up comic, yeah...

C: Right.

S: ...so uhm, I was a little bit reticent about presenting the lesson in this particular way...uhm...where I was, you know, playing the role of say like a Mr. Bean type character...uhm...who was taking his first driving lessons uhm lessons so to speak and they actually had to tell me step by step, but with precise instructions using the correct preposition on how to get into the car and start it, and such like, and it actually went down surprisingly well, I mean there was laughter in the classroom...erm...they were entirely enthusiastic, they were very much with me...uhm...I think the problem was doing that earlier in the term because it almost set

a precedent for the way that they wanted to be taught, yeah, and certain structures or even certain topics...uhm...can't be presented in such a...erm...entertaining way, I mean the other day I did uhm gerunds and infinitives with them, and it's complicated at the best of times, yeah, and I spent something like twenty minutes uhm looking at some examples, try to analyse the grammar...and then basically thought well the only way that they could actually uhm...you know become expertise at being able to use them is practice, and maybe I actually overdid the practice bit, and it just became a session of just, one exercise after the next and I could see, and I think most teachers can tell by the looks on their faces and things like that, that they are not entirely pleased with that situation, yeah...

C: Yeah.

S: ...but erm I mean you learn from that sort of experience and erm...I mean subsequently the lesson after that was a little bit more upbeat and it went down particularly well, yeah.

C: So you sort of see it in a kind of series, when you do a course you see...the successes...

S: Well...every course is different because...erm...I mean I can't say erm being a comic works for every class, or being a serious teacher works for every class, I mean every class is quite unique...uhm I mean it sounds bizarre, but I mean, I say class as opposed to individuals because there does seem to be a class almost, you know like, psychology in a way, people seem to, you either have a difficult class, an easy class, something in between, yeah, and erm...I mean with other classes I've made similar mistakes...erm I have had similar successes and that's a case of judgement...

C: Could we go back to that preposition one? I just want to sort of go through it in a bit more detail, could you say sort of exactly what happened in the class, I want to go through each part...

S: Well I mean, obviously to make it entertaining...erm I had to be very visual as well, I mean the objective was to actually...erm present erm not the really difficult prepositions like prepositional phrases or those linked to phrasal verbs, but fairly straightforward prepositions that I actually noted the German girls were actually having problems with...erm like the difference between walking across a field or walking through a field, I mean how it presents a different picture you know...erm the difference between above and over, or even the complex differences between underneath, beneath, below, you know things like that, yeah....and er prepositions are particularly useful in lending themselves to...erm either presenting it by taking a particular position in the class or by illustrating by drawings...and I think in one of my talents as a teacher is have a bit of the Rolf Harris in me, I'm quite good at quick sketches which er a fairly good to see yeah, er you can actually make out what they are and uhm...I think this uhm was partially one of the reasons why I was also successful because it wasn't just like gap-fill exercises photocopied from a textbook or something like that, uhm they were able to see and understand much more clearly because of the visuals I'd used on the OHP.

C: So you used visuals on the OHP.

S: Yeah, I mean, well again it wasn't just like 'this is between, this is beside', I actually started off with a story for example, I drew a picture of a hotel, and you, you know like, I think to be a teacher sometimes you've got to be a storyteller and 'this is my brother, he's a builder' and I pretended that this was actually a true situation, and he was actually called up to this particular hotel to do some maintenance work, yeah, and

erm...he was speaking to the manager over the phone and the manager was telling him what needed done and where, and erm...I actually drew things like the sign 'The Hotel Deluxe' and he said he wants him to repair the sign...uhm...you know the hotel, you know the neon sign because it's flashing, yeah, and then I ask the students 'well where is...is the sign? What did the manager say to my brother?' and of course he says 'it's on the side of the building', yeah, and we got differences between behind, at the back of, yeah...uhm...and things like that and I'd say it worked, I mean it's uhm...I mean because it's a story unfolded, yeah and then it turned to little quizzes about...erm...you know how precise you have to be, like, I mean, you've just been given a building contract to build a mosque, synagogue and a church in Lebanon on Mount Herod and you've got precise instructions that the...the....(tape stops or interrupted)...on top of the mountain, I mean the mosque has to be at the top of the mountain and the church has to be on the mountain and any mistake or error is going to create world war three because of the political and religious tensions and that, so it creates a certain amount of excitement in the activity that they are actually doing as well...and erm as I said it worked very well, and erm sometimes...if there's a particular grammatical point erm that I suspect is not going to be exciting or difficult to teach, I very often actually hype it up before, and erm...I mean to the extent that I actually very often lie to the students, yeah...and prepositions can occasionally be very very flat, yeah, so when I actually introduce the session to the students...er...I told them the famous story, that's not true at all, slight artistic licence there about erm...the plane crash in Tenerife and erm...I mean where thousands of people had actually died and when they actually found the black box...it was because of the Spanish air traffic controller was giving incorrect instructions because his prepositions weren't, weren't quite correct, yeah, and erm, it's a lovely story, I doubt if it's true but...it...puts to them the importance of accuracy in prepositions because...I mean the difference between in and on could be the difference between a million miles or something, you know...erm people could get quite confused.

C: So how...how would you, I mean, you know, you felt that lesson was successful, how would measure that success? What makes feel that it was successful?

S: Well just, having the...having the appearance of the students, the way they look...erm the way they interact, erm I mean the level of excitement that you can see has clearly been generated...erm...then measuring then maybe three weeks later when you actually do a recycling exercise and then it's quite clear that that's registered, they have actually got that, they've understood that, they've overcome that particular problem, yeah...and erm...so you know well it's worked obviously they're happy as customers, in that particular situation because it's clear to see, and erm...I'm happy as a teacher because I've actually achieved the objective by measuring three weeks later, I mean, if whether or not they actually understood it, got it and memorised it, and erm...were able to use it effectively...and when they could, it was very satisfying, yeah...but uhm it's not all of course....

C: After after you went through this...uhm...this sort of story, they applied the rules did they? or something, did they?

S: Ah yeah, you mean, it was obviously followed up, with erm, with a task...and erm, I mean the...I gave them two particular tasks, one was uhm...was a gap fill about a hotel, yeah...erm and the other task was, you

know, giving them pictures and uhm...I tend not to teach things in isolation like uhm, I mean, something like prepositions then I would focus only on that as a structure to teach, but in order to avoid just making it, totally boring, other things were introduced as well, so I gave them another exercise where they had...like pictures and obviously like, 'where is the such and such a thing?' yeah, so they are actually learning vocabulary as well, I mean things were a little bit complex like, instead of, I mean there was a picture of a car with a pendant, you know, they had to actually, you know...work...'what's a pendant?', so they were actually learning vocabulary at the same time, yeah...and erm...I mean there was...at that point they were still making, still making a few errors with it, but erm, less than they would have made at the beginning of the session, yeah...so I mean it certainly worked, yeah.

C: But what about er...the sort of unsuccessful side of things?

S: Well...I mean again...very often it can be numerous factors, it can be the...erm, as I explained before...erm...I mean not quite getting what the students want in in many different ways like underestimating or overestimating their particular mood even on that day, you know...erm...I mean with er, the German girls I remember there was another particular session...erm, where I'd actually put them into pairs or teams actually to do, an exercise, I just felt this coldness emanating from them, I just felt well...are they finding this activity boring? or are they finding this activity not challenging enough or too difficult, yeah...and erm, it wasn't till later erm during the break that one of the girls can up and said 'well we're different, I don't if you realise but erm...such and such a person really despises that person', and there was that erm...dislike amongst the students, and I should have noticed it because it was something like three or four weeks into the course...

C: Yeah.

S: ...and they would sit with their own particular little clique, but I made the drastic mistake of breaking up the cliques and putting them somewhere else, and they weren't happy working with the people that I was actually more or less getting them to work with, yeah...so there there are all these different like psychological factors that are sometimes difficult to interpret beforehand or like foresee, yeah, but erm...there could be other things as well like the mood I'm in that particular day...uhm if I were to actually analyse over the years the, the more successful sessions I've presented, uhm, they would probably fall between Tuesday and Thursday, yeah, if I was to measure the least successful ones, it's probably absolutely Monday morning, yeah...and erm maybe Friday afternoon, when I'm exhausted at the end of the week, yeah, so I mean there is a whole load of factors...

C: So you you...I mean in a sense so you measure a lack of success in the terms of not just the material or the planning or...how you do it in a sense of...of a structured plan...plan or whatever, that the fact that in a sense of how, in a sense of erm...your, the way you feel, the way you go about it...

S: Yeah.

C: ...the way you approach them because of your mood.

S: Yeah I mean it's, I think it's...erm...I mean how could I put this? erm...I mean, I think myself like a lot of other teachers...uhm, I mean if say for example I'm actually called in to teach, uhm at very short notice on a

particular class because somebody's absent, and the teacher who phones sick or was planning to be off, says 'well look this is the material', even though the material is particularly relevant to what they were doing before and what they're going to be doing afterwards, I very often feel that I don't want to do that, I want to do my own thing because I feel presenting...uhm somebody else's material isn't going to come across as well as presenting something that I'm either familiar with or actually interested in, yeah, and for that reason I find text books very constraining, you know I tend, you know, pick from them rather than actually go from page one to one hundred and one, yeah, and erm...so I would say what's more important for me...is, is not the actual material that is presented, but the way it's presented and I think the material is presented better and therefore understood more easily and enjoyed, erm much more if that material is liked by the teacher himself or themself, yeah, and I think while I would feel a lot of teachers, I mean who have been teaching for quite some time feel that way, yeah, and erm, it's just something you're comfortable with, I mean it's uhm, you immediately see something like for example I've had textbooks where I mean they've presented five grammatical structures in one lesson, I think well, it's too bitty, it's too much on the functional side whereas, I tend to limit it to one structure, get that clear and move up to the next logical step, yeah, so uhm, I mean others...I mean academically you could argue that these structures fit together and serve a complete unit and therefore that's where they should be presented and maybe that argument is right, but it wouldn't suit my teaching style, yeah, so...I would make a mess of it, I mean I would present it badly, yeah and the students would probably not learn very much from that if I did it that way, yeah.

C: Can you remember much about the class we taught...uhm...last term?

S: Last term, the ones with us, uhm where you were actually...

C: Yeah.

S: Uhm yeah, a bit, I mean some...I mean some of the sessions that you probably erm, observed were good ones, the Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays...er...certainly the Monday morning ones were probably less good, yeah, erm, I mean I remember you saying at the time, I mean my style tends to be very much that of the entertainer, yeah...but erm...I mean that's, I mean that's the way I teach and the way I enjoy teaching...yet the bizarre thing is, it's not me as an individual, it's simply a classroom persona, yeah, like an actor would have a particular role that they are particularly good at playing...erm...I mean, in day to day life I'm probably quite shy and introverted, yeah, but in class, I mean this is something that's, I don't know, probably matured over the years and it's a style of teaching that generally, I mean most of the time, has...has been successful, and that's why I stay with it, but it can be very taxing as well yeah, and quite exhausting when you are actually performing rather than just, you know, giving work, yeah, but erm, I think I would still continue teaching that way because, I mean, if I, I mean, I think a lot of teachers do it, they get a buzz from the class, yeah, and if there's laughter and if there's obvious enjoyment in the class that really gives you that push, yeah, and if you come out of a class when they've all sat with sullen faces as the...we'd all had of the Swedish experience last year, that's that's really demotivating, it's depressing, you take it personally yeah, so I think...

C: Because of the look on the faces.

S: Well, because of their attitude, I mean it's, objectively I think we could all analyse that the problem was them but subjectively it still hurt because you thought, I mean, I think you felt that, I mean, I mean, even though they're a difficult group, I should still be able to crack them, but I mean nobody could, it was just a very strange situation.

C: When you say crack them, what do you think, how would you define cracking a group?

S: Well try...try getting a rapport with the group, you know, trying to get...erm...a situation where uhm they are actually appreciating what you are actually doing, yeah, where they are actually interested in what you're doing, when they don't actually contest what you're doing, yeah...erm...where they're actually learning genuinely from what you're doing rather than writing letters to their mother and things like that when you're teaching your heart out, yeah, so it's that...it's just basically having that rapport with the class where it's a two way process, yeah...and uhm...I mean you know that if they're enjoying it, well effectively you're enjoying it as well, yeah, whereas if there is a wall of hatred, people are looking at you with utter repugnance on their face, it affects your teaching...I mean it's bizarre, I think teachers do have, uhm, an ego problem, I think they're oversensitive, in most professions if you get nine successes and one failure you're over the moon, but in teaching I think very often people want one hundred percent, yeah, and if you have a class of say fifteen students and fourteen are sitting there exactly happy, but one is looking miserable, I'll put double effort into actually pleasing that particular student, yeah, and it's...it's silly but that's the way we work, well that's the way I certainly work...

C: Why do you think that is?

S: I don't know, I don't know...I mean it's uhm...maybe it's the fear that uhm...one student who's possibly got a grievance could make that grievance spread if they've got a particularly strong personality, yeah...uhm...it's just maybe the absurd desire to be liked, yeah, by everyone, yeah...but uhm I mean I've spoken to other students about this and they've said that, I mean one scowly face can actually affect the way the lesson's presented, yeah...but uhm, it shouldn't do, we should be mature enough to realise that sod it, fourteen are happy, that one can go...yeah...uhm...I think most teachers feel that way, yeah.

C: Okay.

S: Right.

C: That's great.

S: Is that it?

C: Yeah, that'll do.

2.3 Sandra - 1st October 1998

The interview took place at about 4pm, which was after the participant had finished a day's teaching. She wanted to have a drink so we went to the students' union and did the interview in the garden as it was quieter.

CA: What I want to do is, is I want you to think of erm a couple of teaching situations you've had...EFL teaching situations, and just talk about them, erm, I tell what I want you to talk about, if you feel that you'd

like to think of this particular class and need time to time stop you just say "press stop" , I'll press pause and give you time to think about, but what I want you to talk about is think about a lesson that you've taught that you thought was particularly successful...and think about a lesson you've taught that you thought was particularly unsuccessful...now....if you want it can, it can be based on the spring class but it was quite a while ago, if not it can be based on, more or less any class you've taught you thought was successful but private EFL, I mean the sort of EFL we do at the Harmer building...erm...think of one that was successful and one that was unsuccessful, do you want me to pause it?

(Paused tape - Sandra says something that was interesting during the pause)

CA: Can you say that again?

S: Yeah, sure...okay, my problem is that I've been off for six weeks which is quite a lengthy period of time and quite unusual, and as a result I've completely forgotten all about teaching and when I actually came back I found it really difficult to remember how to teach again, it took a few days...erm but I can't actually, focus on any particular class where it was, I can't really think right now of a success- really successful lesson and really unsuccessful lesson partly because it is right at the beginning of term and things are just starting to happen, we're doing a lot of input on study skills and showing people round and starting things off and, getting a lot of information from the students...so...

CA: Can you think of erm, if not a whole lesson, a, perhaps one that really strikes you from the past from your whole teaching career or if not that, incidents in classes, classes where you think that was successful.

S: It's awful isn't it, it shows how much I think about EFL in my free time, I can't remember anything...

CA: It's all right...I'll pause the cassette so that you can remember.

(Cassette paused)

CA: Another way you can think of it is if you think of it in terms of erm...maybe some material that you always find is very successful...and then you can relate it back that way with the material...sometimes when you start talking about things it jogs your memory.

S: I'm just trying to think...just I suppose...sometimes it's stuff that the students just, they happen to be a group of students that...I think it's not really the lesson itself, it's more the students and how they respond to something and you'll get a group of students that...respond well to something and then you'll get another students who'll use exactly the same material, they might be the same level, they won't necessarily respond well to it, I think it depends on the classroom dynamics a lot of the time so that where they pick something up and take it somewhere or where they just leave it flat...erm, so I think it really...it's really to do with, a lot of it is do with the culture of the classroom, so I actually think about a successful lesson, I think it's much more in terms of the students in their response to material rather than the material itself, I mean I can think of some drossy lessons I've done because of various reasons, and I can think of some good lessons you know, that have happened reasonably well but on the whole...and some of the drossy lessons might be, the material is the wrong level or it wasn't well prepared or something like that but on the whole I think with most lessons it just depends on the dynamics of the classroom...you can help create that I think...but

there are certain things you are limited in creating, sometimes students will just take something and just make it wonderful.

CA: So in a sense your thinking more in terms of the class, rather than the material...successful class and successful lesson?

S: I think material...I'd say the material, it can't be any old rubbish or it, the material is important, it's very important and some certain material is generally more successful than other materials in EFL classrooms and you have your favourite lessons and things, but sometimes you can really be surprised by...the students reactions to something and I think it depends as well...the atmosphere and whether they actually like each other and how they respond, and whether they want to give because you are allowing the students, you don't rely on it but it really helps if the students actually give quite a lot instead of just sitting back and just taking it all in.

CA: Can you think of a class...erm that seems to be successful?

S: Erm...I'm just I've had a class for two days and they seem a very sort of positive class...I'm just trying to think what I did with them yesterday, but everything I've done seems to be in the last two days I've had them seems to be relatively successful.

CA: And what is it about them that makes it successful?

S: That they're enthusiastic and willing to speak out even though it has a very large component of Asian students, some of whom are not very...able to express themselves in English, it doesn't stop them trying or willing to try and that's really quite unusual I find and they are not inhibited by the Europeans in the class and there's a general nice atmosphere, it's a more female class...and they seemed to have really gelled, it might change but it, at the moment you seem to give them something and they respond, you walk in there and there's not a sense of antagonism or a sense of, you know, your wasting our time by giving us this information we want to get on with learning, there is a sort of acceptance that what you do is important and that any information that you give them, they sort of take it on and ask more questions about it...and the things I've taken in, I suppose I could have, imagined taking the same stuff into other classes and just getting a very flat response.

CA: So it's in terms of how they respond to the materials...how they respond to what you do?

S: I think a lot of time it is but I think it's more complicated than that, I think it's to do with the way they...yes I mean that's what you actually see but I don't what the reasons behind that are, and I think...when I go into that classroom...what I noticed today was I went in and they were all chattering to each other and talking to each other and, I had actually to stop them to start the lesson, which I think is quite nice because they're obviously kind of interested in each other and talking to each other, and the second thing is that I noticed they were really trying to help each other with pronunciation problems, I'd said nothing to them about that, but one Japanese girl was having problems and the Belgium girl was really spending an awful lot of time trying to correct with this one word...and erm, I think that was kind of indicative of the general feeling in that class, that they all wanted to get on and they all had slightly different difficulties and strengths, but they were willing to accept the fact that people had different

weaknesses and different strengths, and they weren't being competitive but they all sort of seemed to be working together...so I don't know, I think a lot of these things are a mystery to me...I think undoubtedly there are some lessons I can say that usually take off and usually work.

CA: For example?

S: But on the whole I think it depends on the classes, for example I don't know...erm I'm just trying to think of some I've done recently...I think I did one on, in March, it was, I don't really often do songs at all...but erm, I did a song a Sinead O'Connor song, it went down very well, and as we did it, I sort of planned changed what I was doing, we planned a different activity and they made their own gap filling exercise to it, it actually went down reasonably well.

CA: You say it went down reasonably well, what do you mean by that?

S: Erm students seemed motivated and they actually said they really enjoyed it...I don't...I don't hold a great store with people saying they enjoy something, but they did actually say that and they seemed to, erm respond and work at it, and they seemed interested and motivated...and they seemed to get the task done, and they battled with the task and managed to sort of fulfil it in terms of the language work we were doing, and perhaps it was just it was a slightly different media to what I normally use, erm I suppose another...I like using the language lab and I use that quite a bit for communicative activities and that generally goes down well, I tend to do a sort of typical variation on an activity using the language lab...which involves erm integration of skills, and yet at the same time it's quite communicative and they get to know how to use the language lab, so I suppose that's what I consider a successful lesson it sort of kills lots of birds with one stone and...they're getting some useful language practice, and they're getting to know how to use something in preparation for the future lessons, that's one criteria for successful.

CA: And...okay, is there anything else you think of when you, during the lesson that you thought are this is successful, this makes it successful?

S: Sometimes, I think it's a really difficult question...because I don't always think that successful lessons...I wonder if success is better measured later because often you can do a wonderful, exciting, TEFLesque lesson by that I mean full of lots of different exciting things and activities and focuses and...erm...perhaps the sort of beloved of RSA Diploma lesson, and it might be so packed with interesting things and fun things to do that the students might actually do that but they might not necessarily think it's considerate and they might...on the surface think, or tell that they like it or say that it's, or respond favourably but maybe in their minds they are actually thinking erm..."yes but, are we really learning anything?" erm...so I suppose I'm not really sure about my criteria for successful lessons, I suppose, I sort of try and ask myself before a lesson "what are they going to learn out of this lesson?, what do I what them to actually achieve after this lesson?", I try and do that, to be quite honest I don't always do that and sometimes I think "oh my goodness, I've got this level and I thought I was going to do this but so and so was here last term and I've got to quickly change it in five minutes, what am I going to do?", so you think of something if I'm honest that happens, but if I'm trying to do it properly and I've got time then I will actually try to think well what are the students going to go away and learn from this, and I suppose that's quite an important thing...and

sometimes you don't always....so sometimes I think success is accumulative rather than based on a particular lesson.

CA: How about er in unsuccessful?

S: Unsuccessful lessons, you just erm, I think I judge them on my feelings (laughs) how dreadful I sort of go out slink out of the classroom feeling like slitting my throat so...erm...because I've just felt that it hasn't gone down well or I've been met with stony faces and...people yawn in your face and declare it boring or something goes horribly wrong...oh yes I've had those lessons...and sometimes that can be do with erm...I must admit I haven't had this experience with the Swedes, but I could imagine myself having an experience with something like a Swedish group, which sounds very generalised, but there's sort of element of cold stoniness that comes across that isn't necessarily meant, that you can mistake and take it very personally, and I think it's also, judging how people respond to you, and not letting it necessarily get to you but making allowances for different peoples reactions towards you so...it's very complicated but basically, I think if a lesson goes bad you take it incredibly personally...and you blame yourself, and I think sometimes you have to...sometimes it could be because it's poorly prepared or the material's at the wrong level or whatever, and sometimes it's because it didn't suit the type of students you had, or sometimes it could be you misjudged the students feelings towards you, you might think it was an awful lesson and then someone might actually say something positive about it, so when you've done an unsuccessful lesson it might not necessarily be an unsuccessful lesson, but er...it's basically the problem of judging what successful is, but I know I have done some pretty ropy lessons in my time, yes and er...so I don't what I'm saying really (laughs)

CA: That's all right, it's fine...but...yeah, you were talking about, that how...when you do what you consider to be an unsuccessful lesson it's your feeling about it, I mean is there any other criteria, you talked about some of the criteria for measuring success...erm with successful lessons can you think of other criteria for measuring lack of success? I mean why do you feel it's unsuccessful?

S: Well I think...I think it's partly to do with...I think the problem with unsuccessful lessons is that you tend not to be very erm....you take it so personally you tend not to be very objective about why it was unsuccessful, you just think "oh gosh" you feel like sticking your head in a bucket, so you just take it very personally, it's rather like when people write evaluations and they write negative comments about you and particularly if they are negative comments about you personally or as sometimes is the case rather nasty negative comments which perhaps shouldn't have been really written but, your response to something like that you take it very personally, or you get quite defensive about it, but I'm not sure...I think when lessons go wrong...I'm not sure I'm so good at being very objective about why it did go wrong, probably I know but perhaps I don't go into great detail about why it did go wrong, because I think "oh God, I really messed up that time but that's probably because blah blah blah blah..."

CA: ...but you got any...but you get an impression of the lesson, why it's gone wrong, something gives you an impression that it's gone wrong and that's the reaction of the students is it?

S: Err...reaction of the students and just a general sense...but I don't know where that general sense comes from (laughs)...but I mean, yes I suppose really, I mean...unsuccessful lessons are often when you might have sort of left your photocopies in another classroom, actually, I'd like to just completely changed what I said there because I think sometimes the most successful lessons, are when you think "oh my God, I've left my photocopies and everything I planned to do at the other end of college" and I suddenly found out that I'm at this end of the college and I left all my stuff, so I've got to think to think on my feet and do a lesson from scratch, and I don't know how I judge success any more because I can't remember what I said or what I'm going to say but, they're generally the most successful lessons, and now you've reminded me what the successful lessons are when you've got nothing except the blackboard, you've just got to think on your feet, and use your skills as a teacher, and respond really to the students and not to the material...so I've remembered that's probably one of my criteria for a suc- but it's not one I would advocate (laughing as speaks) because I don't think you can do that in the long term.

CA: Erm...what...that was very interesting, why do you think a lesson like that can be so successful?

S: Because...you're completely focused...you've got adrenaline going...your really listening to the response of the student, and your completely focused on your ability as a teacher, and you don't let the material take over and your...you have the freedom to respond to absolutely everything, there's nothing in your way, you create your own material and the students create the material and you use it, you use what the students give you and you just make something out of everything.

CA: In a situation where you have to do something like that, does it follow that there is a typical type of lesson that you do in that kind of, if you have to, have to make up a lesson on the spot?

S: Erm...it would probably...I suppose it would depend on what we have done before, but I would imagine it would also probably be a lot to with erm...oral activity, erm, quite a lot of correction, not at the time but correction afterwards, probably quite a lot of work on pronunciation and intonation, erm...probably quite a lot of work on recycling vocabulary....erm I'm just sort of trying to think at the moment, but I mean it does depend on what you do really but I'd imagine that, these sort of things are always present in whatever you do and they're sort of things that you can milk, and so I would really use any language, any output from the students to actually work on sort of weak areas or recycle areas to make them stronger, or actually, you know, try work on some pronunciation problems or anything really, because the materials then are what the students give you so you tend to use that, and focus on that...and a lot asking, I suppose, you tend to put the focus onto them, and put the questions on...make up some questions and ask them to respond to certain things, so....yeah...they create the material I'd say, or you make them create the material (laughs), out of desperation.

CA: That would be through putting questions, giving them questions and to work on these questions?

S: Not necessarily I wouldn't probably do that very much actually, it just came to mind, but I don't know if I have done that very much...I'm not sure what I would do because, if I thought about it, it wouldn't be spontaneous, I'd just go into the classroom, I would just do something and it would come to me and I don't know if I could talk about it now because er...but I think sometimes they're more successful lesson even

though you have a heart attack before you do it...but then you know, how do you measure success maybe it's also the fact that you are so relieved that you've actually got to do something without sort of saying "you terrible teacher, you've left your photocopies the other end of college", but no I do generally think they are because I think you are so focused and your so, your using every skill you've got and your not just sitting back and relying on the material...okay.

CA: Is there anything more you'd like to say about successful or unsuccessful lessons?

S: No, I'm a bit confused about the whole thing actually (laughs).

CA: Fine, that's fine, okay we're stop there.

S: All right. (laughing)

CA: That's great.

Appendix 3

3 Participant Observation Field Notes - Summer 1998

3.1 Introduction

I started teaching on the first course, Summer 1, and I started to do my notes on Summer 2 (the courses are divided into four: Summer 1, 2, 3 and 4). These are general English courses. Each course is divided into two weeks over the months of July and August. The reason I decided to start my notes from the beginning of Summer 2 is because I found that the work load that I had to take on was so high that I found it difficult to take notes. Perhaps this is also due to the fact that I had not taught for a while full time and also getting myself used to what was expected of me in terms of administration, in terms of teaching, in terms of what rooms to use, equipment and so on, and adjusting to the whole culture. It took a long while. So the notes go from the 20th of July starting from Summer 2.

I will now give a brief description of the course, and how it is structured. As I said previously, each course is divided into two weeks and the courses are in general EFL (i.e. for non-native speakers of English). The students generally tend to be what one could describe as sixth formers and young university students; that is ranging from seventeen to early twenties, although there were some older students such as teachers. Whilst the course itself lasts for two weeks, some students will actually stay longer, so in effect actually doing several two-week courses, and because of this, there are multiple syllabi for each level which are designed so that a student will not repeat material if they stay at the same level.

The course starts on a Monday morning when in fact the students arrive at nine o'clock in the morning and are given a short talk by the director of the course, Jaclyn, and introduced to the teachers of the course. From then on, the students are led to rooms where they were given tests. The tests were divided into three parts: a multiple-choice ladder test (this is a published one, I believe it is Nelson), whilst they were doing that they were dragged into other rooms and given a short oral test (a very informal spoken test, where the teachers could assess their level and get some information about then in terms of their course needs, in terms of the material they have done, in terms of why they need English). At the end of the multiple choice test, the students had to write a short text based on a statement such as "My journey here", "Why am I learning English?" or "My holiday." Then the students were taken by The Overseas Unit people, who gave the students information on leisure opportunities, trips, and given a tour of the college. This was from after eleven o'clock, whilst at this time, the teachers with the course director marked the papers, and discussed and decided the classes (which students would go into which). It was from this that it was decided that there would be five classes (on the first course there were six classes). At two o'clock, we met the students in a room in the Students' Union building, and here the students were divided into their appropriate classes.

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Then we individually took the students through a one-and-a-half hour class from two o'clock to three-thirty. In this class the students were given some administrative tasks (for example choosing their afternoon option classes) and they were given some general information about using computers at the college, they were given their timetables and some written information about their courses. In addition to this, it was up to the teachers to do some first-day warmer activities (for example getting to know their names). The course proper starts on Tuesday.

For Summer 2, a very similar pattern occurred to what is described above although this time there were fewer students arriving, and some students were staying on. The students who were staying on were combined into classes and taught by some of the teachers. The remaining teachers did first day routine of testing as described above. For the rest of the course (i.e. Tuesday to Friday of the first week and Monday to Friday of the second week) each day was divided into three lessons: 9.00-10.30 am, 11.00-12.30 and 2.00-3.30 (except for Wednesday afternoons which were free). In terms of the syllabus, the 9.00 to 10.30 class had a focus on language in terms of grammar, lexis and pronunciation. The second lesson (11.00 to 12.30) focused on skills, particularly speaking. The afternoon lessons are options negotiated with the students that can have a focus on language such as vocabulary or pronunciation, or indeed can have a focus on project-orientated work such as making video or local studies, or content-based work such as film study or literature. (See documents for a list of all the options available). Some options were not available for the lower levels. In terms of teaching, the main class teacher would have the first lesson and the afternoon lesson, while the second lesson would be taken by another teacher with the main teacher teaching the second teacher's class. My class (i.e. the class I have for the first and third lessons) for Summer 2 are called Delphiniums, who are upper intermediate in level, while for the second lesson I teach a pre-intermediate/elementary class. Because there are five classes for Summer 2, there were three teachers swapping the second lesson, the other two just swapped between themselves.

Because there is a very fixed syllabus (see documents), there is not much need for co-ordination between teachers for what we do in the lessons. For the morning classes each syllabus roughly divides daily classes into sections or units of a course book (or course books), which are leant to the students. It is very much laid out. Although for my Summer 2 second class, there was a bit of problem about materials because of the materials used the teacher of this class in Summer 1. I had to use a book (The Source Book in fact) which is outside of the syllabus, because the teacher before had used the second part of a book when I thought he had used the first, and this caused some confusion.

On Wednesday afternoons there were no lessons, but there was from 1.15 to about 2.15 a staff meeting, where the classes and other problems are discussed. Also on Wednesday afternoons from about 2.00 to 3.00, and on the other afternoons from about 3.45 to 5.45, students can go to an optional listening centre session where they can come to a room with a teacher available to help them use the equipment and choose

materials. It should be pointed out that at The Harmer Building, and in fact at the Department, the general English courses are not the only courses being run during the summer. There are numerous teacher training courses for overseas teachers. This include a general international teachers course as well as specific courses for specific teachers from particular countries, for example Greek teachers, French primary teachers and Austrian teachers. There is a crossover between the teachers teaching on the general course and the teachers teaching on the teacher training courses. Some of the higher education lecturers teach on the teacher training courses, but there are also further education teachers who teach on the teacher training courses, and direct the teacher training courses. So, there is not a main cadre of summer general course teachers from Summer 1 to Summer 4, but there is a crossover with some teachers coming in and some teachers going.

Because of the large number of students on the general English course, as well as the teacher courses, classes are based at The Harmer Building and on the main campus. There have been some problems organising rooms because of other summer schools from other private language schools operating on the campus, and also rooms being unavailable because they are being decorated during the summer months.

The Overseas Unit is responsible for the marketing of courses and the recruitment of students. In addition to this, they are responsible for the welfare of overseas students, for example arranging and organising student accommodation. They are also responsible for the student social programme. Working during the summer school period, in addition to their permanent staff, are number of undergraduates or recent graduates who work as social assistants (one of them is actually a permanent social assistant). They organise the social programme in terms of sports, leisure activities, trips and so on. They try to provide activities that will appeal to the older students as well as the younger ones. The Overseas Unit have a separate office and a separate structure to the Department.

3.2 Monday 20th July

Summer 2

I arrived at 8.30 am and I had an informal chat with Jaclyn. We were awaiting the arrival of a new teacher, Linus, who would be taking the combined class: the classes Nathan and I taught on Summer 1. Nathan had actually designed some material for him to use and gave him the material, and we spoke about this. Simon arrives with his dog and brings it into his office. He and Jaclyn have a talk about it (it is quite normal for him to occasionally bring his dog and leave it in his office when it can be looked after at his home). In the basement I bump into his wife Helen, and then I see Jaclyn and Helen have a laughy chit-chat about the dog and Simon's habits.

At 8.50 we went to the hall on the main campus and in the hallway outside the hall we waited as all the students arrived with what appeared to be students from other courses (perhaps from a nearby private language school). The atmosphere seemed to be rather confused; there were multiple groups of students

hanging about and no one seemed quite sure what they were supposed to be doing. Helen and Peter were having a chat about holidays abroad. I had a chat with Peter about what I was doing in terms of research, and Simon was on the door of the hall with Sharon adopting the roles of doormen making sure the right people were coming into the hall, checking who they were. As the general course and teacher training course students were led into the hall, I was talking about the weekend with Peter.

At 9.15, the teachers were at the front of hall with all the students sat down in front of them. Jaclyn gave a very friendly welcome talk, and the teachers were introduced individually to the students by either nodding or saying "Hello." At the end of the talk Jaclyn said, "I'm afraid you're going to have to do a test." A social assistant came in to give a talk. Then we separated the general students from the teacher training course students. We divided the general students into two groups and walked them to The Harmer Building; I took one group, Peter the other. I took my group to the language laboratory to be tested. During the ladder test, I would take out one or two students to orally test them leaving the class empty. This system was employed on the previous course. There seemed to be a heavy Latin bias with the students. Whilst they were doing the test, a few students asked questions. Simon acted as an intermediary taking some of my students to be tested and some of Peter's. I arranged with Simon that we would work our way around the class taking students from different ends of the class so we would not get confused as I had done on the previous course. At the same time in Jaclyn's office, other teachers were occupied with the teacher's group. As I mentioned before there was a crossover between EFL teachers and teacher trainers. Jaclyn's office door was open. Others were informally chatting or going (to the office?) to ask questions. The people informally chatting were in fact Sara and Sandra. The students were working quietly in the lab. The lab was rather smelly and hot. I put on the fan but one of the students had turned it off.

Once the students had finished, unlike with Summer 1 when we did not allow them to leave when they had finished, I let the ones who had finished out, but I was told by Jaclyn to keep them in the building. Some of them went and had a coffee in the basement; some of them went to have a cigarette outside of the building. They had to stay around because we had to take them after the test to the Student Union to be registered in the North Lounge. Then we would return and mark the tests. I had a chat with Simon about a student I found particularly strange in her behaviour during the test. Teachers were talking in the corridors. The walk to the North Lounge was slow. Some of the teachers were talking to the students. Once we were in the North Lounge, Simon and Peter made small talk with some of the students. I felt rather uncomfortable about doing this (I do not know why), and so I decided to sit back and observe. I was spoken to by a couple of students and I answered their questions. Some of the social assistants were also there standing about. Sharon was also there chatting to students. The students were also sat around in this room. There was coffee and biscuits available to them on a table, and this had to be pointed out to them. There was a quiet murmur of voices. The social assistants were very casually dressed in sports gear: shorts, baseball caps. The teachers could be identified by their smart but casual wear: e.g. trousers, shoes, shirts and so on.

We then had our marking meeting in which emerged a slight conflict as Peter was not happy with the classes being formed because he felt they would not work. However, I was very happy with the classes being formed because I felt the class being formed which was essentially the combination of Nathan's and my class from the previous course, plus a few extras, would make a good, solid class that could work together. Jaclyn was very cool in dealing with this using humour and the problem was diffused although Peter did not seem very happy about it. We arrived at the North Lounge slightly before 2 p.m., I went by myself at this time and I was the only teacher there. The chief social assistant, Linus, spoke to all the students. One of the social assistants had spoken to them previously informing them of something and he seemed rather nervous. Linus on the other hand seemed more confident but essentially nervous.

We divided the students into their classes, and took them to their classrooms with each main teacher taking their class. The lesson I taught went fine. I had problems with one of the students (Javier) who was not happy with the class because there were too many young Spanish students speaking Spanish (he was also Spanish). He felt he was not improving his English.

We then had a meeting with everyone except Peter. There was a concern about classrooms being hot, and choosing books. Peter absence was due to the fact that he was ill with appendicitis, and he was replaced by Simon. It was here that were given the names of the classes, although we discussed the fact that no one actually used these names. The names for the Summer 1 classes were based on flowers; the previous course had used names of precious stones.

3.3 Tuesday 21st July

I found out that Peter is seriously ill at hospital with appendicitis. I was in the teacher's room at the top of the Harmer Building. This was a small classroom that was specially set aside for the summer school teachers. There are tables around the side with piles of course books, and central amalgam of tables surrounded by chairs that were used as desks by the temporary teachers. John was not in a rush to look at the book he will be using for the second lesson. He says he will look at it at break. Linus and Eric are chatting in the teachers' room about classes and rooms, and changes of materials. It is all positive with a bit of humour. At break I am very busy; there are problems with the tape recorder and tapes. The tapes had been recorded from a master tape by a secretary at The Department and it was badly done. Jaclyn tells me to take these tapes to Mick's room and put them next to the fast recorder where people will come and rerecord it. Mick's room is next to the teachers' room, and is used as a resources room and office. The summer school EFL staff are not supposed to use the materials in there, only the materials provided in their room in order to not have problems of repeating material. I call it Mick's room as it is being used this summer by one of the higher education lecturers as an office. I also take a broken cassette recorder to the audio-visual office to be repaired. I am asked to do this by Jaclyn as a way to help her to save time. The people at audio-visual are very helpful, very friendly and they help me out.

At lunch time I go to the shop. John gives me a wink and a slap on the bottom; which is very friendly and affectionate. After lunch Nathan is in the teachers' room trying to write a limerick for his class, as he wants his class to do limericks. This for the language improvement section of the teachers' course. I am chatting with Nathan and John. This is light, humorous talk about classes and books. Linus then discusses a student who is returning having done a previous course. We also discuss a section of a film he is showing his students (If) and I tell him that I like this film. He showed them an excerpt in the lesson before. After classes in the teachers' room, I discuss with Eric the problems of them materials that he has been given to teach the advanced class, which tend to be based on language exercises that he feels are insufficient for the 9 to 10.30 class. He thinks that they are very repetitive, boring and they do not actually teach anything. He wants to find materials where they do more language work, however at their level, which is very advanced, it is very difficult to do that. He says that it is very difficult for him to deal with the syllabus because they know most of the grammar which is on it. Another problem is trying to make the course book interesting for students at that level. Then in the teachers' room, Eric has a conversation about the Greek teachers, which they are involved in teaching. They said that the class they were teaching were not used to making their own materials, which was slightly difficult because they were trying to give them a class where they would make their own materials. They said this in a slightly complaining in attitude.

3.4 Wednesday 22nd July

I arrive slightly late; I go downstairs to get a coffee, and Linus asks me how I am doing, if I am well. In the teachers' room there is Eric and John. Eric is complaining about the syllabus, and says the Greek teachers are really here on a free holiday. They do not seem to take the course too seriously, but then says "Wouldn't you if your given a free two-week holiday? How seriously are you going to take for example pedagogy?" In the afternoon we have our normal meeting from 1.15. I arrive at 1.15 and some people are not there. The meeting normally takes place in one of the classrooms in The Harmer Building (LF2). In fact there is Eric, Linus and Mathew discussing, I believe, the Greek teachers. I ask if I am interrupting and they say it is okay and that I can come into the room. Then I sit down and gradually people come in, so the meeting starts slightly late. I actually leave at 2.00 to do the lab, and the meeting goes on for a few minutes after, but I think it then peters to an end. In the meeting the first thing that is discussed are individual classes. The classes are discussed by each corresponding 9.00 teacher and the 11.00 teacher. They are discussed in terms of individuals, i.e. if a particular individual is difficult, causes problems, does not fit in, should go up, should go down. If not the classes are referred to as "That's okay" "That's fine" "They're fine". As such there were two students in my class that were causing problems. Jaclyn decides which teacher will talk about their class nominating a teacher usually in an order; either from highest to lowest level, or lowest to highest. I think this time it was lowest to highest. The time before it was the opposite. We then discussed the afternoon options list. A particular issue was that we had to write out on a piece of paper what options we had chosen, the dates they would take place on, and a short description of them. She then reminded us of the reports we had to write, and that quite a few had to be written because quite a few

students would be leaving. They have to be written on a Friday. She reminds the new teachers, and tells the old teachers that the reports are short and easy to write. Then she reminded us of the book exhibition which was taking place on the Thursday, and it would be done by a Brighton book shop. It was open to students, and we should escort them there at 12.30, while the teacher trainees should be escorted there at 12.00. We were also reminded to keep our registers and work records up to date.

There was then a rather long discussion on the problems of the teacher courses and files which contain the materials for the courses from the previous years. The previous courses were very similar to this year's in terms of where the students came from and the organisations that sent them. The problem was that files had either been lost or were being used by other teacher trainers, and so could not be accessed by other teachers. There also seemed to be a communication problem between the Overseas Unit, and the course directors of the teacher training courses in terms of getting information about what the course organisers in the home countries wanted in terms of the course. This was particularly pointed out by Mathew. It was noted that someone should be responsible for files. Mathew said that he really had problems finding files, and the files had been integrated or kept in other lecturers offices. Jaclyn decided that there really should be someone in charge of primary teacher training and secondary teacher training materials, perhaps with the files being kept in one place. She suggested the cupboard in the room where the meeting was being held. I then had to leave (at 2.00) but the discussion did go on.

3.5 Thursday 23rd July

On arriving at The Harmer Building, I went to the teachers' room and I had a chat with Linus and John. The discussion was on teachers and classes. John made a humorous remark that he could never reconcile the teacher's book with the student's book. Only after that realising that he was looking at the wrong teacher's book, which caused some laughter amongst the teachers. John asked me about where if there was a phonemic chart in each classroom, which he thought there was, but wanted to know if there was one in my 9.00 classroom as he would be having at 11.00. Whilst we were preparing, both John and Linus were look at their course books. They were reading more than note taking. There was also some discussion about certain students.

At break, Jaclyn spoke to me in the corridor on the stairway about a new student who was arriving today and she had not known about this. This new student had some relationship with Mario, the leader of the Greek teachers. Therefore, this student would need special treatment. He was Greek and a newly-qualified doctor, and he had passed the FCE. She told me about the class he had to go in, which was the second class from the top. I told her afterwards that I do not actually teach that class, which we both thought was rather funny and I thanked her anyway of informing me of this man's presence. I informed her that there was a rather unsavoury problem with the downstairs men's toilets (which were open to staff and students). The urinal had been blocked, and she said that this was probably a minor problem compared to the problem of dealing with resources. I asked to borrow some face cream from two of the female teachers and I finally got

some. Whilst I was asking the first teacher (Sara) and then Louise (who both shared the same office), Nathan came into the office and made some sarcastic comments about the cream being on nose and seen, and that you were supposed to rub it in, and that I had not shaved either. I went back to out teachers' office. Nathan had problems with a tape recorder. I suggested that he could borrow the tape recorder which I was using and had borrowed from the Department office. He did, and promised to return it. This was done in humorous way with him saying, "Don't worry, I'm going to run off with it." This was probably done because I made an issue of him bringing it back.

At lunch, whilst having my sandwich outside I walked back. I walked going towards the main campus and I saw Linus, Nathan, John and Simon. John imitated the way I walked, stressing that it was rather slouched and ladddish. We had a joke about this. Then in discussion we found that the three of us had all forgotten to take our students to the book shop exhibition. We laughed about this and decided we had more important things on our minds, and it was not easy to remember these things. After going to the main campus to get a cassette recording of the news and some spare cassettes, I came back to The Harmer Building and went to the basement to get a coffee and make some photocopies. There was a queue for the photocopier. First of all Nathan was down there, but then John came to use it and I said "Oi! Don't use the copier." I said this because I had let him use the copier before me before the 9.00 lesson, and so I made a point that I should have rights to it now. We joked about this, and he let me use it before him.

After the afternoon class, up in the teachers' room, I came up and Eric was discussing his immature advanced class, particularly in terms of two Hong Kong/Canadian students. In I.T. they appeared to experts and they were downloading software from the Internet in order to use chat lines. They were getting other students to use chat lines. According to Eric, these chat lines were very immature with people sending ungrammatical, badly-spelt abuse at each other. For him it was not developing their English, and certainly the students were not developing. It was shown in that they were bad at putting discourse together. He also made the point that one of them (the girl who was sixteen and a half) said to him that he should ask his children how to use this software because he did not know how. They were making a joke about Eric's age. This conversation between Eric, myself and John developed onto the Hong Kong/Canadian boy who wanted to download his English test from Vancouver, which Eric advised against, but let him do so. Eric mentioned that the test was extremely invalid in terms of the questions, which were badly written. He gave some examples, and then pointed out about how they were all multiple-choice which was typically North American. John and I both mentioned, and I developed this discussion on American's overuse of multiple-choice testing in American education, and Eric developed this. I was discussing the problems in American education, and was trying to equate how Americans had such bad testing yet at MA and PhD level, they were obviously very capable of presenting valid and innovative research. However, at post-secondary school, sixth form and undergraduate level the work seemed poor it was based on multiple-choice tests. John made a point about the subject of maturity at the same time. He said that Rene and Javier in a my class

helped to give a sense of maturity to the class, and pulled the girls up. While Eric mentioned that he felt that Claudio added a good sense of maturity to his class, and was glad that he had been moved to his class. Another interesting point about this discussion was when Eric was talking about the badness of the test from Vancouver, it seemed that Eric specialised on testing in either his dissertation or some part of his MA and John had also done the same. They both agreed that they liked testing. I said that I tried to avoid it in my MA apart from lectures. They said that they liked testing because it was something very solid and meaty that they could get hold of, and they found that good thing to do as part of their degrees.

3.6 Friday 24th July

It should be noted that most of the contact and communication I have with other teachers, i.e. with Linus, John, Eric and Peter (when he was here), takes place in the teachers' room at the top of The Harmer Building. This is because most of the other teachers, the permanent teachers as such, tend to have their own private offices. Mathew uses the room next door to the teachers' room; on the first floor there is an office for Sara and Louise; there is an office which is used by Simon and Sandra on the first floor; and Jaclyn has her own office next door. Nathan seems to come to the teachers' room, but the teacher trainees are also supposed to be having their own room on the main campus. There has been some problems because the room they were supposed to have is being decorated. This was discussed during the meeting on Wednesday.

This morning I arrived at The Harmer Building on my bicycle, and as I arrived and parked my bicycle, Simon and his wife arrived together. His wife said to me "Hello John", and I pointed out to her that I was not John. She said that "Oh everybody here is usually called John", and I made the comment that it is easier to call everyone John. Simon also said "Hello." After going to the toilet, I went downstairs to the coffee room, and Simon's wife came in and said "Hello" again. Linus came in and noted that I was wearing shorts and made a comment asking if I was going fell running. Linus and Simon's wife made a little joke about fighting over the photocopier. I then went up to the teachers' room and Linus had a problem because he could not find a tape recorder that was there before. I said that it would be probably be better that he booked one out of the Department office, and he said that it was one thing that he had not got round to doing. I suggested that if my tape recorder was free, if I was not using it, he could borrow mine. I looked at my lesson plan and found out that I was not using it, so I said he could borrow it. He was appreciative of this. John also arrived. He came in, sat down, and looked at a book (one of the course books). He said his life was always like this in a humorous moaning way. Linus asked if there was a first-aid box here because he cut himself. He did not know quite how he had cut himself; he had just banged his finger. He blamed it on the fact that he has not had lunch for four days because he has been so busy. I believe this is because he teaches on the general course and part runs one of the teachers' courses. He said jokingly that perhaps he was cut because of a lack of iron. I said that it is essential that I have lunch, and he said that he should be forced to have lunch. After he left, John and I discussed sports; about how I do swimming and how he worked at the sports centre. Then he said that he had to go and prepare his lesson. So he rushed out and

went downstairs, and Linus came rushing in again wanting to know again which room my cassette recorder was in. At about 8.45, the teachers' room has become quite quiet with just me here. I walked downstairs and nobody seemed to about. Simon was quietly talking to Jaclyn in her office, with the door open. I walked into my classroom and there was one student, Wolfgang and then Rene arrived.

At break time, I finished my class rather late (by five minutes). John pops his head in as I am finishing the class rather jokingly looks round and says "Ooo" and then goes out. I go up to the teachers' room and there is nobody about. It seems very quiet today. Just before the lesson started at 9.00, I went to see Jaclyn about bishops coming down from Lambeth Conference at another HE institution in the town to a social evening at the institution on Monday. There was a possibility of some students being able to go there. I wanted to know which students could go. I had thought that all the students could go but I found that all the teachers could go, but with a limited number of students with preference given to the teacher trainees. Nathan came running in a bit of a tizzy because the room that had been booked for him and his class had been taken by a completely different course and department. He was not too stressed out; he did have a touch of humour in him. Jaclyn was a bit annoyed about this because she had been misinformed by the resources department about the availability of this room. The place is really strangely quite. I just saw Simon go downstairs to the toilet, I saw Nathan run out of HG02, and Jaclyn was occupied with a technician looking at her printer. But the whole building is very quiet with hardly anybody about. The only person I saw when I got a coffee was Yukiko, one of my students.

At lunch time, I went downstairs to the basement to have my lunch, sandwiches. I was the only person there. I came up to the teachers' room and Eric was working alone quietly. I put the lights on and he said that that was a good idea. I explained why I put the lights on (because of my eyes). Linus rushed in looking for John, but we did not know where he was, and he rushed out again. Nathan came in before that, and I asked him if he had found a room after he had found his one taken. He said he did, and he complained about how things are organised at the Institution, particularly in terms of the library and resources, and that they could never get anything right and they did not know how to deal with the public. I said that he may have something to do with the expansion of the college's size.

After the last lesson, I am back in the teachers' room with just me. John came in and we talked about Peter who was in hospital, and that he was going to visit him tonight, and he could give me a lift to see him. Eric came up to the room, and he mentioned how it was difficult to plan for Monday lessons on a Friday. I said "Well, at least we finish at 3.30, at least we got enough time." He mentioned that on a course he did at a private language school nearby, he was finishing at 4.50, working from 9.00 to 12.30, 2.00 to 4.50. He had to do loads of work at home taking materials home with him and he was working virtually sixteen hours a day while the people at this school seemed to have collected an array of materials which were ready at hand to them at the school in files and boxes. He was designing a course so it was more difficult for him. We

established that we both knew William (a member of the staff there) and other people at this school. In fact William was his mentor when he was doing his diploma at the Institution. On leaving the Harmer Building helping a student in the lab, and he asked me who was supposed to be responsible for the lab at that time. I did not know, so I went to check on the notice board outside Jaclyn's office. It was supposed to be Nathan, but he was apparently in a meeting downstairs. I do not know what the meeting was about. Jaclyn was talking to some students about their art portfolios, and then Eric helped a student (Claudio). Eric then went upstairs and I left. It seemed like there were still lots of people about in the building; mostly in terms of teachers.

3.7 Monday 27th July

I arrive at the Harmer Building at just after 8.30, and I go and lock my bicycle up outside the back of the building. I see Simon and his wife. I greet both of them individually. When I am in the building going upstairs, Simon is jokingly singing some kind of blues song. It is about work, and that you have to work for money. I then go upstairs into the teachers' room and see John and Eric who are both working in their normal places: Eric with his back to the door, John in the right-hand corner. Eric goes up to near John and points out a course book which he says would be more suitable for his class, but he cannot use it because there are two students staying on for the next module. He is annoyed because he would really like to use it. Eric goes. I ask John if he prepares his lessons on the morning of the day of the actual lessons, and he says "Yes." He says that one reason is because he is involved in doing his MA dissertation at the weekend so he has not got the time. He wanted to know why I was asking. I sort of hinted that it was for my research. In this conversation he mentions that he has not yet signed his contract because he has been so busy. We discuss the subject of payment and that it was odd that our first payment was only for week when it should have been for two weeks. He says that last year he waited a month for his salary, which he thought was ridiculous for a temporary worker. Then Nathan comes in, and we discuss publishing course books: how much money you can earn because someone we know from the local Japanese tertiary college has just written a dictionary which is being published. We thought we could earn a lot of money doing this. I mention the fact that Sara is published. We discuss some of the problems and advantages of publishing in terms of money. I said that if I wrote something I would like it to write something on the lines of the Sourcebook. He mentions that on his teachers' course he is working on at the moment he is doing more skills on the language component because of mixed ability. He was doing advertising and he was playing a tape from his wife which had extracts from radio advertisements. We listened to some of them. We then talk about the secondary teachers course, comparing it to the primary course. From what I understood of what he was saying the secondary teachers language component is taught by higher education lecturers including Gus, while primary is with Nathan. It is interesting because he feels more qualified to teach the secondary teachers. It seems that the higher education lecturers get to teach them, and there seemed to us to be some kind of hierarchy with the secondary teachers considered higher than the primary teachers, and so they are taught by the higher education lecturers with the primary teachers taught by the further education lecturers. I said that I thought that they deserved the same thing.

During my 9.00 to 10.30 lesson, Jaclyn comes in. She apologises for coming in but she has to speak to a student about tonight's social event: the Lambeth Conference bishops coming down. This student is a practising Christian, and so she is invited. At break I discuss with Nathan as we go downstairs that working in The Harmer Building is so much easier and better because you do not have to run around the campus the whole time. I said that I would be probably be moved from there for the next course because I had the advantage of this course of being there. After that, I go into the coffee room to have a coffee. I have a chat with Sara, who is leaving. I talk to her about this; how she is going to get a job somewhere else. She seemed very pleased about leaving. She is working to the end of this week, and then going. She will have a salary until the end of August, and then she will have to find a job. I talk to her about her book writing, and the proposal that she and her co-writer in Italy had had rejected by Oxford University Press. She was saying how conservative they are in the things that they want, e.g. in terms of lexis where they say that such items as 'delicious' are unacceptable for pre-intermediate students. She felt that it would be totally acceptable to expose them to such items. There were certain criticisms which she did not accept, and she thought that they were theoretically old fashioned, e.g. they want more grammar exercises. She said that they are serving the demands of the teachers, and that is what the teachers want.

At lunch time, I went out to get a sandwich and had it in the coffee room. I was joined by Mathew who came down and wanted to watch the cricket. There is a television in the coffee room which is usually on during breaks. I turned it over for him. Eric came down and I made the comment that Simon does not know anything cricket but likes motor racing. He made a joke about cricket. Earlier on in the morning before the lessons started, I asked Peter if he would swap his lab session with mine today because I was meeting some friends after work at 4.00. (We are assigned one or two lab sessions per course where we have look after it during self study periods after class. This includes helping the students use the equipment and the materials. I did not ask Eric, perhaps because he is older than me, but I will ask him because I am getting more desperate. There is him or Linus left who I could ask. I went back up to the teachers' room, and Eric wanted to know the cricket scores. I asked him if he could swap lab sessions, and he could not. I then had trouble trying to find a book, because in the book I had (a communicative activities book), the activity I wanted to use was missing. Eric said that Gus had the book. I had a chat with Mathew on the stairs asking him if he knew where Linus was, as I wanted to ask him about changing lab sessions. He did not know, but he was very helpful in trying to help me with this problem. I went back into the teachers' room. I said that the room was stuffy and smelly. One reason for this is that Eric has personal hygiene problem. So I opened the windows and the door. Nathan came in very quickly looking for Mathew. I told him where he was and went out very quickly. John came and he recited a limerick out loud. I asked him if that was what he was doing, your teaching for the whole lesson. He said "Yes, I'm teaching them the rhythm method." We laughed about this joke. Then he left, and I was on my own preparing. Just before the beginning of the afternoon class, I managed to ask Linus if I could changed lab sessions, and it was possible. I asked him

when he was talking to Simon and Peter. I asked in a jokey way begging, and he said that it would be okay. In fact he needed Friday afternoon free anyway to do some of his own preparation for the Japanese teachers course.

After the afternoon lesson, Peter came into the classroom. He asked if he could come in and said "Are you planning already?" He asked if he could borrow my register, and said "Yeah, that's no problem; I filled it in." He then said "I haven't filled it in," and then he made a joke about not filling it in saying "You can't get the staff these days. That's such a problem." I made a joke about it as well, and then left. Jaclyn came up to talk to me about doing a Japanese special course. This would mean that I would have to work for another week. She came up to the teachers' room, and we joked that it was like a parent coming up to see her children. We laughed about this. This Japanese course will mean an extra week, but I will get some time off for me do preparation for it. It is better that I do it because I know the type of course more than other teachers.

3.8 Tuesday 28th July

I arrived at the Harmer Building rather early at 8.15 because I cycled in and I did not go swimming as I would normally do on Wednesdays. There seemed to be nobody in the building but I got into the teachers' room and found Nathan sitting down in his normal place working. He had established his own little desk area, as each teacher has. I was slightly moved around by the arrival of Eric. But now Eric has a place, I have a place, John has a place and Peter did have a place before he went to hospital. I asked John why he was there so early and made a joke asking him if he had spent the night there. He said that one reason that he has to get there so early is because the traffic so bad coming from the other side of a nearby town. If he comes in slightly later it takes him three quarters of an hour, rather than half an hour. It also gives him enough time to prepare the lessons and mark homework. He collects lots of homework from the students and corrects it unlike myself. I told him that I go over the homework with the students together at the beginning of the class. John then quickly came in and said to Nathan "You look shredded," and he replied jokingly "You look crazed." Then I started looking up a music database on the Internet (a computer had been installed in the office). Nathan had gone by then and John wanted to have a go at it. He then worked. I stopped using the database. He went downstairs and then I did the same.

I had a chat with John about money at break time. I asked him if I could borrow 20 pence to get a drink from the coffee machine. He leant me the money without any problem. In the coffee room I saw Mathew and Simon. Simon chatted to me about my ex-girlfriend who I had recently split up with. Then we discussed some of the problems at the Harmer Building in terms of having to do more hours. Everyone has to do twenty-one hours, and previously they would do eighteen hours, which would give then enough time to prepare and get things ready. He said that it was the head of the department who had decided that everyone should do twenty-one hours, and then he said I have got plenty of material here for my research.

Then we discussed working in the Middle East. I told him about a friend of mine who had worked out there. He spoke about working there, and about a contact he has there who is not available at the moment.

At lunch time, I went to see Jaclyn to return her a piece of paper that she had popped into the class to give me. I had to pass this round the class for the students who were leaving. They had to write their names on it in the way they wanted their names to be written on their leaving certificates. I gave it to her in her office. The door was open; Simon was sitting there with her. She asked me to stay for a moment, and she spoke to me more about the Japanese course that I will be teaching on instead of the normal general course. She gave me some more details about files and about what I would have to do. She told me that I would not be paid for the fifth, additional week because this goes into the new term and so would count for my teaching hours of 1998-1999. I went out to buy my lunch, and then went to the coffee room. After eating my sandwich, John came down. We chatted about music: his experiences of punk in the 1970s; and I talked a bit about my Acid House period in the late 1980s. He asked me about the drugs of that period, and if I had taken any. At this point Simon's wife was in and she turned around and said "Are you talking about drugs?" I felt that I should not say if I had taken them in front of her. John had also previously said "I'm going to do some photocopies if she has finished." This was said in a light, sarcastic manner and she heard it. In addition to this Simon came in. Simon, John and I discussed the subject of some of the more attractive female students, and the reasons why we fancied them. I then went upstairs to prepare in the teachers' room. Eric and Linus were there. They were talking about the film studies course they are doing. Eric went. Linus asked me if I had been to the do the previous evening with the bishops. I had forgotten about this on purpose because I did not really want to go. There are Monday evening student discos which the teachers are asked to go, but generally try to avoid. There is a sort of un-stated rule about going to one a course. He asked me for help about printing from the Internet, which I helped him on. One point I would like to make here is that I hand-write the notes as things happen. Generally in the situation I am in, particularly in the teachers' room, I do not think that people are conscious that I am writing notes about them, because I write them in my note book where I write my lesson plans. Although it is in a separate part of the note book, it does not seem incongruous with what is going on because other teachers are writing things down. I do not think people are that aware that I am writing notes.

After the afternoon lesson, I saw John and I said that I was going to get a can of drink. He asked me "Where did you get that from?" and I replied "The Union." I then offered to get him a drink because he had leant me 20 pence earlier, so I went to get him a can of coke. When I returned, he was sitting in Jaclyn's office with the door open. I stuck my arm in and gave him the coke. He made some camp remark on the lines of "Thank you darling." Jaclyn made a humorous remark about that (I cannot remember it exactly.) I then went upstairs to the teachers' room. Eric and myself were then working quietly. John came in and I showed him a student's essay, and I made a joke about the student's description of her ideal man sounded like me, but unfortunately I am not a veterinarian (which was the occupation of the man that she was

looking for.) Eric wanted to know if she was a nice student, and we responded with "Yes." Eric and John asked each other if they had had a good day. The comments were on the lines of "We survived it." I think Eric said "On these days you survive it. You go in the mornings, and you think you're going to survive it, and you survive it." John then left. Eric and I were working in our normal places. Eric then said that he was going downstairs to do photocopying, instead of having to do it before 8.30 as he does on normal days. He then said "Goodbye."

3.9 Wednesday 29th July

I arrived at The Harmer Building rather late today. I went upstairs to the teachers' room. On the way up as I was going upstairs I met John. He said to me that he done a copy for me of the piece of paper that had been done for the students for them to write their names on if they were leaving. He said that he had filled in the details of the second lessons in options section of the register. (In the register, teachers have to fill in what they have done for each lesson. The register stays in class until the last lesson, and then has to be put by the teacher in a slot outside Jaclyn's office. However, teachers often forget to put in the slot and indeed fill out the register promptly). I made a joke about it, and treated the matter lightly. He said he had transferred it to the right section. In the teachers' room, John joined me and I talked about swimming (which I had been doing before coming to work.) We talked about swimming in general. He is quite into sport himself. Nathan came in as well as Eric. Eric did not really say anything. John said to Eric "You look like you have lost something," but Eric did not really say much. Eric came in and went out. Nathan spoke to me about some materials he was looking for: a listening, but I could not help him. Nathan and I then discussed the students international evening. We both felt that they had not really prepared much, and I talked about the social assistants, about how they were organising it, and how it had been organised in other institutions where I had previously worked. John said how it had been organised more with the teachers last year. John returned later when I had been putting my notes on the tape recorder. I turned it off, and he noticed that I had been taking notes. He talked to me about my research, and I explained to him a little about it. I said nothing of any significance, just what I was doing.

At the first lesson at break time, I went out of classroom and went to the opposite classroom (HG01) on the ground floor to put my tape recorder in it. Then I came out, and Mathew came round and we said hello to each other. Then Simon was behind him and they were going upstairs. I went up to the teachers' room, and John was there, sitting in his normal place. He said it had just done the worst lesson in his life. I asked why, and he replied that the students who were at a halls of residence had been partying so they were tired. He felt he had just been going through the exercises and it was really bad. They had just been doing exercises from the course book. I asked him why that was, and I said "Is it because you are doing your dissertation?" He said "Yes, it was that," and also because he had been decorating. Later he caught me writing about this, and I felt very much caught in the act. We laughed about it. Then I talked about the research I was doing because of this, and he said that in a sense he was talking about the lesson to help me. I do not if that was true or not. Then we discussed my research further, and he said it would be interesting to focus on office

life (meaning normal office life not teachers), because from his experience people talk about more things in offices, and there tends to more of a life. He then said with teaching you go out into the classroom, it is a performance, then you come back "shredded." He thought that there are two lives: there are lives out there (he pointed to the classroom); and then the life as you come into for example the office or the staff room. He then said "Never the twain shall meet." The two lives hardly relate to each other.

Later in the break I went downstairs to the coffee room and had a coffee on my own. John came in when I was recording my notes on the tape recorder. I turned it off, and he made a joke about catching me recording. I apologised and said that I felt like a spy. He said "Oh, it's your job." We talked for a while. I got on to the subject of where he lived, who lived with, personal information of that sort, about his background, where he is from. We then talked about music we were interested in.

At lunch when I popped out to get a sandwich, I did not see anybody. When I came back to The Harmer Building, I saw outside Eric, Simon and John outside the backdoor smoking and having a discussion. I overhead some of this. John was saying that he thought Japanese students were changing in personality. I went to the coffee room and had lunch by myself. I then went upstairs to the teachers' room. Eric and Linus were there working, and perhaps John. It was just before the meeting, and I said "The meeting is about to start." We went down to the meeting. Going into the classroom (HF02), a few people were there, but not Jaclyn. When all the people arrived, there was Jaclyn, and then going round Mathew, Eric, myself, Simon, John, Linus, Derek (the head social assistant), Sharon (the head of The Overseas Unit). At 1.17, Jaclyn came and apologised for being late. She sat in the teacher's position of the classroom. We were sat in the students' position. We started with The Overseas Unit business. Jaclyn asked us if there were any comments from the teachers relating to The Overseas Unit, and the areas they deal with. She mentioned the bishops' evening that had happened on Monday. Then we discussed the international night. A couple of teachers said what their students were doing for this. It seemed that they were involved in it. I was a little surprised as I had not been involved in it. I found out that it was on Thursday night at eight. There was more discussion about this party, and there was a funny anecdote about international nights in previous years. This was about origami. One of John's students was going to do origami, and this subject had become a running joke from year to year, because there had been a very boring demonstration of origami once. In the international night, a party that happens every summer at the students' union, groups of students (not necessarily by nation, it could be by class, but it is generally by nation) do sketches, songs, prepare food, put shows on, demonstrations and so on. These anecdotes were treated very humorously. The Overseas Unit people made comments. Jaclyn made a point about having to be careful that what the students do does not take too long, that things need to be timed. The Overseas Unit people asked if the teachers were willing to do something, and it was said that nothing had been planned. There was talk about what had been previously done, which was particularly funny and had been videoed, and could be shown. It was also established that on Friday night there would be a Greek night, where the Greek teachers would be

doing something. The initial comments in terms of The Overseas Unit and what they are doing came from the teachers. The Overseas Unit comments came later. There was then quite a long debate on some issues about the international teachers' courses. This particularly centred around Mathew, and his comments on it. There had been a problem because the secondary international teachers had gone to a local museum as part of their course module of teaching English through literature. This was paid for because it was considered as part of the course (as I understood it). When the primary teachers went as an the Overseas Unit event outside of the curriculum as it were, they had to pay. There was a dispute about this, and some teachers refused to pay and go. Sharon pointed out that course directors of international teachers' courses should know where they stand in terms of finances, e.g. students have budgeted £10 per head for such events. From this Mathew developed the problem of the communication between the Overseas Unit and the course directors in terms of getting information on courses, and particularly on having contact with the leaders of the teachers, i.e. the people who come from the host countries of the groups and liase with the course director to establish what the trainees' needs are. There was also the problem of a missing course file for the Greek teachers' course. Sharon said that the file exists, and Mathew replied that he could not find it. Jaclyn then developed the discussion saying that the problem was that there were more temporary teachers in the summer. Therefore, they should have someone responsible for international teacher courses as an overall co-ordinator, e.g. Sandra could do this for secondary teacher courses. At this point compared to the opening discussions of the meeting, the humour had lessened and the atmosphere appeared to be more serious. I would not call it angry. Jaclyn played a conciliatory, negotiating role. She analysed the problems and summed up the debate which had been between Mathew and Sharon. She summed up the problems as the location of files and the ongoing communication with native course leaders, what they called liaison officers. Derek (The Overseas Unit) made a suggestion that they could have in the Overseas Unit office a document with all the information about the liaison officers: fax numbers, e-mail numbers, and so on. Mathew then made a list of needs for teacher course directors and other people at the meeting made points. Eric then adds that it is a real problem because you cannot get your hands on files and materials, and he says "I'm reinventing the wheel each time because I have to find materials that I know existed before," rather than being able to refer to them easily through filed materials, he had to dig them out himself, and sometimes he cannot find them. Sharon then makes the point that at the first meeting (on the Sunday before the summer school started), some of these problems should have been gone over or should be gone over in future pre-course meetings. Mathew continues the discussion, and this is mainly between Mathew and Sharon. Mathew, I think, indirectly attacks the Overseas Unit. He says that Hong Kong teachers' course worked very well in comparison to the Greek course, e.g. they had plenty of information in advance, there were negotiating meetings in London. With the Greek teachers, there was negotiation on the first day, but this would be normally to make minor alterations to a course, not the major changes that were wanted here, e.g. integrating the Greek teachers into the international teachers' course rather than having them as a closed course as had been previously decided. The discussion was cool and calm. Sharon delineates the responsibility; Mathew says what he thinks he needs, e.g. a flow diagram to show who is responsible for

what (I think he means an organigram). Sharon points out she is not responsible for the academic content, although these files are academic, but she is being asked "Where are these files?" This problem may have arisen because The Overseas Unit and The Department shared until very recently an office. The Overseas Unit moved out. So these academic files, and the information files about courses were together and have now been separated. Eric also makes the point that there is a materials problem because the diploma and MA in language studies tends to be for teaching ELT to adults, there is a lack of materials for secondary school teaching in the curriculum centre in the library. He also says that the materials that did exist, e.g. within the department, disappeared. One reason for this was because of staff moving offices, and therefore materials have been left in boxes which are difficult to find, e.g. in Chico's office. Again he uses the phrase "reinventing the wheel." The discussion continues for quite a long time. There were also suggestions from Linus, Simon, Jaclyn and Sharon. The time by then was 1.53. Jaclyn summed thing up by saying that she would talk to the head of the department about having people having responsibilities for courses. There was talk about hiding materials, or having materials put in one place as it seems that many of these materials were taken by individual lecturers during the academic year, and kept by them, or lost, filed away or put in boxes. Another problem that was highlighted by Eric was that the Department office was closed at break time. I pointed out that it was also close sometimes at lunch time when the teachers most wanted to use it. Jaclyn pointed out that since the division of the Overseas Unit and the Department office, it is unfortunate because the Department office has no contact with students. They are isolated from students. It seemed that the women who work in the Department office go off and have their coffee break without realising that teachers need to use the office. She said that this point would be raised with the head of the department. Mathew raised another point with an even more serious and critical tone without being annoyed. He said that Mario, the liaison officer for the Greek teachers' course was not given an invitation for the bishops evening on Monday. He laid this at the feet of Sharon and the Overseas Unit. Sharon pointed out that on Monday the Department was given via Jaclyn some invitations. Mathew sternly replied that Mario felt snubbed, and pointed out that Mario was an extremely important person who should be treated well because of his job and position. He would be important for getting future courses. Mathew pointed out that these invitations arrived on Monday morning, and it was too late. They were distributed out to the teachers, and they had to decide who would get them. There was a problem of communication because Mathew thought that Mario would have been invited separately. Sharon this time seemed a bit upset; she was quieter, and seemed almost on the point of tears. She certainly seemed to be taking this criticism on the head. She made apologies and said this would be dealt with next year. After this, Sharon asked if students were late for the 2.00 lessons because of lunch, and most of the teachers thought that they were not, but some said that they had to let out students early because it was so difficult to get lunch from the Dining Hall. Due to this problem, Derek (The Overseas Unit) had negotiated with the catering people so that lunch would start at 12.00 instead of 12.30 because there were other ELT courses at the college, so they needed more time to cater for all the students. There was an issue about towels and sheets in the halls of residence, and lack of cleaning there. This was in the process of being sorted out. Jaclyn said cleaning was also a

problem with The Harmer Building. The issue of Tokyo Group was brought up with me. I said that I was responsible. They wanted to know if the students would be integrated with the general course students, and I said they would be. I had to leave the room quickly. As I left, they were talking about the status of Peter who had just recently left hospital but was still quite ill. As I came back, I heard Derek (The Overseas Unit) talking about parties, noise and complaints about this, which I assume was in one of the halls. Then there was a discussion with Jaclyn and The Overseas Unit people about how good the Austrian teacher groups were. It then seemed to be very good and relaxed atmosphere. We discussed questionnaires: from The Overseas Unit to the students, when they would be done. The discussion was then on the first day for Summer 3. There would be a lot of new students. Simon suggested that on the Monday morning that the students should have badges to identify what course they belong to so that they could be sorted out more easily when we put them in the hall. There was suggestion that we could use signs to guide the students, with each teacher holding a sign saying what course they were responsible for. It was also said that there was a naming problem for the course descriptions because the teacher course did not identify if it was secondary or primary and so it seemed that some primary teachers might be on secondary courses etc. Then the Tokyo Group issue came up again. It was brought up that in the afternoons there would be 24 students. It was asked if there would be enough money for two groups with two teachers, or would I have to teach the whole group.

The Overseas Unit people left at 2.20, and then after that we went quickly through our classes going from the top class first. This was just basically going over the students who would be remaining and what books would be suitable for their levels, and covering what materials we had used, what materials they could use in the future when they would be integrated next week. Jaclyn explained the Friday routine to Eric (who had arrived for Summer 2), i.e. questionnaires and giving out student reports. Jaclyn pointed out that it was important that we collected back the books from the students. There seemed to be some comments about Sharon that were slightly disparaging, and jokish, putting her down. I was not quite sure as I did not quite catch it, but it was very jokey and humorous. Then we discussed the holding class, i.e. the class for the students staying on for Monday morning while the new students are being tested. Eric asked who would be teaching which classes. I think this was because he did not want to teach the top classes, and Jaclyn pointed out that he would probably be teaching a lower class as he would be partnered with me. Jaclyn said she would not be telling us exactly what classes we would be teaching because she had made two sets of plans for this. However, she knew roughly who would be teaching what. She also said that she had found one section of the syllabus that had been missing, and she made a joke about this. This caused Mathew and Eric to make some light-hearted sarcastic comments that were not maliciously aimed at Jaclyn. These comments were about how important the syllabus was to them, the fact that they really had noticed this section of the syllabus was missing because they followed it so much. Eric made a point about how he did not think much of the syllabus, and Jaclyn said that it passed BASELT, and he replied that he did not think much of BASELT. This banter was not nasty but jokingly good-humoured. Then the meeting finished.

I went upstairs to the teachers' room; my lessons were more or less planned for the next day. I did something on the computer, getting something from it, and I had a chat with Eric about getting this from the computer, and the disks for the reports. Then I left.

3.10 Thursday 30th July

I arrived at the Harmer Building. Eric is going through the back door carrying some books and he apologises to me for not leaving the door open for me. I go into the basement to get a coffee. Mathew, Simon and Helen are there. Mathew and Simon are leaving and seem very busy. Helen is talking jokingly to the photocopier, making comments such as "Oh don't go wrong." I make a comment about it as well. I go upstairs. I notice the door to Jaclyn's office is open; I can hear talking coming from there. I go into our office. John is there in his normal place busily working. I say "Hello." He seems to take a long time to reply, he seems engrossed in his work. I ask him if he is preparing for his lessons. He replies "Oh don't tell me you've done it all before." I say "Well the reason is because I've got C.A.L.L. lesson so I don't need to plan." Eric comes in. I had arrived rather late actually, about 8.40, so Eric was leaving to go to his classroom. He comes in and says "Damm I forgot my file," and he had also forgotten a piece of paper which he had written an exercise on. He also searches for a floppy disk which contains the template for the reports which he had recently restructured with boxes. So he rushes in, gets what he has forgotten, and goes. Peter is looking for a book on teaching English through literature, which has poems in. I try to help him telling him where I think it is, next door, so he goes there to look for it. I go to see Jaclyn about Tokyo Group. She tells me the file for the course (which has taken place for several years) is in The Department office.

At break I go downstairs to the basement. Mathew is there. I discuss with him the subject of the proposed the new institution campus, because I found a leaflet on it. John comes in and out.

At lunch time, Simon and John are outside the back of the building chatting. I ask them if I have to go to the international evening. It seems that whilst it is not an absolute obligation, we should go, and that the teachers should organise some form of performance for it. However, none of us want to organise it. They talk about how before there were younger teachers who were more up for doing things like this. I go with Simon to get a sandwich from the shop nearby. He goes to get his hair cut at the hairdressers near to the sandwich bar. We have an informal chat on the way. I take my sandwich back to the basement.

Sophie is at the photocopier talking about the Greek teachers and how demanding they are. They want photocopies of everything, and they want her to do things which she cannot officially do like copies of video cassettes. She said they are nice but so demanding and it drives her mad. She leaves. Nathan and I are both reading a newspaper. Then Nathan brings up a point that a teacher who was on the TEFL MA/Diploma course at the institution that we had both known had just gone to prison for some form of

child sexual abuse. We were both very shocked about this. We went upstairs looking for the local paper to see if we could find any information about this. I then talk to Simon about this, who remembers this person and he says that he thinks TEFL might attract oddballs and people like that. I make the point that any profession where you dealing with people and there is a sense of power over others (e.g. social services, education, health) could attract people who wanted to take advantage of this.

After the afternoon lesson, I have a meeting with Jaclyn in her office. Her door is left open and occasionally people pop their heads round to see and say something. In fact she was having a meeting with Esther before, I had popped my head round to ask if I could come in. There are some quite disparaging comments about Eric because he was very critical of layout of the report form, and Jaclyn said he did not really know what he was on about. She did not really know what some of the criticisms were about. There seemed something critical about him that related to the previous years he had been teaching here. I then spent some time in the building on my own writing the reports on the computer. Whilst writing the reports, a couple of interesting things occurred to me. There was a running joke that was partly started by me that you should have a computer programme that randomly selects sentences for the reports (These reports have to be done at the end of every two weeks for the leaving students). Also, Linus spoke to me about how to write, and what to write in, the reports. I am sure he has written reports before, but he wanted to know exactly what was demanded for these ones. He had started teaching for Summer 2, so he had missed the Summer 1 discussion on reports. It was also interesting that there was a comment from Nathan when we wrote the reports for Summer 1. He said the classic structure of a report is "good comment, bad comment, good comment."

After finishing the reports, I did not have a lot of time and so I decided to go to a nearby pub, The Ship, to have dinner rather than go home. The Ship is close to the college campus, and is popular with lecturers and students. It is a small free house with a quirky landlord and interior decoration. Something quite interesting happened there. I was on my own sat having some dinner when a man walked into the bar. As soon as he entered and walked to the bar, I knew that he was a TEFL teacher or trainer. This was because of the way he looked, acted, and the way he behaved with his students. He came in on his own, and he went up to the bar ordered a drink and then sat down. Then he was quickly joined by his students who arrived individually or in small groups. I could tell his job firstly from the way he dressed: his baggy, slightly casual but scruffy clothes. He had a light-tan bomber jacket, a pair of pleated chinos. I could also tell from his behaviour. He was odd because he had this slight foreignness about him in his accoutrements: he had this handbag which was not English thing to have. I could also tell from the way he dealt with his students as they arrived, the way he negotiated the way of buying drinks because these people were confused about what to ask for, what to order. He made jokes about this. It was so typical of a TEFL teacher. His whole discourse with them used humour and jokes. His jokes were very poor. He mentioned that he lived in Japan. He constantly made cultural assumptions about Latin people, and about the Japanese. He used this cultural stereotypes all

the time in his conversation. As this happened I really reflected on myself. Is this the way I behave with students? His behaviour really shocked and repulsed me. At the same time, it made me realise that perhaps this is the way that I behave. Another aspect of this was that he and the students were sitting around two tables pushed together in an oval with about ten students, and he was controlling the discourse the whole time. Even as some students talked together and not in the plenary, his loud voice was there. He controlled the discourse in terms of whose turn it was to speak, and in terms of the subject of the conversation. The bar was rather small and everybody could hear what he was saying. A couple to the right of me, between the observed group and myself, moved away to another place in the bar, and I had a strong suspicion from the way they looked at the teacher and then moved that it was because of him that they moved. After about five minutes they had quietened down, but I looked over and it was evident that he was still controlling the discourse. From what I overheard, this drink was because of the end of the course, and he was giving each student an individual goodbye card, and on each card he asked each student to keep in contact and put his e-mail address on each one. He explained his e-mail address to them. He was very loud and tried to be funny all the time, and I found this quite repugnant. This frightened me because I wondered if this was something about myself. He was talking about himself, about going back abroad, back to Japan and what Japan was like. This was a social event, but in the way it was acted out: the way they were sitting around in a circle; the way when students arrived comments were made by him; the way they sat down; they way he went to order drinks for them. The whole thing was like a TEFL lesson. In that sense it was not like a normal social event that I would have with my friends at a pub. He was in control. I had a very strong suspicion that this group were from a language school nearby because some of the students mentioned one of the halls of residence, and it certainly was not the private school that was using the campus because they were adults. He was only here for a month. It should be noted that when I made these observations I had had two or three pints of beer and I was quite tired from working late.

Later in the evening after the pub, I went to the International Evening. First of there was Nathan and I, then Jaclyn. We were talking outside in front of the student union building where there is a small square with seating. This area was busy with us, our students and students from other language schools based at the campus. We broached a few subjects; we talked about work, about Eric being a bit difficult and his personal hygiene problems. Then we were asked (students and teachers) to enter the building by the social assistants. We went inside. The main function room is rectangular-shaped containing a long bar on one side, and opposite it a small stage. In between there is a dance floor, and depending on the occasion tables and chairs. Most of the teachers stood by the bar at the back and watched from there. There was seating for the show, but these places were not taken by the teachers but by the students. It was marked down on the programme for the evening that there would be a performance by the teachers, but none of the teachers wanted to do anything so we did not. Most of the teachers turned up, some later and some left earlier. We spent our time watching the show and talking. I had quite a lot to drink, so I cannot remember exactly what we spoke about, but it was generally work-related and personal things. Some of the teachers went off and

spoke to individual students during the evening. Then later when it turned into a disco, some of the teachers were forced by their students to go and dance with them, or actually danced of their own volition (e.g. Louise and Sara). I refused to be dragged into dancing even though I was asked. I think Jaclyn was one of the first to leave, then a few other teachers left early. Then I left at about 11pm with Sara who gave me a lift home.

3.11 Friday 31st July

I arrived and I had a hangover. Sara, because I had been drunk, asked me if I had a hangover this morning as I was coming in and she was coming out. I went in and went upstairs to the office. John was there. We discussed reports. Linus then arrived. I was talking to Linus about what he was doing last night, and he said that he was talking to students. From what he said about this, he seems to take some form of pastoral care of the students. He is interested in the welfare of the students inside and outside of the classroom. I said that I was not so interested now in the pastoral side outside of the classroom. I said that this was probably due to my experience teaching in France where I committed myself to some students in and out of the class helping them to pass an exam, and then did not receive any thanks for this. (More detail, about how I had worked so hard?). He said that he had taught kids in Japan, and perhaps that is where this side comes from with him. Last night, he talked to the students trying involve those in the evening who were on the periphery of the party, and were not really with friends, or were not taking part in the party much. I said that I did not bother to do this.

At break time, I got some headache tablets from Simon. He always keeps a ready supply. I saw Gwyneth, a secretary at the Overseas Unit office, she told me that she had come over to bring documents that she had forgotten to bring over. She was very friendly. I spoke to Jaclyn about my hangover, and about drinking.

3.12 Monday 3rd August

Summer 3

Unlike the first Mondays of Summer 1 and Summer 2, Jaclyn decided I would teach in the morning of Summer 3. This was slightly different to before. On the first Monday of Summer 1, no one taught because there were no students carrying over from previous courses. With the first Monday of Summer 2, some teachers had to teach because there were students staying on from Summer 1. It was decided then to put the teachers who had not been teaching on Summer 1 on teaching on the first day. This was because, I think, the teachers who were on Summer 1 had more experience of the testing. It was the reverse this time. Jaclyn decided this because she thought that the teachers who had been teaching on the previous course knew the classes well, while the teachers who were joining the Summer School did not know the classes at all. These teachers were completely new unlike the teachers who had missed Summer 1 and then joined Summer 2. The teachers that had missed Summer 1 had had previous experience of this summer school, and knew what was going on. The teachers that joined Summer 3 were completely new.

I arrived at the Harmer building quite early at 8.30. I immediately noticed arriving at the backdoor (where the car park is) that Simon and Sophie's car was there. I came in and went upstairs. I saw Nathan pass me on the stairs, and he said a nervous hello. I went up to our office. Nathan and asked me about the two bottom groups. Like myself and Sara, he was teaching the classes that had been formed for the morning. He was teaching the combination of the two bottom classes, and he wanted to know about the students. I think he thought that I had taught both the bottom groups. I explained that only taught the lowest group, and that there were two students remaining. He wanted to know if I knew anything about I.T., and I told him I did not know anything about it. He left. John came in and said "Good morning young man." I asked him if he was teaching and he said "No." I made a joke about him being lazy, and he said he was preparing something to do with CELTA exam and some students. He went. Eric came into the office. We talked about our class. We were not sure exactly what level it would be. I just knew it would be a lower one. We talked about options because he would be taking some of my options, while I did the Tokyo Group class. We talked about what content he would not mind doing. A new teacher came in, Terrence, whose name I was familiar with. I was trying to remember how I knew it. He did not really seem to be part of the group of teachers in our office. There was Eric and myself sitting down, and Terrence walked around, looking around. He made a comment about last year, which I did not get so I looked up while Eric seemed to ignore him. I said that I did not understand what he meant, and Terrence said that he meant was there any new materials here. I said I was not sure. He continued walking around looking at materials and then left. Nathan came in and asked me if it was okay if he did the lab for the second lesson, and I said I did not mind. I asked Eric if Terrence had been at a local private language school, because that is where I suddenly remembered him from. I think Terrence had interviewed me for a job seven or eight years previously (or more?). It was him. Eric knew him from observing classes when he was a full-time lecturer at the institution. Whilst I was here, I tidied up my desk because it had become very messy.

At break time, Jaclyn was in her office, her door was open. I went there, Nathan was sitting there. He wanted a sheet of something. I asked her why we were meeting at 2.30 this afternoon rather than at 2.00 as was the case on Summer 2. She explained that it was because there were not many students coming this time from the previous week, and there was something about more time for the students to shown around by the social assistants. I got a coffee from downstairs and I took it upstairs. The door to Mathew's office was lodged open which was unusual because I had not seen it open for some time. I saw a woman in there who I did not know but believe is from the department. She was doing something with the tapes. I think she is the one who has been re-recording the tapes. I went into our office and there was no one in there. I e-mailed Andrew. The whole building was extremely quiet this break time. There was nobody about. I think this is because all the other teachers are out testing on the main campus, and there were only three teachers who were teaching, with the addition of Jaclyn in her office.

Towards the end of teaching of the second class, Simon came in and said "Oops sorry." I think he came because he thought the meeting to go over the test results would be there. At lunch time I left my class and I heard all the teachers in HGO1. I went in there. It was very busy. There were new faces including Terrence. There was a woman; I do not know her name yet. There was Esther, a woman I knew from my MA (she was on the parallel course), plus Mathew, Eric, Jaclyn and I think Simon. I wanted to try and make myself useful. I did not seem to be wanted. I asked a couple of questions about how they were doing, but they seemed to be rather busy. I said "Is it okay if I go and get a sandwich?" and Jaclyn said "Okay" and that we were meeting later at about 2.00. I went to get a sandwich and as I came back, Terrence was at the door to the Harmer building. He needed help with the door code as he could not find the zero on the key pad. I asked him if he was not needed and he said no and that he was coming back for about 2.00. I popped inside HG01 to see what was going on. There were a few people left. I think it was Eric, the new woman and Mathew. There seemed to be a very serious atmosphere, almost as if there had been an argument beforehand. I noticed when I came in before they appeared to be having real problems about deciding classes; matching levels; and how the Nelson test fitted this out. They were discussing the method for testing they had used before. I think Louise was saying that they had used the Nelson test and a writing task, which seemed to annoy Eric. I went downstairs to have my sandwich in the basement. No one was there. I went back up. Eric was in there and I asked him how he was getting on. Jaclyn came in. She had the class lists; so we found out what level classes we would be teaching. It was going to be the third from bottom class. I went to the basement again and watched the news on the television. Then I came back up. There was just Eric working on his own, and I asked him if he had the bit of paper with our class lists on so I could check what room I would be in. The rooms were not marked down, so I assumed we would be told later. It seems an incredibly quiet lunch time, and I wonder if this is because everybody is off doing things on the main campus. Towards the end of the lunch break, I went to the basement to make some photocopies, and Terrence came in. I had a chat with him. I established that he was the director of studies at a local private language school, and mentioned that he interviewed me years before. He had asked me before how my research project was going on, so he must have been at the original meeting before Summer 1 started. I could not remember him. He obviously know about what I am doing. We talked about where I had taught, and he asked me about what kind of teaching I had done. I explained where I taught in France. We talked a little about the private local language school, and he recommended that I would be better off staying here. He mentioned that he had taught at another local private language school. We talked about E.S.P. Esther came in and sat near us, but did not join in our conversation. We then talked about Japanese students. I said that there was a spread of Japanese students at the lower levels (Jaclyn and Eric had told me this earlier). I asked him about how the marking was going. He said that it was always the same. The Japanese students' written level was always much better than their spoken level, which always caused a problem. He added that this written work is always one level above the spoken, and they always went into the lower group. Jaclyn came down to do some photocopying and asked us to go upstairs. She said "Come when you want." She did not order us. We went up to HG01, where we had to sort out the classes. Nathan

and Sara were not there. The rest of us were. We were given the classes (there were seven). The teachers included Nathan, Sara, Eric, and the new people Dominique, Terrence; and myself. That is all I can think of at the moment. There were some problems because the Tokyo Group, which I am responsible for, are being taken out of two afternoon sessions. Originally, I was going to have an extra teacher to replace me, but it was decided to combine my class with Esther's class. These two classes would be quite depleted of students during these option sessions, and they were roughly the same level with Esther's being slightly below mine.

Then we went to the lounge in the Students' Union to see the students. Jaclyn went to check if a room was open, because Eric was worried that it would be locked. So all the teachers went to the lounge, but without Jaclyn, so there was no one to give a main talk. It was rather strange. The lounge was crowded and sweaty. We found Sara and Nathan, who had been missing earlier. I made a tut-tutting remark that they should have been there. They said that they had been teaching this morning, and I replied "Well, so was I." I think they looked a bit annoyed, but I did not mean to annoy them. I meant to be humorous. All the teachers seemed a bit nervous, which was probably because they had to talk in front of all the students. I spoke in front everyone because I had to give a message to the Tokyo Group. Jaclyn arrived late, and then she told which teachers to speak first (the ones who had not already spoken). They had to give say the names of their students for their class, and then they follow the teacher to their class. There was some laughing about the teachers' pronunciation of the students' names. This happened each time when this was done at the beginning of a course.

After giving the class, I went back to the Harmer building and there was Louise, Nathan. and Esther in Jaclyn's office sitting there with Jaclyn. They were sorting out problems with course books: what books to use because there were clashes with students staying on from the previous course. I went in and joined them to sort out my problems. I had to go and see to see John who was with Simon in Simon's office. They were doing a teacher's course. I had to get information of him for the class I was doing because it contained students that he had previously taught. Then I went upstairs to our office and it was packed. There was Louise, Nathan and Sara who were sitting together sorting out problems. Eric was sitting there working. Esther was there. I joined her to sort out problems. I seemed to be dealing with several people at the same time. I had questions from Eric. Then Terrence came in and was dealing with problems with Eric. I had to pop out to find Mathew. I found him on the stairs. We had questions for each other. Then we came into the office. There were jokes particularly from Nathan, Sara and Louise about not knowing "what the hell is going on," and being very confused. The atmosphere was quite chaotic. There were many confusions about organising option classes, which were quite mixed; and there were problems organising options between classes that had been paired so that they could share options, therefore being able to offer more. There were also problems organising books. Gradually people disappeared. Esther hung on for quite a long time. She was almost on my back, and I was trying to get rid of her because I was telling her things but she still did not seem to know what to do and I lots of things to do myself. Luckily, Eric came and helped her out, and

helped me out. It was very tiring day. Although whilst I am recording these notes it is only 5.25, there was a great deal of things to do. It seems that most of the teachers have gone, but some of them are returning tonight for the student disco at the student union tonight. I am not going, because I went to the party last Thursday.

3.13 Tuesday 4th August

When I arrived at the Harmer building, there was Jaclyn and Simon entering the building at the same time. I went to the basement to get a cup of coffee. Nathan was there sitting in a corner. He asked about social evening the night before, and said "Well you probably didn't go did you?" We both had not gone, and we agreed that this was acceptable because we had been to enough student social evenings. We had both been to the International night last Thursday, and he had also gone to the Greek teacher evening the previous Friday. I went to the offices upstairs to get a key from Jaclyn to go to the cupboard to get a cassette for the book I am using, because the course book I am using for my 9.00 class (Intermediate Choice) does not have copies of the tapes, so I had to get the original copies of the tapes. The door was closed to Jaclyn's office, and I knocked. I went to the office upstairs and I was on my own. Sara came in, and I said "We don't see you here very often up in our den." She repeated this word "den". I think I invented this term, and I wonder if it is going to become common currency. After that I went into the 9.00 class. There was one thing that was interesting about teaching this class. I was teaching in a large room with large EFL class (14 students) and I had them for the introductory 2.30 class on Monday. I left the desks as they were: spread around and not in a horse shoe shape. The students sat around the desks in groups. One group being the new Japanese Tokyo Group students; the other being mostly the students who were there before (mostly European with two Japanese). I left them like that; I did not move the desks. However, this morning I got in there earlier and I moved the desks into the traditional horse shoe shape. I must admit that once I had done that what was interesting is that I felt far more comfortable, far more relaxed in that position. As the students sat there, I felt far more confidant, more relaxed, I felt that I could handle things a lot better.

At the end of the lesson Esther came into the class (ZG8). Esther is doing my class at 11.00, and she needed help on a couple of matters pertaining the class. I was talking to her about some teaching issues, I cannot remember what, and she seemed very occupied and uninterested. One of her problem was to do with tape recorders: the fact that we moved them about and we had to carry them. There were other administrative problems, e.g. do we give the students the course books for the 11.00 class. After that, I went to the Harmer building and I went to see Jaclyn about the Tokyo Group class. She told me that I would need to see the head of the department about the special report forms they would need. I also found out that in the reports the students can only be graded with As and Bs, and nothing lower. I saw Nathan outside his classroom (HG01) and then went into the classroom. Nathan came in, and then Louise. They were talking about what the classes were like, and they were making jokes about me spying. What was interesting was that they were talking normally about the class, and when they were making jokes about me spying, Nathan began to spout things off, acting out what I would like to hear as a researcher for a humorous effect. So he was

spouting off buzz words in EFL, e.g. "group work", "realia", "suggestopeadia", I think there were a couple more. This was a random selection of appropriate buzz words. As I walked out to go the toilet, I saw Simon and John outside the back door smoking. I went to the basement, and it seemed particularly busy now. Jaclyn came in and gave us a message about Dominique and her baby, that someone was looking after her baby (because she sometimes goes and sees her baby at lunch time) and had taken it to a town nearby, where she lives. Simon and Linus were discussing the teachers' courses: a problem student and problems with the course, problems with dealing with the needs of the students. It seemed that what the students wanted was a list of ideal lessons. Simon and Linus said you could just write them and photocopy them out. Simon said there is always one problem student. Sitting down there was Terrence, Esther and Linus. I think Linus made a joke about me spying, and we were talking about various issues: particularly Japanese students. I think I brought up the issue of the Tokyo Group, the course I am in charge of. I made the point that the attitude of Japanese students can depend on the university they are from in Japan because I had taught students from different universities and they can have completely different attitudes. Terrence completely agreed with me. I talked to Linus about teacher training, about how I wanted to do teacher training next year, and that I was not doing any teacher training this year particularly because of my research, i.e. this field work. All the other teachers left, but Linus and I were free for that period. We went upstairs. I went up to the top. We chatted about the problems of marketing at the institution, recruiting students, particularly for teachers' courses. We thought that there was some bad marketing going on compared to other private language schools. During the free period, I went over to the Overseas Unit. I would not say that I got a frosty reception. I went into Gwyneth's office where there were two other people who more or less ignored me. Gwyneth was on the phone, but once she finished she was smiling and very helpful. I then came back to the Harmer building to phone Peter about Tokyo Group (he was the course director last year). I phoned him from Sandra's office. The woman who works for the department and does the tapes was around helping Jaclyn. She came into the office, and she obviously wanted to use either Sandra's computer or the phone. There was not much she could do because it was an important phone call for me. Then afterwards, I was going upstairs and I saw the head of the Department and Jaclyn with a group of people in their twenties or above, who were quite smartly dressed. Amongst them, I saw an old colleague, Bob from a adult education college with whom I had worked in 1996. I had a chat with him, and I found out that they were being interviewed for Sara's job.

I then went to the basement, and I had lunch on my own. I went upstairs and I saw Nathan in our 'den'. He was looking at lot of newspapers, and I said "I guess I know what you're teaching" and he replied "Yes." We discussed newspapers and the appalling quality of certain newspapers. Then I went to check out my classroom (ZG28) for the afternoon class. I bumped into John having a cigarette, and he further informed about the events involving Julian and prison. After the lesson, I took one of the students (Kei) over to the Department secretary. He is the elected student leader and he needed to give a letter and a gift to the head of the Department. So I went to get him an appointment. I went to get a drink. I then went to the lab

because I was seconding on the lab (at the beginning of a course, two teachers are on lab duty because more students may want help. The second teacher usually leaves after 10 to 15 minutes.) I ended up having a chat with one of the students (Marcia) from the 9.00 who was dissatisfied with the group. She said she represented a some of the students of the group, which I believe are the Europeans. She said that they felt that the class was too easy, and easier than the class they had had in the previous course. This is something that I am going to have to sort out. This kind of problem of level has happened to me many times before. This will have to involve Jaclyn. There is also the problem that this class is combined with a lower class for options when I have the Tokyo Group students. I went to see Jaclyn; she was not there. I went to ask Simon if he knew when she was coming back. He said that it would be after they interviewed the prospective new teachers. I said "There's trouble at mill." He replied "Oh tell me. I love a bit of gossip." I told him about the level problems. Nathan came in and seemed annoyed because I was not in the lab. I said that I had done my stint, and he said "Well, you didn't help much." In fact, I was talking to Marcia. I made a joke saying "Oooh, isn't she annoyed!" as he left. Then afterwards, I was a bit embarrassed because I thought that he must be quite annoyed with me. Later when I was upstairs, he came in and he did not say anything. He left, and later he came in and he did speak to me. I was probably a bit paranoid. On the whole, it was a very busy day for me. It was busy because of all the work, of later doing the notes, and sorting out the Tokyo Group even though I had a free lesson.

3.14 Wednesday 5th August

So far this has been a fascinating day. I pointed out yesterday the trouble I was having with some of the students because of level. This has developed more today. I arrived at the Harmer building on my bicycle. Esther was trying to get through the door, and then she entered. I had a chat with her about the class. I do not think I had seen her yesterday to talk about it. She said that some of the students said that their level was too low, and she told them to see Jaclyn. I saw Nathan, and he said that when he was doing the lab he had seen Denise (one of my students) waiting outside of Jaclyn's office. Jaclyn was not there; she was interviewing. Nathan asked her what she was waiting for. She said that her class was too low. Therefore, Marcia was not only person who thought that the level was too low. I realised that there was a real problem in hand. So I went to see Jaclyn in her office before class. First of all she was on the phone, so I went later and she was free. I sat down, spoke to her, the door was open and halfway through the discussion she had to answer the phone. But she was always very helpful. I pointed out the main problems and possible solutions: this would be for the 2.00 class to put them with a higher group, then perhaps make the morning classes more challenging. In addition to this, perhaps find out if the Japanese Tokyo Group students were the cause of some of the problems. I then went over to The department. I was a bit late, and a bit hurried because I had been speaking to Jaclyn for so long. Mathew and John were there. Mathew was on the photocopier and John was sitting down working very busily. I think that both of them are involved with teachers' courses now, so they are based more at The department. The secretary was not there. I did speak to John, but he was very busy, and he was not as chatty as he normally is.

Then there was the class, which went, I felt, reasonably well. I was rather nervous about doing it. What was interesting is that this issue of Marcia complaining really affected me, and really made me think. It had concerned me the whole of the previous evening. I was almost blaming myself about what I was doing in the classroom, and then trying to justify this to myself, trying to make a position, trying to think about what I would say to them.

After the class one of the students (Denise) came up to me and spoke to me about the issue. I then asked the students who wanted to talk to me to stay, and we spoke about it. A new student, Marica, who was the only new non-Japanese student, hung around with the students who were complaining. She was behind them, and gave the impression that she was not to sure whether to stay or go. Then eventually she went off during the course of the discussion. We had quite a long discussion which took up most of the break. Esther came in during this discussion, and I explained that I was talking to them. She said "Do you want me to be there?" and I replied "I don't mind. You can stay or you can go." She left. According to the complaining students, the Tokyo Group students were a problem, and because they said that, I explained to them how though they seem to be lower than them, they do have a higher level than it appears. One of the students seemed to know that. There were two Japanese students there within this group, Hide and Akiko (who were also in the same class in the previous course). I explained as a form of justification of the presence of the Tokyo Group students that the Japanese education system does not place and emphasis on speaking, and so the new students may have a good passive knowledge of the language in terms of grammar, reading and writing. Hide and Akiko agreed with this assumption. Then I went through each lesson trying to find out what problem was through examples. They felt that the 9.00 lesson on Tuesday was too easy because it was just speaking. I explained to them that it was a diagnostic exercise which took a lot longer than I had planned, in fact taking the whole lesson. In retrospect, it might have taken so long because of the Japanese students. I then went on to talk about the 11.00 lesson. They did really have any concrete examples, but said it was easier. However, the real crux of the problem was the 2.00 lesson; the fact that they spent an hour and a half looking at essentially an elementary grammar point with Esther (present simple versus present continuous), and they felt that that was beneath them. I negotiated with them and suggested two possible solutions: one was to move to a higher class, as I had suggested to Jaclyn, and one was to change the 11.00 lesson course book to a higher level (Pre-Intermediate) working through quickly. They seemed disgruntled, but they seemed to accept this second solution. I can only remember once previously in my teaching career when I have had such disgruntlement from a sizeable group in a class, usually it is just one or two individuals. The previous example was at the beginning of my teaching career in 1991at a private language school in another town. I think I learnt from this that even though I hate dealing with this problem, you have to bash it out with them and discuss it. It is best to air these problems. I wonder if Esther ran off because she felt a bit embarrassed about the whole thing.

The students said that Esther did not talk to them about this problem when they brought it up, and just told them to go and see Jaclyn. I explained that Esther was new and that is why she did that. I think I got her off the hook by saying that. After this discussion, most of the students left apart from Hide and Akiko who were talking to each other. Hide spoke to me afterwards and said that Japanese students need to be in a higher level even if there speaking is not so high. It was nice that they spoke to me separately. Then I left ZGO8 and on the way to the Harmer building I saw Terrence outside the Student Union, where I always seem to see him. I said to hello to him and we spoke about our classes. I explained my problems to him using the term "They are putting up the barricades." Then Eric joined us, and the conversation turned to Eric and Terrence talking about their classes, particularly Terrence's 9.00 class, which is taught by Eric at 11.00. They were talking about the levels, and how some of the people who are getting better, but there is one person who is a zero beginner and really needs a lower class. I said that they should not accept zero beginners. Eric agreed and then said "But some slip through." Then Eric and I left walking to the Harmer building. I explained my problem very briefly. Then I saw John on the way, and I said that I needed to speak to him because I wanted to find out how he had dealt with the materials at 9.00 when taught the class with the complaining students. He had been using the same book as me (Intermediate Choice), but the students said it seemed a higher level when he was teaching them. As I went into the Harmer building, there was Jaclyn about to leave and I asked if I could see her to talk about the Overseas Unit and the Tokyo Group course. However, unfortunately she was leaving to see the head of the department, but she said she would try and see me in the afternoon. I also found out, I think from Louise, that the woman who is helping out here doing the recording is called Tina. That was the first time I had found out about her name.

At lunch time, I went downstairs after going to get a sandwich. There was nobody there in the basement. I then went upstairs into our office. Eric was there using the Internet on the computer to look for jobs. In fact it was something he had down loaded. He had been sent an e-mail with information. We discussed how he actually accessed it, and the system he used. In fact it was a sample of an on-line jobs magazine which he was interested in. It was a system that you had to pay and subscribe to. It was clear from this that he was looking for a job, and he was discussing the type of jobs he was looking for. We discussed jobs, particularly abroad, e.g. the benefits of working in central and south America, Mexico and so on, as opposed to the Middle East which did not interest him. We talked about the plusses and minuses of each area. Terrence arrived in the office, and joined in this conversation, which I withdrew from. Esther came in, I got her attention and she sat near me at the table. I talked to her about some of the decisions I had made with my 9.00 class, and the options that were available for her in the afternoon meeting. I tried to say in such a way that I was not her blaming her for her lessons. I said that I would change my 9.00 class, and suggested that perhaps she did the same for the 11.00. After that Terrence and Esther compared their lessons; the ones that they had had before.

The meeting started reasonably promptly. The first people to arrive, as per usual, were the teachers: John, Mathew, Dominique, Eric, Terrence, Esther, myself, Sara, and then Jaclyn. When we came in one set of tables were set up as half the usual horseshoe shape. The others were in a block. There was confusion about where to fit, and so we formed two separate seating groups. I mentioned that the psychology of this incident was interesting. There were some light-hearted comments made about this. Jaclyn started the meeting straight away with out much chatting beforehand. There were no the Overseas Unit representatives. She went through each teacher's 9.00 class checking the list of students (who was there, who was not). She started with Dolphins. She asked for comments about any of the new students, and any other comments about the classes: what books they were using and so on. This went through Mathew, who ran through the names and talked about the general level of the class, anyone who was missing and the book they were using. During this point, Eric threw either a piece of paper or an apple core across the class behind Jaclyn at the bin, which missed. There were some jokes made; it was taken very lightly. There were jokes about him being a bad student, and having challenging behaviour. Then it went to Dominique and the process was the same as with Mathew. Then it was my turn, and I described the problem of my class. In fact, Jaclyn knew about this. I suggested my possible solutions: up-tempoing the 9.00 lessons with me; then changing the course book at 11.00; and changing the option classes at two. What happened in the meeting was that the 11.00 class was not a problem and Esther agreed. The real problem was 2.00 because Dominique's class had been combined with Mathew's (the one above it). Certain activities really crossed over, so it would be difficult to split the two classes up and combine Dominique's with mine. However, because they were doing CALL on Thursday, and I had being doing it at 9.00, I could swap so that my students could go to CALL for the option and I would not do it in a 9.00 class. Then the only real change for Mathew and Dominique would be next Tuesday's option, where she would have to take them for vocabulary. During this discussion, Eric said that when he has a new class, he always does the lessons on the first and second day two levels up from their actual level. The idea being that it throws the class and then no one would complain about the class being too easy; some might complain about it being too hard. None of the others commented on this. When I spoke to John later about how he approached this class in terms of materials, he said he did much the same thing. The suggestions I made were accepted and everything seemed to be sorted out and was fine. It then went on to Terrence, and there was a problem about a student being too low for the group, which he had mentioned earlier to me. There was not much he could do about it. This Italian student was an absolute beginner in what was essentially an elementary class. I think Jaclyn mentioned the expression "He slipped through the net" because absolute beginners should not be taken on. Terrence tried to reinterpret what this student had said about the course book being too difficult, Eric interpreted it humorously using exaggerated Italian mannerisms and Italian mixed with English. The process went round to the other teachers and there were few other problems. Finally, at the end of what had been rather a quick meeting probably because of the absence of the Overseas Unit, Jaclyn reminded everybody about registers and work records, and there was also a mention about not forgetting the reports for next week. She also mentioned the fact that she would be coming to sit in on some classes. I made the point, a bit awkwardly I

think, that when she came into my class during Summer 1, I did not realise that she was observing the lesson; I thought was checking the noise that was coming from building works outside the classroom as this had been a problem we had discussed.

There were other additional points that were made at the meeting. John said that one of the International Teacher course students (who was Japanese) wanted to return to the General Course because he found it to difficult. Then the issue of chalk was mentioned, and where we could get it from. I think Jaclyn asked and I said probably from Audio-Visual, and then Mathew said there was some in the Department office. He was surprised to hear that you can get it from Audio-Visual, and I said "Well, you can get board pens there in packets of four." This developed into a condom joke about packets of four. This joke developed into a discussion about when the Health Education research people at the institution were doing A.I.D.S. awareness. Jaclyn gave a long anecdote on this, which other people commented on, particularly Eric who must have been teaching here when this was happening. The awareness programme included the Health Education people giving demonstrations on using condoms on bananas with the students and they wanted to distribute condoms with instructions in different languages to the students. However, the head of the department would not allow this. I then asked about whether the Department office was going to be open at break and lunch times. Jaclyn explained that it was still going to be impossible to have it open all the time; possibly because Elaine the secretary was the only one there as Claudia the part-timer was on holiday at the moment. So it was still a problem. Eric said he could not believe that the head of the department had not done anything about it, and that he would have a word with the head of the department. Then there was discussion about the distribution of keys to the Department office. There would be some keys, but the problem would be where you put them because there would not be enough for everybody. The discussion led on to the fact that there was a key in Sara's office, and perhaps there would be keys in YF05, the office for the teacher trainers. However, there was ironic situation that you need a key to get into YF05. This led to some jokes about this. After the meeting, I had a chat with John on the stairs. Originally, I had arranged to see Jaclyn immediately after the meeting but Esther went to see her, so I went to see John. I found it quite difficult to understand how he approached the materials in the book, and how he used the book. There was a misunderstanding between us, and he said, rather stridently, I always teach grammar in context as if what I had said to him assumed that he always used some form of deductive approach to teaching grammar. I did not really understand what he was getting at and how he taught the language, but we arrived at some idea of what to do and the differences in the way we approached the materials. I got the idea, more or less, that he used supplementary materials to beef up the grammar in the course book, and he used harder materials homework. In re-planning the 9.00 lesson for Thursday, but because I had originally planned for I.T., I felt that the grammar was more or less adequate in the book but needed a bit extra practice. I could not understand what John needed to do beyond it apart from perhaps more explanation. He is as experienced as I am as a teacher. Much of the grammar explanation and the conceptualising around it, I just

my own teaching experience and memory. I have built up a personal database of ways of approaching grammar in terms of conceptualisation, concept questions, and diagrams to represent ideas.

I went to meet Jaclyn and when I arrived Sara was sitting in there and the door was closed. As I approached the door Sara say me through the window in the door and signalled for me to come through. I came in and sat beside her, and I was not too sure what their conversation was about. Then, they were talking about the interviews that had happened on the previous day, and apparently the person who has been offered the job was Nigel. I knew him as he had worked at the Harmer building for a term the previous autumn. This job, to replace Sara, was open because she was going to work in Malaysia for the institution for a year, but as that fell through she had resigned because she wanted to work abroad again. We were discussing the candidates and I mentioned that I knew one of them. In fact, in the meeting before Jaclyn had said the type of problem that happened in my class with the Japanese level problem was one of the problems had been set to the candidates. Jaclyn said that they were all good candidates, but the reason they chose Nigel was because he fitted in to exactly what they wanted: in terms of experience teaching multinational classes; in terms of his particular interests counterbalanced the interests of other members of staff, i.e. CALL and drama, which no of the others were interested in. She said that it is always not a question of the capabilities of the people but how they fit in for them to get chosen. I mentioned that Sara is leaving and that her desk would be free until Nigel arrived. We then got on to a conversation about offices, and allocations of desks. Jaclyn said that sometimes the powers that be at the institution look at it in a different way. You cannot just allocate desks and offices to people. You can end up having a geography lecturer next door to you. She said that when they moved to the Harmer building, she decided who would share the offices on a balance of people. Then I brought up, in a joking way, of birth signs and how that could fit in, and then palm reading, feng shui. We then talked about birthdays, and Sara mentioned when her birthday was. We had quite a long, trivial conversation before the serious stuff started. Sara left, and I got onto the subject of Tokyo Group. I had quite a long meeting discussing various aspects of the course including the financing and budgeting, organising trips, the syllabus and the remission (time off) I got. After the meeting I went over to see my Ph.D. supervisor, so I spent an hour with him We discussed my research in general and research in general including the work he is doing. During the end of the tutorial, Jaclyn rang to ask if I needed to go back to the Harmer building because she was leaving the building. I went back to building, and there was only Jaclyn there, and then I left.

One point that came out of my tutorial was that I had so far mentioned in the notes is that whenever a teacher uses the word "communicative", it is always usually prefixed with words such as "activities," "section of the class," and so on. These activities are almost always referring to oral fluency activities.

3.15 Thursday 6th August

These notes were not done recorded onto cassette until Friday because I was so busy on Thursday and by the evening I fancied a rest because I had done so much work the previous evening. As I was arriving at the

level crossing just before the Harmer building, I bumped into Esther. We walked the last 20 metres to the building together, and I asked her about the new book she was using for the 11.00 class. She told me what it was and that she had never used it before. I said I would talk to her about it. We went into the Harmer building. I went upstairs. The place seemed busy. Linus was running around looking for a copy of Headway Pre-Intermediate for his teacher training course. He could not find it in neither our room nor the resources room next door. This was because it was being used as a course book so all the copies were out. Later, when I was downstairs in the basement doing some photocopying, he said he needed a book that teaches grammar communicatively, which he thought Headway Pre-Intermediate did. Esther and I both tried to find a copy for but we were unsuccessful.

At the end of the first lesson, Esther came in to bring her stuff for teaching in. We were talking about chalk and where to get it. This problem had come before. The chalk at the department was in a limited supply, broken and only yellow. She said she wanted different colours. Then later walking past the Union back to the Harmer building in the pathway going up to the gate, I bumped into Nathan and Louise. We talked about having a leaving party for Sara and when to have it. Simon joined us, and then Sara. After much negotiation we decided on an evening, the next day, Friday. We agreed to meet in a pub, she said she wanted something informal, and we would invite everybody else. The idea would be that we could stay in the pub and the older people, those who wanted to leave, could do so and the party goers could stay.

Then I went to see Jaclyn in the Harmer building in her office, but she was on the phone. I wanted to see her to ask her what code you used on the phone to get an external line. She told me, and so I could phone Derek, the chief social organiser. I had seen the female social organiser, who I believe is his girlfriend, in the Student Union when I got a drink and I asked her if he was around and apparently he was. I phoned him to arrange a meeting with him about the Tokyo Group. He arranged to meet me at 11.30 in his office in the Overseas Unit building. After that, I went to make some photocopies downstairs. John came in and he wanted to ask me some questions about doing a Ph.D. at the institution: the scholarship, what you do. This was because it had been suggested to him by Gus that he could do it.

Then I went to see Derek in his rather small office. Everyone was very informally dressed here. I informally negotiated some areas of the Tokyo Group course concerning him booking up various educational visits (the local church and heritage museum), booking a visit to London and the Houses of Parliament which would be combined with the Hong Kong students course. In our discussions, it became clear that Derek was not aware that the Overseas Unit was supposed to arrange some kind of trip on the August Bank Holiday which fell on a Monday, as there would not be any classes that day.

After that, I went to the Department office to some photocopies on acetates. I went over there and Elaine was leaving. I felt a bit embarrassed to ask for the key, but she was actually going to the toilet and she

explained to my why she had to lock the office, because of people stealing things. She was very nice, very chatty and I had quite a long chat with her about various things including a teacher I know who would be teaching Italian for The department.

I then went to lunch in the basement. Mathew was there, but we ate without speaking to each other that much. I then went upstairs, and then to my class slightly early because I wanted to arrange things in the room; make sure that everything was ready. I felt that with a class of twenty-four, the Tokyo Group class, I like to be there earlier so that I can get everything sorted out. I arranged to get there at 1.50, but I bumped into a Ph.D. history student I knew and had a chat with him. What happened was when I did get there at 1.55, the room, ZG28, was locked and all the desks had been piled up at one end. This was a bit of nightmare as all the students were waiting outside. So, I left my bag and ran off to find Jaclyn. I went to the Harmer building and she was not there. I asked other teachers where she was, and they did not know. I found Mathew and he said "Oh, she's over in the Department office." I went over to the Department office. The problem was that there were two ways of getting there from the Harmer building, I could miss her. John was walking over, so he said he would go one way, and I could go the over. I bumped into Jaclyn on the way. I told her about the problem. She seemed slightly withdrawn about it, and she suggested that I take them up to the computer lab. I said that there were several classes in the lab already, and she suggested that I take to one of the empty classrooms that the classes at the lab normally use. So I took them to a class, YF02, got them in there, and there was another problem. There was no video recorder in the room, and I intended to use the video in the lesson. So, I had to go to the classroom next door to borrow the video recorder and television, which was a mobile stand, from John. I wheeled into the classroom, and did the lesson slightly late, but it went well. After that, I quickly came back to the Harmer building, checked my lesson plans for the next day, and went home very early (compared to when I normally leave after planning lessons). I did this because it was a very hot day, and I felt I needed a break to get away from things.

3.16 Friday 7th August

As I arrived at the Harmer building, I had a chat with the head of the department, who was there to find out about Kei (the Tokyo Group student representative who wanted to see the head of the department to give him a present and a letter from a professor at the Tokyo Group university. the head of the department seemed a bit reluctant about Kei coming to visit him, and he had sent me an e-mail saying that he could come on Thursday morning. However, I had not checked my e-mail until Thursday lunch time. the head of the department was about to go on holiday and so he suggested that Kei could see him after this. I said that it is not to see him officially, it is just to give him a present. So, I left it at that. I went into the building, and upstairs to our office. Unusually Sara was sitting there (because she had her own office and so did not use the room very often) looking at a book. Nathan came in and made a humorous comment to Sara saying "What are you doing here; this isn't your place," and he said something about taking her desk. I sat down, I was drinking a can of drink, and I was not really doing much work. I chat to Sara about something I had heard about the Welsh language on the radio this morning (she is Welsh and a Welsh speaker.) Then our

conversation went on to language planning, national languages, dialects, sociolinguistics and so on. These themes were started by myself. Before we had that chat, when Nathan was here, I said "I'm going to have to do something rather embarrassing," and Nathan said "Oh what hang out all your towels and that." Nathan and Sara made a joke about this. So I hung my towel and trunks on the radiator below the window (as I did normally after my morning swims before work). I then said "No, what I've got to do is change from my shorts into my trousers." When I cycled into work, I normally wore shorts and then changed into trousers in our office. This was taken lightly and Sara said she would not look over. I got changed.

After the 9.00 class ended, as usual Esther came in to set her things up for the following lesson (e.g. teaching materials and tape recorder). We did not really talk about much. I left the classroom and around the gateway between the Student Union and the Harmer building, I bumped into Terrence as I often did at this time. He asked me how class was getting on, calling them "the terrible turtles." He was obviously aware of the problem because it had been discussed in the Wednesday meeting. I said that they seemed all right, but they were essentially two different classes: the Tokyo Group and the ones who had been there before. Then he talked about his class, and some of the problems there with the different levels in it. He told me "I sold it to them" meaning that he had sold a way of getting across this problem by using a book with different levels, and using different levelled exercises from the book. I said "Well, yeah I sold it to mine as well." I went into the Harmer building for break time; I went upstairs and Eric was sitting in my place. Perhaps he was sitting there because he had been using the computer, which was switched on. My place at the rectangle of desks was adjacent to the table which the computer was on. I sat in my old position with my back to the window, and I said that I was taking over his class, which he knew. He talked about the class, what it was like, and he talked about the class as a whole saying that they behave like this, they behave like that. For example, he said that they do not like structured activities; they like to do things on their own; they are quite good for doing communicative activities from Reward Pre-Intermediate Resource pack and they quite liked that. I then reminded him about telling the Tokyo Group students in his class that they would be having normal classes this afternoon, i.e. not with me. I had also told Terrence this message and hoped that it had got round to other teachers who had Tokyo Group students in their classes.

I then went downstairs to have a coffee, but also in the basement to update these recorded notes. I started that and then Sara and Louise came in. I was speaking into to the tape recorder, and I turned it off. It was a kind of "caught in the act situation." I pretended to hide the tape recorder, and jokes were made about that by them saying such things as "We know what you are doing." Then they started to develop a conversation with me about my Ph.D. Louise particularly wanted to know about how this was worked out with my teaching; what my status was as a full-time student; the money I got; what year I was in; when would it be completed; when they could get to read about it; and so on. This was quite light-hearted. Sara left to go to her class for 11.00. Louise stayed and we talked about sport. Sara came back to check something with the photocopier. I went up to the photocopier. Then Louise and I left.

At lunch time, I spoke to Mathew and we discussed Sara's leaving do. We then discussed cricket. Sara came to the basement, and I discussed with her a problem that had come up in the meeting about the head of the department and making copies. The fact that he did not want us to use the photocopier in the Department office, yet in the photocopier in the Harmer building was inadequate for some tasks, and was not near some teachers' classrooms. I went upstairs and Nathan was there in our office. I helped to use the printer for the computer. He had some problems with it. We discussed lessons. John was reading a book on the stairs.

After my afternoon lesson, I got a can of drink from the Student Union. In front of the building were most of our students. There perhaps others but I was not sure. I said hello to Carolina, a student from the July courses. I went to the Harmer building. I spoke to Terrence about the "Whales" class and he told me about individual students. Then I saw Esther and Jaclyn while was with Terrence. In fact we were just outside Jaclyn's office and we were talking about how some students focus all their work in college. I think it was a discussion about how lessons are becoming far more directed to materials such as those in the self-study ones in the lab so that students could work on their own. This go onto the subject of how some students use the lab times in the afternoons more than others. We then discussed how some students thought that the only way they can improve their English is by working very hard in the lab, while we thought that the social aspects of mixing with other people, and talking to other people also helps to consolidate their English. Then Jaclyn suggested, and I agreed, that this is something to do with certain students having pressures from work or home which makes them think that they have got to work very hard and feel that they have got to use their time as valuably as possible. So they use self-study centres as much as possible.

On Friday evening at 8.00, I went to a local pub which is often frequented by foreign students, for Sara's leaving do. I bumped into Sara and Louise outside, and then inside we found Nathan, his wife, Esther sitting in a secluded corner of the garden. We made jokes about this. Then we were joined by Mathew. We had quite a lot to drink and it was an enjoyable evening. I did not note down what we said at the time; what we were exactly talking about, but I think it was mixture of work, and then personal things talk over as the main topic of conversation, and tended to dominate. At one point during the evening when we had all had quite a few drinks, Sara tried to find out what the themes of my research was. I evaded telling her the truth because I was worried that this might cause problems if she or the other teachers thought I was being critical of their professional practices.

3.17 Monday 10th August

I arrived at the Harmer building after having been to the pool. Sara was outside carrying a cup of tea that she had bought from a sandwich bar in town, because she preferred it the stuff that was served in the machine in the Harmer building. Inside I went up to my office. Mathew was there, and I was sitting there in my normal chair. I was trying to find a place on a cassette, and I had a chat with Mathew and asked if he

knew where the Whales class were being taught, because I would be teaching them at 11.00. He did not know. I went to Jaclyn. Her door was closed and there was an older woman, who I thought was foreign, talking to her so I decided not to disturb them and went to Simon's office. I asked him about the room and he did not know. We had a chat about Friday, and he wanted to know what went on because he could not make it. We talked about the weekend and what we got up to. I then went out and Jaclyn, Sara and Nathan were in the doorway of Sara's office. I talked to Jaclyn about the rooms. She wanted to know about the heat differences between rooms. She wanted to know if I wanted to use other rooms instead of my present rooms, and she told me what rooms are available, because it was such a hot day today. I then went upstairs. Esther was there in the office. I spoke to her about the heat, but she seemed very quite and was not that interested in talking.

At break, I left the class but came back to the class because I had forgotten my register. Esther had come into the class as usual, and I said to her that I had forgotten my register. She said that she had forgotten hers too. Walking back to the Harmer building, I bumped into Terrence. Later I bumped into him and Esther outside of the Harmer building discussing something to do with work. Esther left and I spoke to Terrence asking him if the students I was going to teach had copies of the course book, and he said they did. He then asked me about the weekend. He had seen me at the weekend on a beach at a town nearby but had not gone up to speak to me. He said he had not wanted to disturb me. I went to the basement to have a coffee, and it was unusually busy. In fact Louise came in and said "This has become the new staff room." There were no students at all. There was Simon and Dominique sat down discussing ageing, and gossip about ex-TEFL Diploma/MA students. Nathan came in, Louise came in, Sara was there, and Esther was there. Most of the discussion that acted at a group level was about the weekend, particularly about what happened at the Friday do, and who was drunk. Nathan said he was very drunk. Someone asked me how drunk I was. I said I classified it on the scale of one to ten, say I was about four or five. Then a few other people said what there classification was on this scale.

At lunch time, as I was leaving the Harmer building, where I had been teaching (in HF03), Simon was having a cigarette outside. He was scratching his testicles, and I made a comment about this. He said that he probably does it all the time without realising it. I went to buy a sandwich from a shop, and I returned to the basement. I was alone. Then coming up the stairs I met Mathew. I asked him if I could swap lab times with him because I found out on Sunday evening that a French friend of mine was coming on Tuesday and I wanted to see him, but I was doing lab then. Mathew said it was not possible because he had already swapped his Monday session with Terrence, and he had done Friday. I went upstairs, and I heard an old lady shouting outside in front of the building. She sounded like a drunk. Esther came up and I asked her as a joke if she was the person who had been shouting. She was looking for a pronunciation book, and I tried to help her. Then I was preparing my lesson for the afternoon, and I helped Nathan find a particular type of vocabulary exercise and I guided him to one in Headway Upper-Intermediate. Later on during the lunch

break (at about 1.40), I bumped into Terrence and I asked if he could change lab classes. He said it would be possible, and he was very helpful. He asked me how I found his class, we discussed individual students and the class as a whole. He mentioned how did some exercises from Headway Pre-Intermediate (or Elementary, I am not too sure), which were very structural exercises in the review of previous units. He said "I did this which was very uncommunicative." He said that he expected the Japanese students to do better at writing than at speaking, and some of them did not follow this pattern. He then questioned me about my research, and try to explain to him what it was about in the vaguest terms possible. This was because of my lack of clarification about the themes rather than because I was trying to be difficult.

Later, after class, I saw Mathew on the stairs. I said to him that it was okay, that I had swapped classes for Tuesday. Then I went into the lab and Dominique was already there. She was the second person responsible for the lab, me being the first this time. She wanted to know about my diet. This subject had come during the morning break, as I had over the previous ten months lost a lot of weight, and I had changed my appearance with shorter hair and no beard. She wanted to know how I achieved this. In the conversation, I got to find out that she is very close friends with a British comic actress, and she discussed this woman's attitude to her weight. Jaclyn popped in to ask a couple of questions and then she left. Dominique left, and I was left on my own in the lab.

3.18 Tuesday 11th August

I arrive early at the Harmer building. There is no one there. I then go to the Department office, which is particularly busy with people copying, arranging materials and putting them to together. Dominique and Linus are there. The normal secretary Elaine is not there, but Claudia is. Andrew comes. Everybody is talking. One subject of discussion is the fact that the computers are down. The secretary talks about that. Then Andrew makes a joking comment, "Oh yes, I'm teaching" in tone a voice suggesting that this something that he does not do very often. He asks if there is a queue to the photocopier, as if he is not used to these aspects of normal TEFL life.

After the 9.00 class, I have to find out very quickly if I can use an alternative room to my normal room for The Tokyo Group. This is because the normal room, ZG28, had been locked and the desks were removed. So I rushed over to XF09 and XT09 to see if either of those are okay to use. This is at break time so I do not have much time to do all of this. Luckily, my morning class at 9.00 is in ZG08, so it is nearer to the X building than the Harmer building. I then go looking for Jaclyn and she is not in her office but in Simon's. She is talking to Simon, and John is with them. She talks to us about room problems, particularly in terms of XF09 and XT09. This is about their size, but is also about their convenience in terms of weather, and which one would be better to use taking these things into consideration.

At lunch time, I saw Simon, John and Linus in the Student Union when I went to meet my French friends. I had lunch with these friends.

After the afternoon lessons, I went to Jaclyn's room to tell her that I found that ZG28 was open and the desks were moved back to their normal arrangement. Ironically, Jaclyn had taken this room off the list of the ones that were booked to the department, because she thought it was not available. I did not do many other notes for Tuesday because of the presence of my French friends, who occupied me at lunch time and straight after the afternoon class.

3.19 Wednesday 12th August

The presence of my French friends the day before meant that I had to get up extremely early to go to college to prepare the classes. I arrived at the Harmer building at 8.20. Although I had not prepared my lessons for Wednesday the day before, I did have roughly in my mind what I would be doing. As I am locking my bike at the back of the Harmer building, Matthew is leaving the building going over towards the main campus, and to the Department office I assume. I arrive in the office and Nathan is sitting in my usual place preparing. We talk about him leaving on Friday; he is taking a job in the Middle East. I ask him if he has rented his house out. It is rather quiet in the building. I go to Sara's office to ask if I could borrow her Cuisenaire Rods for the 11.00. This is no problem, and I have borrowed them several times before. I just ask out of politeness.

At break time, I go to the Department office, which is locked, but I see Eric and Andrew in the corridor and I ask to borrow Andrew's key. I go into the office and make some copies. Then Andrew talks to me about a social evening for the Hong Kong students on Thursday night, and he wants to make sure that I invite my Tokyo Group students to it. He was concerned about the evening because at the student disco on Monday night, there were no other students there and the Hong Kong students were rather disappointed. I go to the Harmer building and Jaclyn is there and says "There is always something wrong with this building," because the alarm on the front door is now not working. When I go into HF03, where I was teaching for the afternoon lesson, I noticed that Terrence had written a message on the board for the students. This was for students arriving late to tell them to go to the computer lab, because he had already gone with the students who were already there. Leaving notes on the board like this for such situations was something I did, and I think other teachers did as well. The note said the following:

> Wednesday,
>
> Hello, Good morning!!!!
>
> This morning we go to the computer room
>
> (there was a small map here with instructions to find the computer room)

I asked Nathan, who was in Sara's office, to come and have a look at it to see what he felt about the usage of "we go," because it seemed to me to be an example of a simplified language that EFL teachers use with students.

In the afternoon there was a meeting in HF03 as normal starting at 1.15. At this time, there was Terrence, Dominique, Matthew, myself, Nathan. Jaclyn had not yet arrived. Sara was absent; apparently she was doing something, but this something was not specified. Whilst we were waiting, Nathan said humorously that if Jaclyn asked for any questions at the end of the meeting, we do not reply so that it will be a quick meeting. The Overseas Unit people were not present again. Terrence gave me his class register to me because he kept it and had forgotten to leave it in the class. I filled it out to mark the students who were present and the work I had done in the lesson. John came in, looked around in a jokey way and made some comments about us looking very serious. He then sat down next to me. Esther arrived. Jaclyn arrived at 1.24. She apologised for being late, saying that she did not realise what the time was. John looked at my register to see what work I have been doing. He gives an approving nod in a humorous way, and makes some jokey comments.

Jaclyn starts the meeting. As normal, she starts the meeting by going from class to class getting the 9.00 teacher, and also the 11.00 teachers, to talk about the classes. This meeting was more about the constructing of the classes for next Monday because two teachers would be testing so there would have to be some combined classes. As a lot of students are staying on. Most of the classes would stay the same. She started with the highest level class, and worked her way around down the levels. She wanted to know was leaving; the materials that had been used; what materials could be used; what the stayers-on could do in terms of materials. Matthew mentioned that one of his students wanted to go up. Apparently the student wanted to go up before, but Matthew and Dominique decided not to put her up. Jaclyn said "If it keeps her happy, why not." This process continues from teacher to teacher. As with the other meetings, there were teachers who were doing the general course, and sometimes some teachers were doing the general course and teachers' courses. The ones doing the teachers' courses were absent. Once the process had been completed definite arrangements were made through Jaclyn about the Monday classes and who would be testing. This would be myself and the returning Peter, because would not want to teach straight away. It was also decided that all the teachers should stay with their classes throughout the Monday morning. Then was something mentioned about observation; Jaclyn had to observe different teachers. John said "In the great TEFL tradition, some of my international teachers want to observe some of the general course classes." John was on the teachers course, but I assume was present at the meeting because he would be teaching next week on the general course. First of all, he wanted his teachers to observe at 11.00, but it seemed the teachers were more happy with the 9.00 lessons. I was certainly more happy with this, because I am not very happy with my 11.00 class. I do not seem to click with them. John went around individually, teacher-to-teacher, to see who could do it. This was done with humour. For example, when I said to him "Do you know the rooms?", he said "No." Then I said "Let's give him imaginary rooms, so they'll turn up somewhere else." It was negotiated with few problems.

Jaclyn went over the normal concerns for the last Friday of the course, e.g. the course evaluation questionnaires. Jaclyn mentioned that the evaluations that had been positive with few negative comments. The negative comments were disparate; there was no trend in them. She asked if anybody wanted anything more. I said I wanted some free time because I was directing the Tokyo Group course. Esther mentioned that she had had computer problems today and most of her students could not log on, but it just seemed to be an isolated problem for the day.

After the meeting, I was helping Terrence with the computer so he could get copies of the report form. He suggested to me that reports would be a good source of information about teachers and what they say about students. I said that I had thought about looking at them.

In terms of recording these notes, it is now Wednesday 19th August. A week had passed since I last actually recorded the notes. This is because I have been so busy. Last week was busy in terms of my work and my social life, so that I was busy in the evenings. This meant that recording the notes was impossible because the day was filled with work and any spare time that I would have normally for doing my notes was not available. To certain extent the notes I give for Thursday and Friday are rather brief because I am basing it how the hand-written notes I took last week, and they were also brief because I was so busy.

3.20 Thursday 13th August

I arrived, I went upstairs and Nathan was busy. We discussed being observed in general, because we were being observed by the international teachers. I explained how when I was observed at another nearby institution of higher education by the Further Education Funding Council, they gave feedback after the observation. We discussed how other inspectors, particularly the British Council, do not give feedback during inspections. I said that there was a problem with my second class because I did not feel that I got on with them very well. I did not feel there was any unity in the class. We both agreed on this. Nathan talked about his classes. I then went to the basement and Terrence was there. We talked about sleep and how tiring things were. John came down to check things with us for the observations, just ticking things off making sure that the right people were going to the right places.

I was observed during the 9.00 lesson. I was conscious of the three teachers from the international course sitting at the back. Two of them were experienced teachers, while one of them was a teacher trainee in her own country. Every time I had a spare moment, I went over to them to justify what I was doing. In a sense, I was trying to create a typical TEFL lesson. They did have some questions to ask me, but I felt very conscious that I had to justify what I was doing, explain and rationalise what I was doing in the course of the lesson.

At break Esther arrives in the class (NG08) as she normally does. Then I bumped into Terrence and John outside the Student Union, as I often do near the gate. John talks to me about the observers. I spoke to

Terrence about The Tokyo Group, about him telling his Tokyo Group students where they should be at 2.00. I went into Sara's office to get some stickers. I then went to basement. Jaclyn was there working and we talked about the weather.

At lunch time, I went to the basement. Nathan was talking to Matthew. They were talking about the news and television. Then we talked about the new Shorter Oxford English Dictionary and the new words in it. I was looking for Jaclyn and she was not in her office. I went into Simon's office because I heard a woman's voice, but it was Sandra. She was there, even though she was officially on holiday. She popped in for some sunglasses and a few other things.

In the evening I went to the Hong Kong group's social evening, which the Tokyo Group students were invited to. This committed most of my evening. I stayed at the college after classes to write the reports. I worked to seven and went to the Ship to have a pint and something to eat before I met the others.

3.21 Friday 14th August

I arrived at the Harmer building, and there was Simon, and John was drinking. Inside Jaclyn was arranging the cards for the two leaving teachers: Sara and Nathan. She wanted to put them in Simon's office but it was locked. I went upstairs on my own. Nathan came in and chatted. Esther said hello and was very bright. I bumped into Terrence and he was talking about the AM class. We were sitting around the desks. He was talking to Nathan about using "communicative activities" and then said "Ooops speaking" as if to mean I have let something out of the bag. This was a response to my observing what they were talking about. They were aware that I was writing things down.

At break there was a real rush because it was the last Friday of the course. I was checking the reports; checking the language on them and printing them up. I saw Terrence briefly and he was doing his reports in HF03. I was rushing about. I went to see Jaclyn about hours and The Tokyo Group. She was talking about awkward long-staying students.

At lunch time we went to the Ship to have lunch. We had quite a relaxed time there sitting in the pub garden. All the teachers were there as well as Natalie from the modern languages section of the department. During the meal I got annoyed with the other teachers in the way that they treated the waiting staff. They treated them with a certain amount of disdain. I said "Fucking morons" under my breadth about this. I do not think anyone heard apart from Sara who was not implicated in this behaviour. It was a very light, chatty and relaxed atmosphere. There was lots of joking with everyone talking to each other. We had one drink and lunch and then went back for the afternoon classes.

3.22 Monday 17th August

Monday was very busy because it was the first day of the course. I was rushing around getting this organised. All the teachers were concerned about the health of Peter, particularly the ones who had worked

with him before or had met him at the beginning of July. They asked about his health and how he was doing. We were testing, marking and sorting. Then in the afternoon, I am responsible for the lab after classes and I was doing preparation as well. Because of this, I did not write any notes. Some time during the day, Sara came back to the office to pack her things, so this was the final goodbye.

John, Peter and myself had lunch together, and it was a very laddy lunch. We got talking about a French female teacher trainee. She had apparently come to meet Peter in the hospital at the beginning of July. It appeared from the way she acted and that she wanted to correspond with him that she had a crush on him. We treated this in a very humorous way, and talked about it.

3.23 Tuesday 18th August

I arrived at the office. Esther was there. My main concern was that there was no teachers' book for the course book that I was using. The upstairs room has evolved into a mess with piles of books on the desk spread out, all in a mess, and so things have been disappearing. Jaclyn was rushing about because she was covering for John, who was ill. I bumped into Terrence, and he wanted my opinions on his class, and to a certain extent about my class. I was not that interested because I was rushing about with a lot of things to do.

At break time I found Terrence going to ZG10. Peter was outside of the Union. I spoke to both of them so that they could tell their Tokyo Group students where to meet me for the afternoon. This was because we still had room problems, and rather than send them all off to the room that we decided for them, YF11, I thought it would be better to meet them outside the Union and take them to the room, as they were used to doing on occasions. Then I went to the Harmer building. Jaclyn was in the basement. She was concerned that the carpet was not in the right place under the coffee machine in removing it. She talked about the problems replacing John's class. This was a continual problem that concerns her with this class. She said that they knew the grammar; they were upper intermediate/advanced. However, they do not how to exactly use it. I went upstairs and no one was there.

At lunch time, I was very busy. I was in the Department office. Linus was there at the photocopier. He was preparing for his highly-advanced class. He said that he takes more time preparing for this class than his Japanese teachers (the group he was teaching before). He said that sometimes he feels upset because he makes more of an effort than he students do. I talked to him about my time with The Tokyo Group, and the problems that course directing causes me.

After the afternoon Tokyo Group class, I went to the Harmer building. Terrence was with me. Downstairs in the basement, Jaclyn was opening a locker and taking paper out. She stores things in the lockers in this room, because she is frightened people will take things. I went upstairs. Peter was there. He made a comment about me being his brother because the Tokyo Group students said that we looked like brothers. I

tried find out what options he was doing with his class. I had a rough idea about what he was doing but I needed to know precisely so I could arrange my options around it. This was because my class would be with his when I had just the Tokyo Group students. I still did not really get anything from him. He then moaned because he was tired at the end of the day; he found it very difficult to plan at the end of the day because of this. Linus was there and he said that he plans so much for his class that he does it at home. Terrence came in and wanted to know how Linus was getting on; how his class was. They discussed this. Then there was a discussion between myself, Linus and Terrence on a couple of grammar points that had come up with me in my lesson. They were a slight difference between two points that come up on FCE and in advanced courses. I had known the answer to this problem before when I was teaching EFL on a regular basis, but had since forgotten then. Eric peppered in with his knowledge, but I went to look at a book to check and we discussed it further.

3.24 Wednesday 19th August

I came in and I felt extremely tired. I went upstairs. John was there working, and then left. Linus was working on the computer extracting material from the Internet for his class. Peter came in and we discussed the fact that the photocopier was down in the department. Linus said he only uses this one because he thought the one in the Harmer building was rubbish. It seemed quite quiet; everyone was busy. Esther came in. She was mumbling about a book she was looking for. John came in and said out rather loudly in a humorous way "Oh no, another day." Esther was looking for some kind of exercise or work sheet for "make" and "do." She asked if anyone knew of anything on it from a book, or if anything that existed. John said to Esther "Sorry just looking at the time." Esther replied "Yeah, it's a constant race." They seemed to be referring to the lack of time. I went to get my tape recorder and someone had plugged it into the socket where the computer was plugged in. In turning off the socket, I accidentally turned off the computer while Linus was working on it. I think he was extremely pissed off with me. He said strongly "Right. I won't do that then. I've got twenty minutes. What I am going to do then?" I went down to the basement to do some photocopies. Peter was there, and I again tried to find out about the options. There was no direct answer, but I got a rough idea for Thursday. Both Peter and Esther were discussing Hide from my class and how he wanted to move. So he had actually gone to them to talk about, as well as having talked to me about it. Esther said that Hide contributes more to the class. She meant, I think, that he contribute more orally in front of the class than the other students. She also said that the writing level of some of the quieter students (I assume that is the Tokyo Group levels) was quite good for them.

At break, I went down to the basement to make a phone call. I met Jaclyn on the stairs and I spoke to her about absent students, because four of my Tokyo Group students had gone to London for the day without telling me. She said that I should talk to them and be rather serious about it telling them that the must tell me in advance if they are going somewhere, and tell me why. I go into HF03 for my second class. Terrence is there. He is often in there at break doing work. I leave and go back there, and Jaclyn is in there taking some books from a cupboard. She talks about the long-term students in her second class, i.e. her class form

John, the second from top. She says that they are a problem: they sit back and expect, as if they have experienced everything. They made nasty criticisms in the reports, and teaching them reminded her of this. She thought that they needed to aspects of self-directed learning. She asked them to tell her what they thought their level was, and they did not think they were up to proficiency. They needed to realise that they had more work to do. We then discussed the problem of the Tokyo Group, and how this created too many Japanese students for the general course. She wrote a course report last year and the same problem was pointed out that with so many Tokyo Group students, it meant that there was a bad balance of students in the classes.

At lunch time, I had a sandwich on my own in the basement. Matthew came down. I went upstairs. Linus was on the PC. Peter and Esther came in. We discussed the Hide problem. Esther was looking to change her course book for the class, and asked me for suggestions. I did not think my advice was very useful. Again, I tried to press Peter on options, and I got a little bit more, but nothing was confirmed.

In the afternoon meeting, some of us arrived late. In fact, I arrived a few minutes late and Jaclyn was already there. Finally the participants were Jaclyn, Terrence, Esther, Matthew, John, Peter, myself and Linus. We arrived at several different times. On arriving there was a jokey chat talking about men and beauty products. Then we started the meeting seriously. Jaclyn went around as usual from teacher to teacher to go through the classes. Firstly, going through the register lists of students to check which students are which. This process started as usual with the highest class checking for students that are supposed to be there. There was one problem because a student's name had not been written. This developed, as we were trying to locate her class, into a running joke about her being a Penguin: who is she, where is she? Apparently, she was miserable and there were criticisms of her, but it was all very funny. This incident summarises the atmosphere of the meeting, which was not very serious. As we went through the classes, there were familiar problems that came up about students who wanted to change classes. Then there was an anecdote about one student, and then we went back to talking about this original student, whose name we could not get. Jaclyn talked about her saying "She didn't say a word. I don't know what level she is." Jaclyn discussed the problems of the second highest class, of which she had talked to me before. John said that they were quite miserable, and Jaclyn said that they had no interest in learning English, yet they generally needed it for their future studies in Britain. They just wanted to sit back and be entertained. She added that someone needed to have a word with them. Linus pointed out that they never do any work outside of class, for example they never go to the listening centre. At the same time, John and Peter were sort of half doing a crossword as the meeting went on. Linus had a problem because his classroom was too small for the number of students he had. I suggested that he should swap with my class. This would be convenient for me because I would prefer to be in the Harmer building: it is probably a better classroom for my smaller group. We agreed to this. I thought it would be a fresh start with my class in a way. We were still discussing the top groups, and this seemed to go on quite a long time. It went on to

the subject of materials for the top groups which was a real problem because the people in the second class had done most of the materials, and they really needed to go on to more authentic materials. Linus made the point about how much he has to prepare, and they were looking for a course book particularly for the second group. Linus said if this was to happen he wanted the two classes, 9.00 and 11.00, to mesh. Jaclyn said that that was not necessary that they work laterally. Actually later on I suggested a book that they could use Advanced Options, and I got it for John for his 9.00 second group, and that helped. In the meeting, John made a silly joke. Jaclyn went to Matthew's class and again there were problems of the levels of students, if they are in the right class, changing levels, materials to suit the class. A student had gone up into his class, and then wanted to go down. Jaclyn said she did not want this; she cannot have students going up and down. Matthew posited the problem of his class that three had left and there were three new students, so the whole composition of the class had changed. The ones that had stayed on had problems where they were seeing themselves vis-à-vis these new students. Then there were jokes and comments about tape recorders, and the quality of them, particularly Matthew's. However, the general discussion led on to how Jaclyn thought that the higher classes needed to do more controlled grammar practice. She said that the communicative games type thing, but freer (what I would call the semi-controlled practice of structure). A way that they came be corrected, because they are not corrected enough, and they like to be corrected. This is particularly referring to the higher groups: the first and the second in particular. She said that they need this type of practice and that there is a bit of a dearth of material at this level. She said that she thinks that we do not do enough accuracy practice for this level during the 9.00 class. Matthew suggested that the new Headway Upper-Intermediate was good for that. However, it was not on the syllabus and it would be only one option. Linus made the point that with these higher groups that some of the students have down a grammar point two to three times, and get sick of it. Jaclyn said that there is no way around it. This whole discussion that had gone away from discussing each individual class went on to how the real problem is the length of the course. There is no way around it. The students had been sold two-week courses, and if they take multiples of two-week courses this causes problems. It is not sold as a six or eight-week course. So there is a problem of repeating things and repeating courses. The discussion went onto how before they offered four-week and six-week courses and not two-week courses, but because of economic changes the head of the department decided that they should have two-week courses. I contributed saying how that at a local language school I had worked in there were four and eight-week courses, but effectively within the four-week courses students did stay for shorter times. It meant, however, that there was a longer course. Jaclyn also mentioned that there was a problem for the teachers with materials: the repetition of materials and trying to find new materials. This was a quite a long discussion. We still had only really covered three classes. This discussion led on to the problem of the Japanese students; how they, particularly the Tokyo Group students, upset other students. It was also a problem for the Tokyo Group students because they have been sold courses where they supposed to be mixed with non-Japanese, and yet they are in classes with many Japanese students. Matthew made the point that the real problem is that the Japanese students do not like talking in front of the European students; they defer to

them. I was not to sure what he meant by defer. Then Peter talked about this. What he meant is that the Japanese students look to the European ones to answer first. I said I do not particularly agree with this, and said it was a problem of pragmatics, of turn-taking, that it is a discourse problem and cultural problem. I said there was also a problem that was not so much to do with the Tokyo Group students being Japanese but they are a closed group, so they act as a closed group. Terrence gave an example of how he dealt with it by telling the students what they should try and do, and how they should act, in conversation. I said that when it is just Japanese students I can deal with them in a certain way by giving them time to prepare before they speak to me, e.g. let them work on their own and then give me the answers to a task. Peter mentioned that one Tokyo Group student, Yukio, was very good. It is now 2.10, and we are going through Peter's class. We are going through the same rigmarole. A student enters the classroom because at 2.00 the lab was supposed to be open, and Matthew was doing it. He had gone out to open it and come back into the meeting. She was a rather pretty Spanish girl and there were couple of comments about what a nice girl she was from Linus and John. I pointed out that they said that because they fancied her. Going round to each class, Jaclyn asked who the students are, what books we were using. When she got to Peter, he said he had forgotten the title of the course book, and then he remembered it. He said that the problem with the book, Intermediate Matters, was that the grammar does not really correlate with the skills or anything else in the book. Then she got to me, and I got to the issue that my class, particularly from what Hide said, was completely Japanese. We decided to move Hide in the end. Then it went on to Esther's class. In addition to this, between a third and halfway through the meeting, Derek, the social assistant, came in. There was a joke about him being so tall, and I made a joke about it. In the discussion, Jaclyn said that the lower students complain less and made a sarcastic comment about that being because they are less articulate. She said that they tend to stick together more because they need to help each other out; they need each other. Jaclyn got to Terrence. He talked about a student (Kazumi) who did a review test in order that Terrence could show her level and prove to her that she could not go up. He had gone through the break to do show her that her level was not higher enough to go up, although she was more serious than the other students. Jaclyn went back to talking about the courses: the grammar, the modules and the many permutations with students. I pointed that students often think that they do two weeks on one level and then they can go up to another level. She added that this had been a problem before, and students left having done an upper-intermediate course but not being upper-intermediate. There was also the problem that if they had used course books (that is to say BANA ones) in their own countries like Headway Upper-Intermediate, they may not have done such things as the listenings, and they have done it largely through grammar translation. She said that this is especially a problem in Italy where they do books that are higher than their actual level. At the end, Derek came in. He did not have much to say. I tried to sort out some Tokyo Group stuff with him. The Tokyo Group students were organising a party and this had nothing to do with me. They had not told me and so I did not know about it. I did not really care about this. I asked if the House of Commons trip had been organised and it had not because Derek could not get in contact with the local MP as he is on holiday, which was a problem. I said that I could do something else with them. Then Derek and I talked

about trips in general with the Tokyo Group group. Then Jaclyn said a rather amusing anecdote about how when they used an outside organisation for social activities that there had been two groups who had gone to Dover. The youngsters were supposed to go to the swimming pool in this coach, and the older ones to the castle. However, they had been switched around by accident. We found this quite funny. She said this anecdote because the Hong Kong students and the Tokyo Group students would be going together to London with the Hong Kong students going to the House of Commons. Jaclyn also asked for the lists of options for each class again, because a lot of us had forgotten to give it in during the last course. It was also a bit awkward for me because I only do two, and then I have The Tokyo Group. Jaclyn then mentioned that there was a potential CELTA student (who could be doing the course at the institution after Christmas) who wanted to observe some classes. She had done a refresher course on TEFL. Jaclyn pointed out that it would probably be lower levels as she needs real TEFL, i.e. according to Jaclyn, the three Ps. This was arranged. I said it probably would not be a good idea for Linus and myself because we would be exchanging classrooms so things would awkward enough that morning anyway. Jaclyn mentioned the reports. I asked if the teachers could be a few notes on the Tokyo Group students at the end of next week to help me when I write their reports. Linus asked for the student list, but Jaclyn would not give them out. She said how there were problems with the student list, which did not contain all the details, because of the new database. Peter made the point, which he wanted to make before but had forgotten, about how logging on the computers seems such a complicated thing. This was because new students had to go to the computer help desk to log on individually. He asked why it was not possible to get a list of names and the computer people come over. According to Jaclyn, the computer people are very difficult and they do not like doing things like that. They like individuals going to desk. Jaclyn gave an anecdote about how the computer people would not phone her to say when the computers were back online because they said they would be too busy to do anything like that.

Upstairs after the meeting, Linus and Peter were complaining about how long the meeting went on for. It had gone on until about 2.45. They said that it should finish at a particular time and they had been marked down in their hours on the contract that the meeting should go on for one hour. They also talked about the different problems with the meetings and they were complaining about them. This was interesting because it was these two in particular who spoke for a long time making the meeting last longer. Then Linus complained about the work load he had. Peter, Linus and I discussed time, and how much time we do have and how bad it was. John came in and joined our conversation which was now a laddy chat about sex and Clinton.

3.25 Thursday 20th August

I arrive at the Harmer building and there is nobody about. I went upstairs; I think Jaclyn was in her office. I am in my office. It is 8.35. I cannot hear anybody. I think Matthew might be next door. Eric came in. He needed his tape recorder for his Hong Kong students. Apparently Terrence is borrowing it. So he asked to tell Terrence, if I see him, that he has taken it. This was a tape recorder he had booked out of the

department office because there are not enough tape recorders for all the classrooms. So some teachers have to book out tape recorders. After that, Esther came in and asked me how I was. She was looking for the Source Book she wanted to use. She realised that there were not any because Matthew was using them. She then said that she would have to use Compact 2. I talked about the book because I used Compact Elementary with the second class, Terrence's class. I explained that the problem with it was that it was very bitty. It had small readings, small skills sections and so it did not lend itself to a large lump of a skills lesson such as a long listening like in the Headway series. With such course books, it is possible for a listening to take forty-five minutes with the pre-listening, listening and post-listening activities. I said the Elementary book did not lend itself to multi-skills activities but I said that I had not used that particular book. She said okay, she would use that. I reminded her of what classroom I was in. I thought she would know that but she did not remember so I had to tell her that I had exchanged classrooms. She then left, and I then I left. I went down to sort out my new classroom, HG01. I moved some of the chairs to make it look neat and presentable for when they arrive. I go to the ground-floor toilet and I go out. John and Terrence were coming into the building talking about homework. I went back into the classroom to sort things out such as the tape recorder. Linus came in and we talked about how we were going to move the students about and they would not know where the classroom was. I said that I would help them out to find it. Whilst I was preparing in HG01, Linus came in again and said "I'm getting fed up with wondering from one place to another." He seemed flustered about the moving students, and I wondered if this was because this problem was added on to the pressure of all the preparation he does. I went up to HF03, the room where I teach my second class and I notice that Terrence has written on the board, like he does everyday, the date on the board and underneath the following:

> Good morning everybody.
> Today we go to the computer room.
> Please bring your ID number and password.
> Thank you, Terrence.

There is a line under Terrence rather like a signature.

At break time, I go to the basement. Three of my students, who are from the Tokyo group, are there because I told them about the coffee room. They are sitting down in the seats opposite the coffee machine. Esther is in the far corner opposite the photocopier where the guillotine is. She is working and I join her. Almost as if to join the teachers. I told her how I felt it was much more convenient to have you classrooms in the Harmer building now that my 9.00 classroom has been changed, and that I feel much happy a room in the Harmer building because it makes me more relaxed as I have more time. She agrees with me. Then we talk about Japanese students and The Tokyo Group. I mention that they had not told me that they are organising a party, and that they had organised it themselves. We said that it was good that they were doing things independently. Then we ended talking about how nice the Tokyo Group students were. I was talking about students from a local Japanese tertiary college because Esther had worked there as well as me. I was

talking about how different they were to the Tokyo Group students. I leave. I see Terrence outside the room and talk to him about the tape recorder; if it was taken and if it was okay that he did not have it.

At lunch time, I see Esther on the stairs. I was going downstairs from the office. She said "Your lot. It's like pulling teeth out getting them to speak." She said they were very nice but it was very difficult to get them to talk. I found that Esther eats lunch on the campus. So there are some people who eat on campus, some in their office, and some like me eat downstairs. On the way to the Harmer building, I had a chat to John about his neck because he was stung on it, so he took Tuesday off. I see Jaclyn coming out of the building. I go to the basement and Peter is there and we talk about the news. I go upstairs with him. Then I go back downstairs to make some phone calls. Then I go upstairs again to the office and I try to pin down Peter what options he is doing so that I can arrange my options for Mondays and Fridays. He was still a bit vague about it.

After my afternoon class, I go upstairs at the Harmer building. Linus is there and Peter. I make a comment about my work; about what I am writing down. They say humorously that they hope I did not write anything about them doing the crossword in the meeting the day before. They make complaints about the students. Peter was talking to Linus about a Greek student who is "mad." Linus asked her to write something and she had written something that was a lot longer than absolutely necessary. Peter talked about a similar student in Spain who did not do the required writing, the writing they did was far longer. Terrence comes in and I help him with the computer, because he is not up on them.

3.26 Friday 21st August

I did not take many notes on this day. It was not so much because I was busy, but because I was very tired as I had gone out on Thursday evening to a research student do. I came in the morning. There was no one about and nothing going on. I seemed to be on my own. I arrived later than I normally did (8.40). I normally arrived at about 8.25.

At break, I see Terrence in his class slightly after his class has finished. I again talk about this problem of him getting a tape recorder, because Eric was using the tape recorder that he originally wanted to use. Eric had originally leant it to him. I told him that there is an abundance of tape recorders so getting one should not be a problem. I go to the basement. Esther is there and we talk about the Tokyo Group students. I think she said how nice they are.

At lunch time, I go to the basement. There is Matthew, Peter and myself. There is a television programme on which is a quiz show where the contestants have to do such things as guess adverbs while their team mate acts them out, saying a line in such a manner. We talked about using that in classes, and this gets us on to the subject of drama in classes. Peter and I particularly talk about this. Peter makes the point that the Japanese love drama and "They really get out of their shells when they do drama." Then we talk about the

news. Esther comes in and we talk about the television programme Neighbours and watch part of an episode.

After the afternoon class, in the office most people are saying that they are too tired to prepare for the following week Some people are going home. Peter says that he tries to prepare on a Friday afternoon but it is impossible and Terrence says the same thing. I agree. I help Terrence sort something out with the computer. We get onto a discussion about how to learn computing. I say it is best when you have a real reason to do so, e.g. when I was writing my MA dissertation. He agrees and we talk about how you need real motivation to learn languages. He says that some of the best students he had were the business students where they had real reason to learn English. I think he meant the ones at the local private language where he had worked.

3.27 Monday 24th August

I arrive at about 8.30 and I see Jaclyn down in the photocopying room. She says "Hi" and asks me how my weekend was. I go up the stairs from the basement, and I bump into a student and say "Hi." I go upstairs to the office. Matthew comes in and just says "Good morning. How are you?" He looks round, he is looking for John, and then he leaves. There is no one else now in the office. Then Esther came up and she made a comment about me getting changed. She is looking at my tape recorder, because she is after a tape recorder as she had taken one back because it was not working properly. I advised her that she may find one downstairs because there seemed to be extra ones lurking around now. There are the same amount of classes on the general course as there was on the previous course, but there seem to be fewer other courses and on gross there are fewer teachers. I go to the basement to make some photocopies. Esther and Terrence are both there. They are generally chatting about nothing of importance. I talk about my class. She says they are nice; they are girls. They are giggly and shy, but they are a nice class. Terrence talks to me. He asks me about what I think of his class. I say I like them more than the previous version of the class. I seem to connect with them more. I only had the previous version for one week. Terrence says the new version is nicer because before they were effectively two classes. I think he was getting at the fact that now it is just a majority of Japanese students. Then we talked about work and what work he is doing. He did not have any hours for next month but he hoped more students would turn up for next September. It seems a general problem for the temporary teachers like Terrence, to certain extent Peter, Matthew and so on that there is a concern about any work they can get hold of. He asked me what I was going to do for work, so that leads me to think that he does not really understand what I have to do as research student, that I only teach a certain amount of time. Anyway, I told him about how my hours work out and how I teach and everything. Terrence and Esther talk about Esther's class again. They say it is nice.

At break, I go to the basement. John comes in and then Jaclyn came in. He left sometime after. We talk about two new research students that are coming to the institution where I am doing my PhD. These are my equivalents for the following year. Jaclyn talks and gossips about academics. Then Linus comes. We

continue this discussion, and then Jaclyn quickly tells us about the forms that we have got to give round in the class for leaving students to sign their names.

At lunch time, I go to the basement as usual with a sandwich. Esther is there watching television. Peter comes down and sits with us. Linus and John briefly come down to get coffee. We are generally not talking about work, but about the news on television, about how you can tell you are getting old because some students were born after you left school. I go upstairs with Peter. We work in the office. He wants to know about Tokyo Group. He wants to have a meeting to discuss this so he can prepare his classes for next week, which is quite ironic seeing that I kept trying to pin him down on the option classes. Peter was talking about his class; I think his 9.00 class in the afternoon for options. He said that they were doing British life and culture. He did something similar to what I did in July, when I combined my class with Nathan's in Summer 1. He put into the students into groups and gave each group some material pertaining to a different part of British life and culture. They had to read the materials and prepare a little presentation. He had one group that was east Asian. He kept going round from group to group asking them if they understood what they were doing. They nodded yes. He said he did this six times. At the end when they had to do their presentations, the east Asian group actually said that they did not understand what they were supposed to be doing. Peter said "That really annoys me when they do that, when they say they understand when they don't understand."

After the afternoon class, I am upstairs with Peter. I am trying to get things ready and going; I am not really talking that much. We did briefly talk about The Tokyo Group and I have got it straight so we would have a meeting, and I said what I had roughly in mind about what I wanted to do. He made a joke saying "Here's my lessons for tommorow, it's a bunch of arse." I also said that I did not have enough time for organising The Tokyo Group as I was supposed to have.

3.28 Tuesday 25th August

I arrive and I go upstairs to the office. Peter is there and I notice that someone has taken the plugs for the computer out of the sockets rather than turn it off at the computer. I discuss this with the Peter. He reckons that it might have been one of the porters coming in later when they clear up. I go down to see Jaclyn ostensibly about this. Nathan is there in jeans discussing some matter about addresses, as he has already left. I discuss the computer problem with her, and she thinks it is the same reason: porters. Then I discuss with her a problem of leaving students because of which forms have come back, because in my class and in my swap class, Turtles and Whales, there are not actually any students leaving and some of them have been absent and so forth. She was a bit confused about which class I was teaching. Then I went to the basement to make some photocopies. The photocopier was causing some problems. Terrence came down and helped with that. On the way back, I went to Jaclyn to tell her about the photocopier. She was aware of the problem and it had something to do with the paper. I has noticed that in HG01, HF03 and I think in NG08, I noticed that coming back to when I wanted to use the overhead projector, whenever I went back to use one

(and this could be several weeks after actually using it), it has always been my work before on the acetate roll. This seems to indicate that I am one of the few people who actually use the OHP. I noticed before at 9.00 that Matthew left notes for the students in my classroom thinking that Linus still had his 9.00 class there. I popped them into HG02 for Linus's second class.

At break, I am very busy. I see Esther in the corridor. I ask about the tape recorder because yesterday my the one I had been using and had signed out of Department had disappeared. I thought she might have taken it and left another one in my classroom. She had and we sorted the problem out with no problems. I went to the basement Terrence and Esther were there. I talked to Esther about a video for a low-level class. She wanted to know what video to choose. She knew that I had been using "Room with a View" before. I had used it with a upper-intermediate class and now I was using with a low-intermediate class. I said for my class, particularly with them being Japanese, in terms of listening ability it is very difficult for them, and using it for her class would be quite unsuitable. I suggested that perhaps she should think of something on lines of Mr. Bean which seems quite popular with TEFL, something quite visual, or something like "My Fair Lady" which I have used before. She could use extracts from that because it is quite easy to understand, it has got songs and because there are certain sections which has the main character being taught pronunciation so it has parallels with what we do, and it has been popular with students that I have taught.

At lunch time before I go out, I drop into Jaclyn's office Terrence's sheet on which were put the names of the leaving students. He had put the names of the Tokyo Group students on it, when in fact they are staying on. There is a bit of a complication about whether they get leaving certificates as well as some of the students who are going onto study skills courses in September. I go to the basement and some of my students are there, as previously, having lunch. I have got my sandwich. This reminds of Peter's comment before when we were down there, commenting a day after my students were there, saying jokingly "This is the teachers' common room, it might say the students' common room but they're not allowed down here." Peter and I have a general chat about the news. We do go onto discuss the Tokyo Group classes for next week. Originally the meeting was going to be for today, and then we decide to have it tomorrow, because I did not have enough time as I have to go on a trip to the cathedral early. I talk about the cathedral. He says "You'll be finished at 3.00. You'll be able to go at 3.00." I said that I have got to prepare lessons. I asked him if there should be a guide, and he said "Yes, if the Overseas Unit have organised it properly, there should be." We talked about how long the guided tour takes.

There are not many notes for after lunch because I went straight on the trip with the Tokyo Group students. I got back to the Harmer building at just after 3.00 and did my preparation. I saw Jaclyn and John. He was in her office and then he left. I asked her if there were any materials for the cathedral so I could do a follow up lesson for Thursday. She said there should be. I asked her if the Tokyo Group rooms had been booked

for next week and she said "Yes, it was in process." I also asked her about The Overseas Unit trip on Bank Holiday Monday. On reflection, I wonder why I went to her office. The questions that I asked were not that important to ask. I could have brought them up in the meeting on Wednesday or even some of them on Thursday. I feel that I went there because I feel that I have to show that I am about, that I am back, and perhaps show that I am doing things. I feel I need to go in and check things with Jaclyn even if they are not essential, as just a kind of contact, i.e. I am there, I am doing things.

3.29 Wednesday 26th August

I go in and I go to Jaclyn's office because the photocopier was not working and the door was not working. I guessed that the trip switch in the fuse box had gone off, as this has happened before. I ask her about and I was right. Apparently someone was coming from the main campus to sort it out. When this happens, it can affect teaching because you cannot use things like tape recorders and VCRs. Jaclyn is teaching today; I find out later that she is replacing Matthew, who had to take the day off. There was not an explanation why. Jaclyn said something on the line of "The one time I'm teaching it goes [meaning the trip switch], I just wanted a coffee before." We talk about how important it is to have a coffee before teaching. I go upstairs and no one is around. Then Peter arrives. I tell him about the trip switch problem and then suddenly the computer comes on, which indicates that the problem has been solved. I chat to him, but he says "Sorry, I can't talk because I'm doing notes." He is obviously preparing for his class. I get a coffee and go to Jaclyn to ask her for a second Reward (course book) tape because it is missing. She says she will find it, and she finds it. There is a problem with the tapes because Claudia does the tapes and Jaclyn is not available or has the time to tell her exactly to do the tapes so all these tapes get done and they get mixed up. Consequently there are problems such as sometimes what is written on the cassettes does not correlate to its contents and sometimes there is not enough information written. I try out the cassette Jaclyn gets me and it is the right one.

At break, I see Terrence on the stairs. He ask me how my class are; I say "Okay." I ask him how his is, and he says "Oh they're sleepy but maybe they'll wake up with you." I say "I don't know about that." I go to the basement to have a coffee. I sit down to watch television alone. Esther comes in and joins me. I have a chat. We discuss day time television, trivial matters. Then it gets onto financing my Ph.D. and my career development loan. This change in subject was partially initiated by her. It wants to know how I live financially. She is asking about this because the money she needs to finance her doing her dissertation part of her MA, which she has not done yet. We talk about loans and how she financed her Diploma from the money she saved from working in the Middle East.

At lunch time, I go and get a sandwich. I go back to the basement. Peter and Esther are there. Peter says something on the lines of "You're late for your own meeting." It was the meeting to discuss the options and The Tokyo Group next week, where Esther, Peter and I would be teaching just them. There was a kind of, not a friction, but something between Peter and I. I think that this is because Peter was course director of

The Tokyo Group last year. He keeps telling me how he thinks things she should be done. To a certain extent I can understand that, but I feel a certain seniority because of experience and qualifications. We sort out the problems, and we work it out. Initially I thought that the students could work on their projects, but Peter thinks they should do classes, so I said that projects should be for just the afternoon. The mornings would be divided up with each of us doing one topic and repeat with the different classes. Peter wanted to divide up the classes by level; I thought that would complicate matters. I said that it was another hassle and not that important. He thought it was important. I emphasised that it was content classes, and not language teaching. I said that the variations in level between the students (elementary to intermediate) is not that great that they cannot manage to be in one class. In any case, I had been teaching all twenty-four of them together. We decided who would do what options. Then we went to the general meeting. I am still concerned with The Tokyo Group and ask around to find out how The Tokyo Group students are in each class. I find out that they spread as follows: six in Terrence's, six in Esther's, six in mine, and about six in Peter's. This means that there is spread over four classes ranging from elementary, pre-intermediate, and two intermediates, so it does not work out as a nice way of dividing them up into three classes. It would be a bit awkward. So, I thought if you divided them up into three classes following level this would cause more problems, so you might as well just divide them up in their project tutorial groups. I persuaded Peter this, or he just accepted my authority.

Jaclyn comes in. The meeting follows the normal pattern. We go through the classes starting with the top one, first of all with the Dolphins. Jaclyn seems more interested in, or at least asks about, students being absent. She also asks about individual students in each class such questions referring to exams they are preparing, if one has settled in and if that one is a problem. The whole meeting deviates into anecdotes every so often about such things as the teaching and the materials. This partly my fault, but is other's as well. It was nevertheless a short meeting which is over by about 2.30. One deviation was about noise in the classroom that Jaclyn taught in today, another about classes in general, Jaclyn talks about what the classes are like, how she finds them, if they are difficult or whatever. I think she found both classes she taught today nice. John, at one point, throws around mints, we throw them back. Jaclyn comments more about the students in the class she taught. She actually asked the class why the Japanese do not speak to Europeans. I was quite interested in this, so I asked "Why was that?" and she said it was about turn taking. When it gets to my class, I ask about the two Akikos because these are two students who are not in the Tokyo Group. I wondered whether they were staying on the general course or going on to study skills, and if they were going onto study skills would I have to write reports? She tells me that she did not yet; that she just got the information from the Overseas Unit with what they are doing, and she would let me know. This would mean that I could only write their reports on Thursday. It is as very casual meeting with a chatty atmosphere. There lots of jokes, comments and so on. Jaclyn then mentions again the options list, which we are supposed to give and I still have not done. She goes through the Friday routine of giving out evaluation sheets in the morning and giving out certificates in the afternoon. Then I bring up the subject of the Tokyo Group; the problems with reports. Do we give them reports because they are continuing on for another

week? Peter reckoned that last year they only had one report (one that was designed for them where the teacher just has to tick boxes). the head of the department is not about so it is not possible to ask him. He had said to me that we could discuss the matter next week, and I had asked him this about a month ago. This puts the whole issue to the last minute. Jaclyn said she would like the teachers to do the normal written reports for them because in doing this, she would have something to rely back on if people wanted to see something in the future, e.g. someone from the Tokyo Group. Then she goes onto speak about the students who will go on to a nearby institution of higher education that specialises in art and design. They need fuller reports because that is what this institution demands. This has nothing to do with me, thank God. Then Jaclyn reports back from the Overseas Unit about the problem of having too many Japanese students and you need to boost European numbers in August and July. We have quite a long discussion on this. We also discuss the problems of the teachers running out of materials to teach the higher levels. We got onto a discussion on marketing, which we all discussed but I am particularly interested in because I think there is a problem with this at the institution. We discussed different types of courses that might be offered, e.g. courses for the retired, more ESP courses such as medical courses. We talk about Sharon at the Overseas Unit; how she is as a marketing manager, how she was recruited. We talk about getting students. Jaclyn say "It's a battle, it's a headache, it's so frustrating to get the marketing people to do what you want, go to the countries we want to get people because we notice a conspicuous absence of particularly east European students, Russian students, South American students and Arab students." I made the comment that we seem to just have Japanese and Europeans. These issues are discussed. We discuss particularly how you cannot plan for the higher levels using normal books. Jaclyn asked for comments for the report on the course that she would write. There is a quite a big discussion on afternoon option changes. I had to pop out to open up the lab and check if anyone was there because I was on lab duty. No one was there. So the discussion continued on the advantages and disadvantages of the option changes that were made for this year. The previous year had a range of options offered to all classes while this year the 9.00 generally took the same class for options. There were several comments; Jaclyn asked questions. Terrence asked a question like "Did you feel like you were in control of your teaching by having the options for your class?" Jaclyn highlights some of the problems and she seems to sum it up that it worked very well at the lower levels but it was more problematic at higher levels probably because they are more difficult and they wanted different things. Actually from what Linus and John, who deal with the top two classes, said it did not seem to be such a problem. Linus gave some gave a successful example of having taught business English. Terrence highlights some of the problems of student expectations with the title of options compared to what actually happens in them saying that they have to be well described. When he was talking about this he said "...customers, er , students..." saying this as if made a slip in saying "students." I asked Linus if there was a problem if he felt there were certain options he was not confident in teaching so he would not offer them, and felt bad about that. My idea was that there could be more flexibility with teachers teaching options so that teachers could teach an option to a particular class specialising in what they are good at, the class would not necessarily be their 9.00 class. However, this was misunderstood by several people including

Jaclyn who said "Are you data collecting now?" I said I was data collecting, because I was data collecting about the meeting, but I think they thought that the aim of that question was data collection. In fact it was not asked for those reasons; I was just curious, it was a question I wanted to ask and would have asked even if I was not data collecting. I just wanted to make the point that you could have more flexibility so that if an advanced teacher was not happy teaching business, you could get an elementary teacher doing it, and the advanced teacher could do the lower class with another option. Anyway, I pointed this out and there were some jokes about it. Also on the issue of data collection, I think Linus and John said some humorous responses to this saying things as if I would note down such as "Oh yeah. I teach very competently" and "I have had very successful classes" in an obviously false way. I raised the issue of resources, because I thought that our office was in a bit of a mess; there were resources in different classes; and it was a problem because there was not one central resources room as you find in private language schools that I have worked in. This was due to full-time staff members tending to take resources and keep them in his room, e.g. Simon with business materials. Theoretically, Matthew's office, the resources room during the academic year, was not open to us and the we could only use the materials available to us in the temporary office. In reality, people did go into Matthew's office to use materials. I asked Jaclyn about this, and she made the point that the materials in our room were the only materials we were supposed to use, and she put option materials that were available out. However, because there were not specific options like last year when there was a list of options for all classes, the materials could not be specific enough. If we needed extra materials for options, we should have asked her and she would get them. She did point out that obviously some people do plan at the last minute. There were humorous, sarcastic comments at this from some teachers such as "What me? Plan at the last minute." I also raised the issue with the teachers about turning off the computers when they leave because the porters pulled the plugs out, and I told them about the Tokyo Group party on Thursday.

After the staff meeting, I had to go to the lab. There was no one there. I went up to the office, and then I left, leaving Peter there, who said that he would probably do some reports tonight.

The following notes were recorded from Tuesday 1st September, although they refer back from Thursday 27th August. The reason that I was so late in recording them up was because I was so busy on Thursday and Friday that I did not get round to doing them.

3.30 Thursday 27th August

I was not looking forward to going in because it was going to be a particularly busy day with The Tokyo Group lessons to prepare; reports to do; and then straight onto the Tokyo Group evening without going home. I came in. There was no one upstairs nor in the basement where I then went to do some photocopies. John came in the basement, and he accused me in a humorous way of not saying "Good morning." I said "I had actually." He put his arm round me as he normally does, being quite a touchy person. We discussed the 9.00 class. I said that I am doing loads of grammar for them in a kind of exaggerated way because that is all they want, with a lot from Murphy. I said "I shovel them grammar." He said that he is not doing grammar,

and he asked if I think it is okay if he lets his class prepare presentations in the library, and just monitors them. I say that I think it is fine. I say that it is a typical EFL thing thinking that you have to monitor them and teach them all the time as compared to higher education where it is not such an issue. I go to the classroom and Jaclyn shouts at me in the corridor asking if I am there. She says that she does this because she always hears people in the corridor and gets them. She says that I will be observed by Cherry. This is the woman who had observed some classes the week before as she was planning to do the CELTA at the institution. I would be observed at 11.00. This did not really cause a big problem for me, even though I had not prepared extensively for the class. I think this was because she was not a professional, so it is not so worrying.

At break, I was busy. I was late and I went to the basement. Then I went back to the class. I noticed had left a message on the board as he often did with its familiar and friendly style. Part of it included:

> We're in the computer room
> How are you?
> See you there!

At the end of the 11.00 lesson, I talked to the observer. She said thanked me. I go to Jaclyn to find out if I had to give reports to the two Akikos, the two non-Tokyo Group students. Jaclyn said that it was not necessary. Cherry comes into the office, and thanks Jaclyn as well. I go to the basement. Esther and Peter are there chatting about nothing of relevance. Esther is copying. It is the beginning of lunch time, i.e. about 1.00. Peter asks jokingly "Why are you planning now? We normally only plan at five two." Some of the students from the top class come into the basement and ask if they can watch the video. A big group come in to watch a video they have made for themselves as part of their course for their project. I go upstairs to the office with Esther and Peter. There is a problem with materials for the Tokyo Group for next week because there were a lot of materials prepared from last year but these had disappeared. Peter said that he had done gap fills which were very good for them. Linus comes in and makes a comments about if it is tidy here. Linus then comes into the office and makes a sarcastic comment on the lines of "It's tidy in here."

After the afternoon lesson, it is very much a rush. I come back to the Harmer building to write reports. I chat in the basement first of all to Terrence. We talk about the subject of private lessons; about the prices he charges. We both realised that we had the same system for charges where we tend to charge more if people can it afford more. If it is an easy lesson, if it does not demand so much preparation or if the students are not very rich, we do not charge them as much. We tend to charge around the same prices. Esther comes in. I go to use the phone and they make a humorous comment about my busy private life, and there are comments about me being an organiser. We are having a cup of coffee as a break before going up to do work. We are discussing how open students are. Terrence gave an example of a female Japanese student asking him if she could be excused because she has menstrual pains. We talk about how honest they can be

about such issues including flatulence. Jaclyn comes in and the discussion continues. She makes a comment about honesty and I say that perhaps in different languages you say things that you would not say in your own language and you do not realise the power of the words you are using. I go upstairs and I write the reports. I cannot do it in our office because Peter is working there (the reports are written on the computer), so I use Simon's office because he is on holiday as well as Sandra. The reports I write are basically the rewording of the reports I wrote for the previous course using very similar syntax changing some lexical items according to the level of the students. The reports were the quickest I had done so far. I did them particularly quickly because as they were The Tokyo Group students who were not originally going to get general course reports but get different reports the following week, and I did not think that they needed that much care and attention because they were going to get another report. After finishing this, I go upstairs to the office. I think there was Linus, John and Peter. John is writing his reports very slowly on the computer. We have a very trivial laddy chat. There is a lot more swearing than there would be if senior members of staff were there or if female staff were there. When I had a meal the week previously with my fellow research students. I was talking to Serge who had worked at the institution and he made the point that he thought that the Harmer building was a fascinating place to work. He observed that in during the summer school there tended to be more young male teachers, and the female teachers tended to be in the majority in the academic year. Once the females were absent and in the minority, the atmosphere became more laddish with for example the young, single male teachers chasing the female students. I noticed that it has been like this in terms of the gender balance, and there is an element of laddishness which does expose itself on occasions. To my knowledge there has not been, however, this 'chasing' of female students. I wonder if it is because most of the young male teachers, e.g. Linus and Nathan, are married or have, like Peter, a regular girlfriend. As far as I could tell the only single male heterosexual teachers were John and I. We go to the Ship before going to the Tokyo Group evening. There jokes about there being so little food that it is better to get a kebab beforehand which John did. In the pub there is lots of EFL chat. I did not really note this all down because I was drinking at the time. What I can remember is one point I did make was about the nature of the EFL profession whereby Sara was leaving and I said she was mad to leave because she had such a decent job here and it is so difficult to get a decent job. I think Peter was quite surprised that I said this and said that I sounded like his dad. He said that she had a very good job abroad as a director of studies in Madrid for International House. I made the point that you get a lot of people coming back to Britain, and I thinking particularly of the people working at a local Japanese tertiary college, with extremely good qualifications such as MAs from well-known courses at places like Reading and Lancaster; they may have published teaching materials; they have had excellent experience abroad in terms of curriculum development, in terms of directing courses, directing schools and departments, come back to Britain and they can only get crap jobs. Of course, by saying this, I realised that this was exactly the position that Linus was in which was a bit embarrassing. In fact, he had come back after a long period working in Japan. I noticed how he said in that conversation that "TEFL is a Mickey Mouse career." Linus, rather like Matthew, is in the position (and to certain extent people like Brian and John) of scraping around

trying to get a permanent job in Britain doing lots of temporary-contract work. It seems to be only the very lucky who get permanent positions in the private or state sector. A permanent position in higher education is very lucrative and has far better conditions that those in the private sector (in terms of hours, benefits etc.). Sara left, it seems, because she had itchy feet.

We went to the Tokyo Group evening which was very entertaining. The evening that was completely organised by themselves with no outside help from the teachers. They were very outgoing; they were standing up in front of everybody using a microphone. They were organising people including themselves and members of the audience (i.e. teachers and students from all the other courses and groups) for things like games and for getting food. They were even using the microphone even with their limited English. This made a contrast to how quiet they can be in the classroom. When we were doing one party game, musical chairs, the teachers who were doing it were constantly making ironic comments about what we were doing, about how some things that were being done were so typically Japanese, e.g. musical chairs. It seemed that everything we were saying, whether it was referring to the students or the activities, had a certain sense of irony.

3.31 Friday 28th August

As seems to the habit for the Fridays on the last day of the course, the teachers were late. They were late for classes. I go in. I spoke to Peter and Linus. They are talking about two Spanish girls they took to a pub. I went to see Jaclyn for some stuff. I go round inviting all the teachers to the pub at lunch time because some people were leaving and it is the end of the summer general course.

At break I go to Jaclyn's office. Peter is there discussing pay. Is asking if he will get paid for the Bank Holiday on Monday. I go to the basement. Terrence is there and asks me how my class is, as he often does. I say that it is okay. I say that some of them are missing because they have gone to Edinburgh. I ask him how his are. He said that he is glad that some of them are missing. I go into class for the 11.00 lesson. Again he has put a message on the board. It is an odd message about clothes and instructions. It reads as the following:

This afternoon please bring some clothes to the class.	Every two weeks we fill in this questionnaire. This is at the end of each course. Thank you for your help!! Terrence

We went to the Ship for lunch. After the afternoon class, where I showed them a video, I went home very quickly because I had things to sort out at home and I was going away for the weekend.

3.32 Tuesday 1st September

There were no lessons yesterday because it was the August Bank Holiday. The Overseas Unit were supposed organise some form of trip. I do not know what they did. As I am the course director of the Tokyo

Group and as there are two other teachers involved (Esther and Peter), I am extremely busy. I came in and I was sorting things out for this in terms of trips; which teachers go with which classes; at what times; and so on. I see Nigel, the teacher who has replaced Sara. In fact, I saw him earlier cycling in. I said "Hello" to him. We shake hands. He asked me if I knew he was coming. I said I did. It was a very friendly chat. I talked to him at the photocopier. Then I went to check the classrooms to make sure each teacher got the right classroom. Unfortunately, Esther's room was locked. She wanted to know what to do. She had already been to the porter. They sent her to the cleaning lady. I told her to go and find Jaclyn, and apparently Jaclyn was not here. In fact she was away on holiday and I had forgotten this. I said "Why don't you go to the department office" and she said that that was where she had already been. I said "Stick them in a classroom. We'll find them a classroom and give them something to read and we'll try and sort it out." I did not take over the situation because I felt that I had to sort out my class at the same time.

At break, I was very busy again sorting these things out, trying to get e-mails off for things such as to Derek to try and find out about the Thursday trip to London. I still do not know what is going on for that; I do not know where we are going there. I was considering taking Thursday off so that I could catch up on the paperwork. I have also got to contact the head of the department about forms for the Tokyo Group. I chat to Nigel in the basement at break time. We talk about jobs, about Sara leaving and said that I thought it was a silly idea for her to leave. He realised that it was a good thing to get this job. He had left a permanent job to work at the institution before starting in the summer. He had thought that it would continue on a permanent basis. He got work through the summer and up to Christmas and then he was laid off. I find out that Jaclyn is definitely on holiday. I go to Simon's office. John and Linus are there. I find out that John is in charge of the general course; the course director. My problem was that I was looking for the Tokyo Group reports. John says "Don't if you've got problems. We've done it all wrong this morning. We tested the study skills students and we are not supposed to test them." I then see Peter and check if he knows where he is going for the next lesson, I ask him what class he is going to and I ask him what paper work I have to do for the Tokyo Group. It seems that I definitely have to do a course report, a students report and there is something about a marking scheme for the presentations. There was a marking scheme from previous years but he does not know much about it.

I have lunch in the staff room (I cannot talk about what was said) with Matthew and Esther. This was unusual for me to go in there. I had not been there for a long time, and that was more noticeable because there were things up on the wall I had not seen before. After lunch, there was a rush. I had to explain all things to Esther about what to do for the next lesson. Peter seemed more or less to know and had his own ideas about what to do. Jaclyn had come in despite being on holiday and she looked for the reports that had been done for the Tokyo Group students the week before, so that I could make a collection of all the Tokyo Group forms that had been done last week to help me do the reports for the end of this week. I needed to find these Tokyo Group report forms, which I insisted Jaclyn had because according to the e-mail the head

of the department had, she had. I go upstairs and actually find out that I have got them, so I apologise. With last week's reports, I notice that Esther's are absent. I sort all these reports out, and make photocopies of them. I was quite late in to arrange materials for the afternoon class, and I rush over to the class to arrive just on time. I notice coming into my classroom in the afternoon to do tutorials that there are lots of bits of folded paper with the students' names on. It would have been Esther teaching them. She had got them to do name signs to put in front of them.

After the lesson, I went upstairs to Peter and I discussed the fact that Esther had not done the Tokyo Group reports for the week before. We went over the materials and discussed them for the class on the British education system. He had done some OHTs which would be useful for me and he said that I could have them. I said that I had already prepared the lesson and he asked to see a my plan. I said that I had planned it in my head, meaning that I did not really want him to see my notes. They were rough notes and they would not make any sense anyway. Then he said what he has done, or is going to do, is blank out items in the text and turn it into gap fill exchange. He said that it is the best way to do this kind of stuff with these type of students, so they would really understand the important bits. I went to Simon's office to use the e-mail. Linus and John were there discussing a class and some of the attractive female students. John went and Linus said to me "What's Jaclyn doing here? She's supposed to be on holiday." as we could hear her voice talking on the phone in her office next door. His tone was almost one of concern.

3.33 Wednesday 2nd September

I am ridiculously busy because of the fact that I am a course director, this is the last week of Tokyo Group and I do not have any free time. I arrive and go to the ground floor toilet, where I see Matthew. I talk to him about my swimming. I go upstairs. Peter is busy working at the computer. I ask him if he has seen Esther about the reports she has not done. He wants to know what I am doing for the second class which is on the British education system. I explain to him that I am doing a "presentation", and he says "What you mean a lecture?" I replied "Yeah." I go to the department office and Linus is there. I see Esther. I ask her about the reports. She said she did not know she had to do them and that she just thought that she was doing reports for leaving students. I thought that this was ridiculous because she must have heard that they needed to be done because I made a big issue about this and it was discussed in the meeting last week. After mentioning this, she seemed a bit offy with me. I said to her "Well, obviously you didn't hear" in an effort to calm her down. It was a bit of a confusing time because I had not decided yet whether to take Thursday off to do all the paperwork, or whether to go with them to London. My decision at that time was if the Houses of Parliament was off for Thursday, I would go with them because we would have to separate our students into three groups for three different visits in London. Esther gave me the acetates for the education class. I was a bit angry about this report business. I saw Eric who was seeing Derek for a briefing on the trip tomorrow. Eric being responsible for the Hong Kong students who were going with us to London and were definitely going to the Houses of Parliament as it had been planned well beforehand. That annoyed me as well, because I felt that I was being ignored.

At break, I was in a complete rush. I went to see Esther and Peter to give them messages about the trip because I got the information on it about times and so on from an e-mail from Derek. I saw Esther but I could not find Peter. I decided that all the students and teachers to meet at 2.00 to decided which places people would go to visit in London (the Houses of Parliament was off) such as National Gallery and the British Museum. As I could not find Peter, I left a message on his desk to tell him what to do.

Lunch time was a rush. I bump into Dai, an old colleague from a local Japanese tertiary college where we had worked together. We talk about the problems of this institution, because of the level and quality of the students, and what they were expected to do there academically. I then saw Peter going downstairs to the basement so I went down to see him to inform him more about Thursday about what was going on. I told him that I had decided to go. I also informed Peter and Esther that they we would be expected to do a third of the reports each because I would be going to London. I got a quick sandwich, went back down to the basement and ate it quickly. I went over to the Overseas Unit to see Derek and Marilyn. Derek seemed to be very busy but he had time to see me. I went to see Marilyn to find out about what money would be left from the Tokyo Group budget to give a prize for the presentation, and if there was anything left for London for such things as museum entries or tube fairs. I got money for some prizes and they gave me some the Overseas Unit tee-shirts to give away as prizes as well.

At 2.00 there was a room problem. I went into my classroom and there was someone there from another department who was quite rude to me because he was interviewing. In fact the room had been booked to the department beforehand so I was in the right. Then we had joint meeting together. I was then stuck in a classroom while the students were preparing their presentations in the library and in other places. I wanted to write my report but I could not because I had to wait there because all the students' stuff was there.

At 3.30, I went over to see Marilyn to sort a few problems. There were administration problems about getting money and so forth. They were very friendly there at the Overseas Unit. Then at 4.00 I went to see the head of the department about the Tokyo Group course. I realised that I had not given the students enough cultural trips, but I had not known that I was supposed to do this because of the file being missing from last year; because of Peter being absent; because Brian was not at the institution any more (he had worked on The Tokyo Group before). Consequently, I did not have a clear idea about what I was supposed to do for the course. Jaclyn had not informed me very much about it either probably because she had had very little to do with it. The head of the department informed me that I had more paper work to do for Friday, which has put me in more of a nervous state. I then could not get to use the computer which prevented me doing some of the paper work, so I went home. I feel like a nervous wreck because I have got all this paper work to do and I have to go to London tomorrow so I will not have time to do it then, and I am going away on holiday on Friday so I will have to get everything done by Friday. I will probably have enough time on Friday afternoon, but the thought of deadlines and getting everything done on time adds

pressure. Interestingly enough, I have been in this kind of situation before working at other language schools with reports and so on, and I always manage to get it done on time, but there is always seems to be this panic at the time.

A further point of interest is that the reports I am writing now which essentially involve ticking boxes that are divided into the areas of language (lexis, pronunciation and grammar), the four skills, effort and attendance. This a set form from the Tokyo Group university with each area graded from A to D. However, the head of the department informed us that every student must have grades ranging from A to B because they must pass this course (it counts as part of their degree). Therefore, we do not really give them marks that actually reflect their level and achievement.

3.34 Thursday 3rd September

I recording this on Friday morning at 6.55, which demonstrates how busy I have been. I arrived at 7.40 at the meeting place for getting the coach, the main entrance of the campus. I was the first teacher there. There were some students there. Then gradually more students and the teachers arrived. The coach arrived. It was a double decker. We got on it. The teachers sat at the front of the coach, which is very typical in my EFL experience (as well as in all my education). There was myself, Esther and Eric. Peter did not turn up. We chatted all the way. There was not a lot of shop talk. We talked a little bit about PGCEs, and the work involved in doing that, but there was not a lot on TEFL. In London we split up. Eric took his Hong Kong students to the Houses of Parliament; I had to take Peter's group and my group together. I dropped off Peter's group at the National Gallery and then took mine to the British Museum. Esther took her group to the Tate Gallery. The teachers did not join up together in London. There was no social meeting between the teachers (as has happened in my EFL experience). We did our own separate thing once we had left the students at the museums (after having got them in there and orientated them).

When we got back to the meeting place for the coach, three of my students (from the British museum) were late. Two of them turned up and one was still missing. We waited there with the coach for about 20 minutes after the final pick up deadline. I had told them to be there at 4.20 and that we would leave at 4.30, so we waited until 4.50. Eric and I discussed the procedure for these situations. It seemed that I should stay as the course director while I would also recognise her and I know who she is. This made things even worse because I wanted to get back to the town where the institution is to do some paper work. The coach left and I waited for her with two of her friends. She finally turned up and we got the train home. I did not get back to the town where the institution is until about 7.40 and I was too tired to do any paper work, so I went home.

3.35 Friday 4th September

The consequences of coming back late from London was that I had to get up quite early and break my normal routine and not go to the swimming pool before work on a Friday so that I could do paper work. I arrive at the Harmer building at 7.45. I had to write and design a project evaluation form, a student

questionnaire and write the course report. To give time for this, I was not able to watch the student project presentations. I will probably be incredibly busy this morning doing this. Because of this, this will be final entry for the notes because I know how busy I am going to be sorting this out. As well as making sure that Peter and Esther do the right thing (if Peter turns up), running about updating the course file, getting copies of the documents done and getting them to the head of the department so he can send them off to Japan.

N.B. Peter did turn up and apologised for not turning up on Thursday. Apparently he overslept. He asked me not to mention this to management, and I told him I would not (and I did not). I got the paper work done just on time. A couple of the Tokyo Group students wanted to know why they did not have general course reports like the other students (i.e. Esther's students), so after trying to give excuses, Esther had to go off and write them reports quickly. I went to the end of the presentations. The prizes were given out and the students thanked us for the course and insisted on taking lots of group photographs containing the students and the teachers.

Appendix 4

4   The Group Interviews: 'The Video Extract'

4.1   Description of the Video Extract

The video was an example of teaching practice on a B.Ed. TEFL course at a co-educational secondary school in Hungary. As these notes are based on watching a video, there are some limitations to the description because the camera tended to be focused (during the part of the lesson used in the discussions) almost exclusively on the teacher. Consequently, it was impossible to gain an overall picture of the classroom, and the objects and people found within it. However, I was able to gain the following.

4.1.1   Teacher, Students and Classroom

The teacher was male, Hungarian and appeared to be in his early twenties. He was casually dressed in jeans, tee-shirt and shirt. He seemed to have an advanced level of spoken English and the lesson is conducted most of the time in the target language. Throughout the lesson he clutched a piece of paper which he referred to. I assume this was lesson plan or notes. He was either standing or walking throughout the lesson. The pupils were aged somewhere between sixteen to eighteen and numbered between twenty and thirty. Judging from the content of the lesson and what the students were required to do, they were at a high level possibly upper-intermediate. The pupils did not wear school uniform. In front of the teacher's desk, the pupils are sat next to each other behind desks in rows.

The classroom appeared to be modern, bright and in good condition. The walls were painted in a pale lemon colour and on the lower section of the walls there was a colourful abstract mural which went right around the classroom. The teacher had a large desk on which was placed his papers and textbooks, which he referred to during the lesson. He is stood behind, or next to, this desk throughout most of the lesson and all the way through the actual extract shown. Behind the desk and the teacher was a large blackboard and next to this was a loud speaker bracketed to the wall. There was a plant positioned on a piece of furniture in one corner near the teacher's desk. On the wall perpendicular to wall with the blackboard, there were three large, colourful posters, and above them a three-part window positioned just under the ceiling. There was also a series of posters on the wall opposite to the wall with the blackboard on it.

The lesson itself was based around a reading text taken from the students' course book, which was exploited by the teacher for vocabulary, grammar, reading comprehension and discussion. The type of text book used in the Hungarian secondary English language classroom followed the format of reading texts linked by a common narrative, which are followed by reading comprehension questions, and grammar and vocabulary exercises.

4.1.2 Summary of the Lesson

The extract chosen lasted in total for twenty minutes, but was shortened by fast-forwarding during the points in the lesson when the teacher was writing on the blackboard. This represented about half the lesson and did not include the discussion nor the grammar work based on the text. Apart from a few minutes devoted to pair work discussion, the whole of the lesson was teacher-fronted. That is to say all the communication that took place in the lesson is between the teacher and individual pupils, or between him and the class as a whole. This communication was always initiated by the teacher and never by the students, so there tended to be a pattern throughout the lesson of the teacher asking questions and individual students answering them in front of the whole class combined with him providing explanations to the whole class.

The extract was considered as containing the following stages in this order:

1. The teacher asks individual students for the answers to a homework task of grammar exercises.
2. He asks students to describe characters from the ongoing story they are reading.
3. The students have to match definitions that are read out by the teacher to vocabulary items that are written on the blackboard and will appear in the reading text.
4. The students create a story orally with individual students giving one sentence each based on a set of vocabulary items on the blackboard, which will appear in the reading text; the students read the story and are told to underline anything they do not understand.
5. The teacher asks individual students to say the answers to comprehension questions based on the text. It appeared that they did these questions without being asked to by the teacher, i.e. as a matter of course.

After this, in the part of the lesson not shown, the teacher asks the students if they have underlined anything (and they have not); and this is followed by grammar stage where students have to reformulate sentences from the text from the passive to the active voice, and vice versa. There is then a pair work discussion on crimes and appropriate punishments, which is followed by the teacher telling the students the homework exercises from the course book they have to do.

4.1.3 Detailed Lesson Description

0-2 minutes

The teacher says "Good morning everybody" and tells the students that he gave them homework and then asking one student by naming her to explain what it was. He then explains what it was (grammar sentence building using 'suggest') and asks individuals by name for the actual answers. He uses facial expressions such as nodding to express if they were correct as well as expressing this orally. He corrects one student by asking them to rephrase the sentence. He praises correct examples, e.g. "Very good."

2-5 minutes

The teacher introduces the lesson reading task by saying that they are going to read a new unit and saying what unit it is. He talks about some of the characters in the text (this is an ongoing story from unit to unit) and asks students by name to say they know so far about each character, i.e. each nominated student talks about one character. As each individual speaks, he says "uh ah" to show that they are correct, and occasionally rephrases their responses as well as asking follow questions. He points to his ear with one student to indicate that she has mispronounced a word.

5-9 minutes

He tells the students that he is going to write a few words on the blackboard and tells them to write them down in their "copy books." [I fast-forward the tape whilst he his writing the words on the board.] The words are written in upper case as vertical list and are the following: fingerprint, inspector, sergeant, recent, separate, stolen, contact, hide. He then tells them that they will meet the new words in the new reading text and that he wants them to identify the words by giving definitions in English. They must match the definitions with the words and if they know the five words they must "say bingo or something." He reads out the definitions which appear to come from a dictionary telling them in the process that they can write the translations in their "copy books." After reading through the definition for "stolen", he realises that he should have written "steal" and writes this next to "stolen." He uses physical gestures to suggest "below" and "above" when he says these words in two definitions.

9-11 minutes

Nobody says 'bingo' at the end and he asks the students if they got them. He then asks them for the equivalent translation or definition of the words on the board. He sometimes asks individuals by name; other times by asking the class for volunteers. He uses translation when going over the students' responses.

11-16 minutes

He writes another list of words on the blackboard and asks them to write them down in their books. [I fast-forward the tape whilst he is doing this.] The list are written in upper case as two vertical lists and are the following: detective car, police station, interested, contact, robbery, photograph, fingerprint, inspector, clerk, recognize, dentist, library. He explains that they are the key words they will find in the text and that they are the skeleton of the story. He asks them to create a story from the words with individual students each making a sentence from each keyword. He nominates each student individually to do this. During this process, he gives hints and aids a student who is struggling. When a student cannot do it, he says "okay" and asks another student. Again he shows praise to correct answers using gestures and language. He also gestures by pointing to his ear when he does not hear or understand what a student has said.

16-21 minutes

He asks the students to open their course book on a particular page. He asks students to read the story on their own and tells them to underline any language that they do not understand. Whilst they are reading, he writes some phrases on the blackboard. [Whilst they are reading and he is writing, I fast-forward the tape.] The phrases are written in upper case as two vertical lists and are the following: robbing a bank; stealing apples from a garden; watching TV without a licence; breaking a neighbour's window; being cruel to an animal; making noise in the street after midnight; fine of £5; hang sy; sentence to one year's/life imprisonment; the last two phrases are unclear.

21-25 minutes

When he has finished writing the phrases, he asks the students if they have finished reading. There is no oral reply but it seems as if he has gauged that they had by looking them and then he asks individuals by name to answer comprehension questions on the text, which they appear to have done without being told to by the teacher. He uses translation in helping to explain and go over the answers particularly in terms of language points. The camera zooms back and it is possible to see the students in rows. [I stop the tape after a few students have answered the questions.]

In the rest of the lesson, the following happens. He asks them if they have any questions about the text, about things they did not understand. None of the students responds. He gets the students to reformulate sentences based on, or from, the text from the passive to the active and vice versa. There is more use of translation both from his part generally to explain language and he also asks the students to translate phrases or sentences. As with the rest of the class all the interaction is based on teacher questioning individual students. During this stage he occasionally walks forward and stands between the students' desks.

He then refers to the list of punishments and crimes he has written on the board and asks the students to discuss in pairs what punishments suit which crimes. He tells the students he can help them with words. He then walks up and down the rows of desks helping individual students with vocabulary and explains it in front of the whole class. After a couple of minutes, he asks the students individually by name what they would do. In this stage, he has returned to the front of the class.

He then gives the homework which are exercises from their course book and ends the lesson thanking the students for their attention.

4.2 Notes Arising from Organising the Video Discussion

The process of organising the video discussions started in the January-March term with a meeting with the Harmer building teachers. At the end of February 1999, I e-mailed Jaclyn to ask her permission to do the research. She replied after a week suggesting that I go to a staff meeting at the Harmer building towards the end of term to discuss the matter with the teachers. She gave me several possible meeting dates that I could

go to. I decided on the 24th of March because it was easier for me in terms of my upgrade meeting. The meeting took place in the Harmer building in room HF03 at 13.00.

Jaclyn was at the teacher's desk. Nigel, Louise, Sandra, Simon and myself sat in the student positions as normal for the Wednesday afternoon lessons. Jaclyn asked me to explain what I wanted to do before the meeting proper started, therefore I could then go and not have to listen to a meeting that did not concern me. I explained what I wanted to do and all the staff agreed to taking part. I talked about when it could be possibly be done, e.g. after Wednesday afternoon lessons. Simon said comically "Why not on the 19th of April." This being when the Department meeting takes place and the joke being that they could avoid a meeting they did not want to go to. Nigel asked what kind of video it was, and I replied, again for humorous effect, "Well, it's not a wedding video" and then I explained what it was, i.e. a teacher training video of an extract of a lesson. Jaclyn and Sandra asked if it was the training video of them being filmed. I replied "No, it won't be that because of the complications" (i.e. problems of commenting on each others practice). I asked about what staff would be present in the following term. Jaclyn said that there would be seven teachers and informed me that Sandra would be absent because she was pregnant, so there would be replacement teachers. Jaclyn thought that it might be a problem to do it with the replacement teachers and I said that it would not. This is because I believe that that is the nature of the culture, i.e. a changing membership, but with a maintenance of the same values. Sandra said that it could be done at her house, either alone or with others (but would need a mobile VCR). I said that I may want to do it in July as well. It was established that I would contact them by email after April 12th. It had also been established that I would do it with some MA/Diploma students as a pilot study, which could also provide data in itself.

From the 26th of April to the time of the discussions I had been occupied with the final organisation, i.e. the meeting was for negotiating an agreement, the subsequent weeks had been concerned with dates, times and places, and getting the participants to accept this and come.

Organising, and negotiating with, the MA/Diploma students for the pilot proved to be far more difficult than I would have imagined. It was certainly more complex than arranging the individual interviews or lesson observations. [Perhaps because you are dealing with groups of people rather than individuals.] The list of suitable names and e-mail addresses came from Richard Cullen. I sent out an e-mail to all the students that, as far as I knew, fitted my criteria, i.e. experience in teaching BANA EFL. Andrew also e-mailed them to tell them about it in order to aid me. I got replies from a couple of them, and from this provisional times (i.e. which week it would be possible to do it). The week concerned was established in terms of the fact that it would be convenient for them. I then arranged via e-mail to meet the students after one of their classes, unfortunately they finished early so I was only able to catch three of them. However, they were able to suggest appropriate times and dates. I then arranged via e-mail to see them before a lesson started. I went to this but unfortunately some of them were late, so I had to give my introductory talk and

asking for confirmations at the beginning of the lesson. Some of the students were not aware of what I was doing. This seemed to be either because they were part time students or because they did not read their e-mail (or indeed they were not on Richard's list?). It was very hard to get volunteers with only Margaret willing. She had in fact already volunteered and had been, with Lewis, one of my e-mail correspondents. Of the students that gave their excuses, the main reason posited was one of time: they seemed to be busy with work (i.e. academic and teaching), teaching practice, or had home commitments. In general they tended to be older than when I was doing my MA, and I imagine with domestic commitments that younger students do not have. [Perhaps there may have been a lack of interest in what I was doing, i.e. they were more interested in their course, work, home etc.?] Finally, I had only three volunteers, much less than I had expected.

At the same time as arranging the MA/Diploma students, I was also arranging the the Harmer building teachers for video discussions. Again this was done primarily through e-mail and face-to-face contact. I first checked things through with Jaclyn suggesting the weeks when it could possibly be done. What was apparent from this was that the teachers needed a date earlier than I had wanted, while the MA/Diploma students were originally planned for the week of the 17th of May, but they wanted the following week because they had teaching practice that week. The teachers were planned for any time after that. However, for them it had to be either the weeks of the 24th or 31st of May, while for the students it had to be week of the 24th. Hence, in the week of the 10th (while I was also directing, and teaching on, a course) the constant problem was to arrange the dates so that the teachers' sessions would come after the students, otherwise the aim of the students' session being a form of a pilot would not have worked.

During the week of the 10th, I went to the Harmer building to arrange the dates and times with the teachers face-to-face. As with the students, it was a fiddily process to get them to agree to particular dates and times (although there was a difference in that it was not a problem getting volunteers). It was finally decided to have two dates, which on reflection was better because it meant two smaller groups, therefore each participant could say more, and I would have more material.

One interesting thing happened during my period at the Harmer building. There was a new temporary teacher, Margaret, who was replacing the pregnant Sandra. As she was new[60], she was not aware of what I wanted to do, so I had to explain it to her. This led to a situation that was similar to when Sara asked me what my work was about. I explained to her what would happen (i.e. watch a video of a lesson and talk about it). Simon was in the office and asked if it would be with a check list, and I explained that it would be an open discussion with them setting the agenda as much as possible. She then asked me "What's your

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[60] But of course she was not new in the sense that people knew her, she had done her MA at the Department, she had been working at a private language school nearby, i.e. the small world of TEFL.

dissertation about?" I suddenly felt a little embarrassed and felt that I had gone red. I said it was about teacher culture. She then said "Yes, but what is it about?" I then told her that because it was qualitative I did not want to tell her exactly what it was about because that could close the parameters of the discussion. She also wanted to know the content of the video. I would not tell her saying that that would close the parameters and I told her that she had not seen it before (Richard and Martin had assured me that). Simon made a joke about wanting reassurance that it was not a video of him.

4.3 Discussion 1 - 24th May 1999

4.3.1 Non-Taped Notes

The discussions took place in EF03: a small lecture room on the main campus of the college in the same building as the Department. The discussions were arranged to take place on Monday 24th May from 15.45 to 16.45. The participants were Margaret, Lewis, and Roger. They were all students on the MA/Diploma in TEFL in the Department (I think Margaret is ELE). They were all experienced EFL practitioners in BANA contexts as well as abroad. When I asked for volunteers, I specifically said that I wanted people who had experience in British private-sector language schools.

There were two possible videos of ELT classroom practice which could have been used: one with classes from Tanzania, the other from Hungary (see video notes). Each had examples of lessons which did not conform to the BANA EFL ideal. For this group I chose the Hungary II lesson because I knew that the students had seen one of the Tanzanian lessons during their course, so if I had shown them one of the Tanzanian lessons, they have had some preconceptions (in fact Margaret had not seen the Tanzanian video because she joined the course after Christmas). Hungary II also provided many examples of practise that contradicted the BANA EFL ideal.

I arrived at the room early so as to arrange furniture as necessary and to set the equipment up (i.e. the cassette recorder and video). In fact the room was booked out from 15.30 in order to give me time to do this and was booked out to 17.00 so that there would be enough time in case the discussions overran. I put two tables together to create a roundtable/square effect. Then I put chairs around it.

Margaret arrived just before 15.45 sitting at the round table, Roger arrives on time, while Lewis was late. When Roger arrives he sits at the table behind the round table, but after watching the video he joins the round table. Whilst we were waiting for Lewis, we have a chat initialised by me using a talk we had all attended the previous week as a topic (Rinvolucri on multiple intelligences). As the conversation develops, I find out by chance that Margaret had taught in Hungary. I explained that the video was of an ELT class in Hungary with a Hungarian teacher, but added that that is not a problem for the discussion.

Before playing the video, I told the participants that there would be total anonymity if used the data in the final thesis with their names being changed. I told them that the discussion would be recorded, but that during the period of the video playback, if there were any comments made, I would note them down. I said this so that they would be aware of what I was doing if I were writing notes. I then told them that I wanted to know their reaction to the video. One participant asked if there was a check list [I can't remember which], another asked "What are we looking for?" I replied that I did not want to tell them what to look for; I just wanted to know their reactions. During the playback of the video, all three of the participants wrote a lot of notes (particularly Margaret). After the video had finished and I had pulled open the curtains and switched on the lights, Roger joined us on the 'round' table. I set up the tape recorder. There were a few initial jokey comments then they went straight down to the discussion with my hardly intervening at all for a while. In the discussion, they covered a lot of topics and I noted the ones that tended to be relevant to what I was interested in, although interestingly enough that is what they generally talked about. This is what I noted as they spoke:

<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px;">

Teacher fronted - no student autonomy

                   - no creative language use (e.g. through group work)

Little student talking time

Teacher needs teacher development

Not communicative - course book

                   - sentence by sentence

Monitoring of groups

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The above notes are the themes I developed with the participants through questioning once their discussions, which were hardly provoked by me, had begun to peter out. I tried to get them to explain these concepts and their rationale behind their criticism of the lesson. 'Monitoring of groups' came out of their discussion of how they themselves organise group work. Because Margaret had experience of this teaching context, i.e. Hungary, she was able to illuminations to the discussion which in fact aided it, e.g. she was able to explain the nature of the textbook that was being used. I decided to make the questioning that came from the notes non-confrontational because I could get more from them by not confronting them. [Perhaps I am more of a David Frost than a Jeremy Paxman]. I shy away from provocation, particularly with teachers because I have to work with them and I know them. I ended the discussion when it seemed to have come to its natural end, i.e. the topics seemed exhausted and it felt as if the participants had nothing more to say.

4.3.2 Discussion Transcript

N.B. the transcript does not show phonological features because this is not at the moment for discourse analysis. [However I will probably need to clarify the system I am using and make this consistent with all the interviews and discussions]

Lewis = L ; Roger = R ; Margaret = M ; Chris = C

L: [Starts unclear] ...Hungarian standard?

M: I wouldn't say so...that was pretty...he used English to start off with [laughs]. There's hardly any Hungarian in there, which is...

L: ...which is quite good.

M: Yeah, I wanted to say good, not be judgmental.

P or L: Do you think I could get a job in Hungary?

M: [Laughing] Oh, definitely, sure. Ask my friend who's out there.

R: and British Council...projects.

M: Mmm.

C: Can we just stop for one second? [I check to see if tape recorder has been recording; the participants were not aware that the recording had already started and made jokes about this]

C: Okay, chat away. What are you reactions to that?

M: Well, the teacher did use a lot of English, which was quite refreshing for that part of the world, and er hardly any Hungarian, and I felt very little translation which is a usual habit I think in Hungarian classrooms. But maybe we shouldn't dwell too much on the actual situation.

R: Well if you sort of look at it sort of globally, uhm, the first thing that struck me was that it was the interaction was entirely...

L: ...was very teacher centred

M: Yeah, teacher student

R: yeah, whole class teacher student and there were so many opportunities where he could have put them into pair work when they were doing little activities and feedback for open class work. And just the amount of, obviously, student talking time was minimal as opposed to the teacher talking time which was quite a lot.

M: Mm yes.

L: Is that normally your experience for lessons to be so tightly controlled.

M: Yeah, definitely and probably even more controlled than that.

L: Really.

M: With er...well anyway I've seen lessons where the teachers [laughing] have answered the questions as well, and the students haven't got a word in edgeways.

R: I don't know what the level of the class was but uhm some of the language used for instance "in connection with" within the first few minutes.

L: [unclear] ...he was quite good because his structures weren't that clear to me really and they seemed very vague and not to the point but the students understood so...

M: Did you? Go on Lewis.

L: I mean presumably it was high school.

M: I thought it was mm, certainly secondary. Did you recognise the book that they were using?

T & R: No.

M: No. Because that's a handicap as well. I did first job, EFL job, with that book. It was 'Access to English', 'Getting On' I think it was, which is not exactly communicative.

L: Dated [laughing]

M: Yeah. And if he wasn't a very experienced teacher, and he didn't seem very old, he was quite young, so probably not an experienced teacher and even so uhm I think teachers would find it quite difficult to make things communicative, those activities communicative. It's basically story, text, comprehension questions, exercises, drill, story...

L: Oh I see.

M: ...and all the way through the book. Very dry. But as you say, it didn't encourage any pair work at all, not even asking each questions for the text.

R: And one of the interesting things, the vocabulary exercise...

M: Mm.

R: ...where he put the words on the board, the first comment but a little thing, he put them in block capitals which I think is probably a no-no...

M: Yeah.

R: ...but apart from that, the definitions seemed to have been taken straight out of a dictionary.

L: Yes.

M: Yes. Didn't you find the vocabulary he was explaining was [more demanding?] than the vocabulary on the board?

R: Yes, the problem is...is that...what was it? Was it a listening exercise? Because he was reading it out or was it a vocabulary or a combination, but it seemed that they were being challenged on more than one front. I think he would have been better having had the matching exercise on paper whereby you have the definitions...

L: ...[unclear] into pairs yes...

R: ...simply by definitions and the target words, and then pair work matching them up in pairs, and then feedback.

M: Yes, and not a dictionary in sight, I don't think. We couldn't see the students working very much but nobody was actually looking them up erm...

R: But I that...after a while I just became...it was very easy to switch off...

L: Yes.

M: Mm.

R: ...nothing really was happening. The focus was always on the teacher. I would have liked the focus to be on the students more to see what they were actually doing and how well they were doing. What was interesting is that he did nominate people quite well, the use of student names...

M: Mm.

R: ...he had a sort of quite unflappable presence, and did actually have one or two quite good correction techniques...

M: Mm.

R: ...some of the things when he was eliciting...

M: I noticed yeah.

R: ...indicating that things were not quite right and then eliciting the correct forms so...I think potentially he's a good teacher, I think...

M: Uh-uhm.

R: ...In some ways I think, but with some training, development.

M: A bit of development, reflection.

L: They seemed quite well motivated the students considering the level of language he used. I wonder if they had been primed for the class [laughing, J as well] because there wasn't any hesi..well there were a few moments of hesitation, but they seemed to know the answers fairly quickly.

R: I think the difficulty with this and making a comment is that we don't know really know what the aims of the lesson were, their level uhm what they done is timetable fit. If you have more context, then we would be able to say "Well he's not achieving his aims." You know.

M: I felt maybe he was a student teacher in fact but er when he was doing that vocabulary thing, he seemed to imply that it was a sort of game when he mentioned "bingo"...

R: Yeah [laughing]

M: ...but it didn't take on the aura of the game.

L: I didn't hear anyone say "bingo"

M: Sorry.

L: I didn't hear anyone say "bingo" [laughing]

M: No [laughing]

R: But there was a feeling of over control, there was no spontaneity in the lesson at all...

M: Mm.

L: Right.

R: ...which could be demotivating...but then that's what the children expect...

M: Mm.

R: ...that's what they are used to.

M: Yeah and then he used the idea of predicting the story but then it went back to sentence level again didn't it. Everything was on sentence level which okay with that book I suppose it can be difficult to get away from it, question answer...

L: Yeah.

M: But he could have actually done something with the text maybe.

L: Yes yes, is it sort of based around Sherlock Holmes or is it..?

M: No it's just an invented story about...

L: Oh okay.

M: ...erm a couple of people who work in a library, this Arthur, who's a bit of a loser falls in love with Mary and she's in love with somebody else sort of thing but he's a badden [T laughs] and I found when I was teaching it that students would just read through the book, all the story, and so you couldn't actually do any prediction work...

L: Yes.

M: ...anyway because they actually knew the story right till the end of the book, which was the most interesting part of it.

L: It's not uninteresting then this story.

M: The story's interesting in itself, but you could do that in a week and yeah, then you're left with the drills and exercises basically. You know apart from the text, everything is on sentence level...

L: Yes yes.

M: ...and nothing communicative at all...I've known teachers just to get students to translate sentence by sentence into Hungarian or from Hungarian into English...

L: Yes.

M: ...mm and not do anything very imaginative with it, err...

R: You've written a lot of...

M: Well I just went through writing down notes about what exactly what was happening in the lesson erm some positive...he did praise the students a lot, he certainly did seem to have a good relationship with them. He knew all their names and was asking people by name erm but never a sort of open question to let anybody sort of answer...

L: Display question.

M: ...mm this again seems to be a Hungarian method I think, although may be a lot of teachers do that but it is as you say very controlled, that in itself is controlled, isn't it?

L: Very controlled.

M: "Andrea, Jofee" whatever, but he praised them quite a lot. He was trying to elicit more information out of them when he did that going through the story sort of thing and "Where do you think blah blah blah? What do you think happened?" and so on. And it was quite refreshing that he actually got the students to read the story to themselves and not read chunks of it out loud, unfortunately another erm method of control [T laughs] there. I don't know how many students there were, there didn't seem to be a very large class.

R: You saw I think the first few rows but you couldn't see beyond that.

M: Yeah the way the names were kept repeating, there were about ten students or something like that. With a little bit more imagination I think he could have made it more communicative.

R: Mm.

L: Yes yes.

M: ...and perhaps improve the board writing, I don't like to see capital letters either.

R: No I don't.

L: Strange.

C: Why don't you like to see capital letters?

M: I was taught to use lower case letters at all board work, and posters and things. I think it's something to do with primary education.

R: Yes.

M: It's easier to read lower case than it is capitals because of the shapes of words and I think I was brought up on the look-say, one of the methods I was brought up on.

R: I mean certainly one, my training wasn't primary but it was secondary, but again never block capitals always lower case.

[A silence]

C: Erm there's sort of a few issues I'd like to explore listening to what you've been saying...

M: Mm.

C: You talked about, you said it was very very teacher fronted uhm...so what's the problem with that for you.

R: It's not...I think the problem would be is that for me if it's too student, too teacher fronted it becomes, there is no, the students are not aloud any autonomy so taking responsibility for their own learning also it does cut down on the chances of the students actually being able to use their English...

M: Creatively and imaginatively.

R: ...or it depends, there is a, within a lesson you, you know, you switch from the teacher-fronted whole-class work giving instructions, plenary feedback erm perhaps an open discussion has a place, a whole class discussion but then for some activities working in pairs it helps if there on a task, they're learning form each other, you do it individually, then a check with each other so there is actually communication going on, on automatic sort of default information gap on the work that they are doing, so it is genuine communication between two students and also the weaker helping the stronger, or the stronger helping the weaker [correcting himself].

M: It changes the pace of the lesson as well, the focus adds more variety. It's very dry, very boring, to have teacher student, teacher student, teacher student.

R: Also the other thing is the voice. When you throw your voice out in the open class uhm, it can even for native speakers in a situation where you're called upon to throw your voice out, and it's in there. Whereas if they've had an opportunity in a buzz group or in pairs to actually say the words, and you know to talk

about the answers in pairs, so when they are called on feedback, those words have actually been said so it's that much easier for the student to say these words...

M: To reiterate.

R: ...to reiterate and so it's just reinforcing what's being said. And again from the point of view of confidence I think it helps a great deal.

M: As we mentioned, I think that class was quite intelligent, on quite a good level, perhaps with a lower level class, it might have erm broken down if people couldn't have answered the questions correctly. There might have been too many errors there because they wouldn't have had any preparation beforehand.

R: Uhm yeah I think.

C: What about autonomy? What do you mean by that?

R: Erm...the fact that very often students become over reliant on the teacher and the teacher is the fount of all knowledge, and they're not actually looking to their peers for help and that they can learn as much from their peers and that, in a sense, empowers in that it...it means well we do know things, it's not just the teacher, I can help...

M: As least they can find out some things.

L: ...yes, so for instance you don't know something and I do, I can give that information...

M: They can help each other.

R: ...to you correct. So that is a boost wow, you know, that boost of confidence. I've got that and there is that...that empowerment....erm.

M: And also working on the language they want to say...

R: Yes.

M: ...I mean I don't think anybody in that class actually said a sentence that they felt themselves.

R: The personalisation...

M: Yeah.

R: I mean it was all very much controlled from the text, and they weren't actually sort of reflecting on the text, the content...where they were actually saying something that was creative from them...

M: Mm.

R: ...and that had their...the mark of their personality on it, nothing at all...which I think you know if you are...you learn a language to use it to make to have meaningful communication...

M: Mm.

R: ... and you know nothing is more meaningful than saying well basically you know that you that well quite honestly sir I thought that reading comprehension was dreadful...

M: Yeah.

R: ...I mean that's perfectly valid...

M: I mean he only touched on...

R: ...he or she has expressed something about it which is meaningful.

M: Any creativity was only touched on in the predicting the story and then it was...

R: Very controlled.

M: ...it was very controlled. These are the words, make a sentence up with these words and...we don't how creative that was. Maybe the students had already read the story beforehand and knew what was coming next anyway and were just complying with the teacher to make up sentences about it.

C: So the creativity for you is the ability to...to state your own opinions.

R: To state your own...and feelings.

M: Not just that, I mean creativity has got more to do with that. I mean to just use the language...to say what you want whether it's your own feelings or whatever and...but it was all very controlled.

C: And...and you feel in the way that you teach, you can provide opportunities for this creativity.

M: We hope so. [murmurs of agreement and laughing]

R: Yes.

C: Right. Erm...do you think that there may have been any problems in having group work in this class.

M: No, I wouldn't think so. They didn't seem disruptive at all...

R: Mm.

M: ...maybe that was because the video was on them but, they knew the language, they seemed to understand everything...

L: And very well motivated.

M: They seemed motivated yeah. Apart from when you get a class like that and you say get into groups, they're totally lost so they'd need a bit of preparation beforehand...

R: Yes...the [unclear]

M: ...they just don't understand.

L: So unless he was afraid of losing control...by giving them more autonomy.

C: So what do you mean by preparation?

M: Erm that you need to explain, well, sometimes, it depends on the class of course, sometimes when you ask a class to do pair work or group work who never ever done anything like that before, it's very strange for them. They think that you're losing control okay, that you're giving up control erm and that is to be taken advantage of er if not that, they think that you can't teach them so I think you have to do it very carefully and slowly perhaps. You don't just say right get into groups of four and then give the instructions out [laughs] because well first of all maybe people won't move so you need to carefully think about who is going to be in which group. So you might have to plan your groups beforehand.

L: You have to think out the instructions quite carefully...

M: And the instructions.

L: ...it seemed, well I thought he might have had a problem with giving instructions anyway...

M: Uh-ah.

L: ...the activities before, they weren't clear to me and the students understood...because I presume they were used to it. Something that was going to put them in the central focus, make them the central focus, it would have been perhaps a little...within time he would have felt perhaps that he was losing control.

M: Yeah. And the students would need to be probably be reassured that they were working, they were learning something even in the groups and pairs...

L: Yeah yeah.

M: ...because that's a worry for them as well I think...that they...they perhaps think they are only learning something if the teacher is talking...and...

L: It's a culture problem as much as anything.

M: ...that can be a culture problem yeah...yeah from the background experience and the teacher probably only thinks that they will learn something only if they the teacher tells them it...erm...and then there's perhaps an embarrassment at first of talking to each other in English, it's difficult to get students from a mono language monolingual class to actually talk...

R: Mm.

L: Yes, yes.

M: ...to each other in a foreign language and especially Hungarians [laughing] I've found...they find it very strange.

C: [unclear] to go back again, why do you think that it's important that the students learn from each other rather learning from the teacher. I mean this is the impression I get that...er.

M: Not important more important than I think...but it can be important for them to learn that they can learn from each other...

L: Yeah.

M: ...erm and they can have an autonomy over their own learning especially when they get to that sort of age upper secondary I guess or even high school, I don't know erm...that there are other methods, other ways of learning...that they can find out things for themselves.

L: Yes.

C: And you think that a teacher-fronted class doesn't provide that opportunity for them to find things out for themselves?

R: Well if if your...if you could say they are hearing others giving a contribution and if the contribution is correct valid that the teacher will accept it or correct it, but it's very indirect. It's going through the teacher all the time. I mean there's nothing wrong with teacher-fronted, you know, it has it's place but not from my own experience of the way I like to teach it...it does help also the teacher if the students are working in groups and in pairs. It helps the teacher to stand back and monitor and listen to them working in groups to see in fact how much they can use the language in a non-controlled situation without the teacher holding their hands and controlling every step of the way. So it allows the teacher to diagnose what're the problems, the weaknesses...

M: And it allows the students to realise they can actually use the language.

R: Mm...the language or that they have gaps.

M: Or that they have gaps.

L: Yes.

R: Or that they have gaps....and and one of the things that I like to do in teaching is to go round and monitor and watch and see who's who's confident and who's not confident and...and you can get a much better feel of the class dynamics and what's going on in the class erm and it also gives the teacher a rest for the you know to teach the you know if your teacher fronting a class, one I don't know how long the er sessions are but in a twenty-four hour teaching week and in the British Council you have twenty-four full hours...and every single one of those hours is teacher fronted and...

M: Mm.

R: ...it's it's exhausting for the teacher you know if nothing else.

M: It can be pretty boring I think...

R: And pretty boring yes.

M: ...for the students and teacher. I think another thing is that er students need to realise that they each other the fellow students have something to say and maybe something of importance. And students to learn to listen to each other.

R: Yeah I think that's very important...

L: Yes.

R: I mean even in this situation here erm he didn't actually ever check whether the other students were listening you know so what did so and so say and did you hear him speak up...

M: Mm, I think there...

R: ...and help them to listen to each other and understand.

M: He sounded pretty lucky because the students seemed to be of a similar level as well but if there were some weaker students in the class erm then maybe they weren't following what was going on, there was no opportunity for the teacher to…rm help give them any extra attention at all whereas as if…er given the other, the rest of the class some group work to do. He could have helped concentrated more on any weaker students, help them along more...

R: Yes so that is very true.

M: …so there are other advantages…group work.

C: There's another thing that I'd like to go back to, what you said at the beginning erm…you said that the book, the text book that they had, you said it wasn't communicative…

M: Mm.

C: …what do you mean by communicative?

M: Erm I mean that there is not built into the text book any opportunities for the students to have a real communication or life-like communication erm…The exercises are all question answer true or false as far as I remember and then drills so if the teacher follows the book by the, exactly as it is erm there is no opportunity for the students to produce any real language, language of their own. There is no opportunity for pair work, unless you consider that er one student reading a question that the other student can perfectly well see and then the other student answering that question which the first student could perfectly well answer for themselves is communicative, which some people seem to think it is but erm I don't think it is

erm…so unless the teacher can adapt in some way the exercises and the texts, the book erm there's no opportunity for any, there's no information gap at all anywhere in the book erm unless the students make up different questions about the text or erm say as Lewis said say what they think about some of the characters erm there's no opportunity to actually communicate anything of their own.

C: Do you two share this view of communicative?

L: Yes.

R: Yes I mean communicative where there's an information or an opinion gap…where the students are using the language in a relatively non-controlled situation, where there is an element of creativity and where the language they are using is for meaningful purposes. There is you know it's not uhm and they have a voice they are not devoiced. They have a voice.

C: When you say they have a voice that's something like creativity…

R: Yes, yes.

C: …down to something their own ideas or whatever.

M: Yes, yeah.

C: Just to go back to something that you said Roger. You talked about when students work in, when they're in group work in your own classes you like to monitor. What do you mean by monitor?

R: Well monitoring serves several purposes (a) for diagnostic purposes that you can see those people who are confident and using the language correctly erm there're the weaker students those who don't speak very often and you might want to change the grouping or whatever to try and bring that person out to you know put them into another group…various things you can do, obviously taking notes of weak things so you can go back and revise those things erm gaps in their knowledge oh gosh yes they can't, they don't have the language to do this, that or the other…

M: Mm.

R: …so we need to bring that in. But there's also the monitoring just on…erm…on feedback on how well or not the activity's going…

M: Mm.

R: …whether they are involved and interested whether I need to curtail that activity because it's not going anywhere, whether I need to prompt, to throw in something to provoke discussion, to give them a few ideas erm…but one of the things I always do is to let them start the activity and perhaps wait for a few minutes for them to get into the activity before…

M: Mm.

R: …going to monitor…

M: Because you kind of inhibit the er students…

R: Yes, I wouldn't…

M: …by too much presence

R: …if you're standing over them it sort of it can be…

M: …and also you can pick up any interesting answers…

R: Yes, yes.

M: …that maybe don't come out in a feedback but you've feel…

R: Yes, yes.

M: …erm very interesting and worth bringing up.

R: Focussing on content of what they're saying as well not just how they're saying it…

M: Mm.

R: …whether the language is correct but you know interesting ideas…

M: Interesting ideas.

R: …yes and…and being able to balance in feedback interesting ideas with you know with the language focus.

M: Mm.

[Short silence]

C: Just a technical point about monitoring. So would monitoring for you, would that mean going to a group or monitoring from some kind of distance away from the group?

R: Erm…monitoring…it's a mix so I would you know…

M: It's sort of hovering…

R: Hovering.

M: …in the background.

R: I mean I might monitoring might just be me sitting like this sort just sort of scanning the room…

M: Well it depends on your room and your…

R: Yes.

M: …and your set-up doesn't it.

L: I think you have to decide which activity your going to do it with because I think students do need a chance to get on with something on their own without the teacher looking over them…

M: Mm.

L: …because it…it for some students it doesn't feel right to have the teacher bearing down on them. They just feel uncomfortable so they you know there's two [word indisitinct] arguments in this, the tutors here fall on both sides of the fences. Some say you should let students get on with it…

M: Get on with it mm.

L: …keep your distance do something else I mean [laughs]…

R: Oh yes.

L: …and others, others say you know well watch what input is coming from them but I mean you can still do that and not hover and get too close. Some teachers…

M: You've got to know…

L: …seem to think they have to be you to be checking their answers…

M: You've got to know a class haven't you and…

R: You've got to know the class and as I say it is the activity I mean I've actually left, I've set up a student or learning-centred activity and left the classroom and said I'd be back in forty-five minutes and just let them get on with it and I've done my crossword somewhere…

M: Or you can be there as a resource…

R: Yes.

L: Yeah…

M: …if students do have problems or need to ask…

L: …if any problems.

R: If I do monitor, you know if there's a hiatus in a group you know discussion then I'll go over and check that everything is all right or in fact to go over…

J; Yeah you can usually see if people are having problems can't you if they're not sure about what to do.

L: Yeah.

[Short silence]

C: Erm…watching that lesson, it was slightly different for you because you know it…

M: Yes [laughing].

C: I was trying to choose something that might be unfamiliar to you…

M: Oh well.

C: …but it doesn't matter erm. Did you feel that the way the lesson was structured….erm the different parts of the lesson. Did that see familiar to you or did it seem rather alien?

R: I don't think…

C: The staging.

R: The staging wasn't…I mean you had the vocabulary, the pre-teaching of vocabulary and in inverted commas which…you know…the prediction…

M: Mm…yeah.

R: So there was an attempt…

M: Sort of a warm up…

L: Recognisable weren't they yeah…

R: …a top-down approach…

L: …you could see the aim of it couldn't you [a few indistinct words] where it was heading to could you?

R: No, I mean once you…

L: That's the way it was going [indistinct]

R: …[indistinct] where it was going or what the aims are and also the sameness in terms of the pace…

M: Yeah.

R: …you know it's well you know pace and change of focus where is it?

C: Do you think the fact that you couldn't see the aims might have had something to do that you only saw fifteen twenty minutes…

M: Yes.

R: Yeah.

L: Yeah.

C: …extract of the lesson….so in a sense it's not that unfamiliar.

R: Not that unfamiliar.

L: No.

M: No.

C: Double negative [laughing].

M: Unfortunately [laughs].

C: All right…erm…I thinks that's more or less…I'll just look at a couple of points…erm…[short silence]…so overall how would you go about, I mean perhaps you said this in everything you've said but what would you say to this teacher? He was a student teacher by the way, BEd student teacher. What suggestions would you give to him?

M: Don't use that book. [Everyone laughs].

R: He's stuck with it isn't he unfortunately.

M: Probably…I might try and advise him on some ways he could use or make some more communicative activities out of it or leave it on side altogether and do something more communicative perhaps have a book time and a non-book time but it can I know it can be adapted. Some people have tried adapting it and making more interesting and communicative activities out of it.

R: I think that erm I would actually do something more hands on and do some team teaching…

M: Mm.

R: …so suggest that we plan a lesson together and you know then take different phases of the lesson and then so it would be a question of you know handing over to student teacher sitting back and observing and then it's a very good learning situation.

M: And I think I'd work from his strengths that he'd…

R: Yes.

M: …he is doing a lot of good things…

L: Yes.

R: He has you know quite a lot of poise and is unflustered. There were lots of strengths there…

M: Mm.

R: …but he just you know…

M: But it's just the activities I think that he needs to work on.

L: Perhaps some observation [indistinct] it just might work.

R: If there are any other teachers who actually…

M: Probably not that's why he ended up in that state [laughing]. Some of the non-Hung- how do you say that. Some of the more inventive teachers, imaginative teachers perhaps…

L: Yes that's [laughing] [indistinct].

R: Yes it could be…yes.

M: It could have been a lot worse yeah…it could have been.

C: Any more comments?

R: I don't think so.

C: Thank you very much that was wonderful.

4.4 Discussion 2 - 27ᵗʰ May 1999

4.4.1 Non-Taped Notes

The discussions were arranged to take place from 15.45 to 16.45 in the Harmer Building with the teachers being Louise, Simon and Nigel. At 15.35, I went to the room in the Harmer Building (HG01) to set up the video and arranged other equipment and materials such as the tape recorder. I wedged the door open with a chair so that the participants could see that I was there. The classroom was one of the rooms in which mainly EFL took place and was quite small seating a maximum of about ten students. It was the room used as the temporary teacher space during the summer school. At 15.40, I see Esther, who had not replied to the note that I had previously sent to her (and consequently I had given up on her as a potential participant). We had a short conversation in which she made it clear that she would be willing to come to a discussion. She had in fact got the days mixed up and thought that the second teacher session was on Friday the 4ᵗʰ. I told her that it would be on the Wednesday, and I asked her if she could come. She told me she could not come to this day's session, but perhaps Wednesday's. She then wanted to know who was coming to each session and I told her. When I went through the Wednesday names she said "I'd prefer to no on that one."

By 15.45, the teachers had not come, but I could hear Nigel talking to some students downstairs on the first landing. I felt in a dilemma. I wanted to go downstairs and find out if they were coming but I did not want to appear pushy and perhaps upset them. At 15.47, I went to go downstairs. In fact halfway down the stairs to the first landing, I hear Nigel saying to one of the students "I've got to go because I've got a meeting." I assumed he meant the discussion. He acknowledged me, and said he would come in a minute after he had sorted out the students. At that moment I also saw Louise, and I asked her if she was coming, and she replied "Yes, I've just got to open the language laboratory." It seems they are both busy. Nigel has a queue of about six to eight students asking him about option classes. Louise seems to be responsible for the language laboratory. I assumed that she could leave it open and not help students because this was mid-term and the students were now familiar with it. We finally start at about 15.50.

There seems to be a friendly atmosphere [Does it help because they know me quite well]. The MA/Diploma session was also friendly, but I felt more relaxed and comfortable here. Before, I start the video (Hungary II), I give exactly same introductory talk as I had given the MA/Diploma students, i.e. tell them about anonymity, I will note any comments as they watch the video, I will fast forward when the teacher writes on the board to shorten the length, there will then be a discussion which I will record and I want to know what their reactions to the video are. Nigel asked if he had to make comments whilst we were watching the

video, and I said "No, you only say something if you want to. I said this so you won't be intimidated by my writing." I then gave an example of when one of the MA/Diploma students laughed at something on the video and I noted it down. When we were discussing anonymity, there were some jokes about what pseudonyms would be adopted in the final thesis. Nigel asked what name he would have and I said that he would by X and Louise would be Y. Louise then said that she wanted to be X, and this led to jokes referring to the film 'Reservoir Dogs' with references to Mr Black, Mr Pink etc. I ask if they would prefer the windows to be closed, and Louise, unprompted, gets up and closes them and says that she will leave them closed because they will have to be closed anyway (all windows should be closed by teaching staff after classes).

We watch the video. Nigel laughs when the teacher on the video says an expression in English which sounds rather odd, which I had noticed was odd the first time I had watched the video on my own [Something to do with pencil in my hand?]. He later laughs when the teacher gives definitions of items of vocabulary whereby he has to define 'sergeant' and 'inspector', and defines them by referring to the other. I notice that neither of the participants made any notes. Straight after the video has finished, Nigel makes a comment about the Hungarian accent being similar to the French accent.

When the discussion starts, it is a bit stilted compared to how the MA/Diploma students started their discussion. I prompt them by saying "Compare it to how you teach." [This is on the tape]. Once the conversation gets going, it is fine. I note down the following key points and the ones that are underlined are those which I expand on once they seem to have run out of steam.

- Teacher-centred [Expanded to include student-centred]
- Student language practice
- Heavy
- Definitions
- Meta-language
- No challenge/play safe
- Great that it is conducted in English (They seemed slightly surprised at this)
- Pairs, groups, talk to each other [Expanded on this in teacher-centred]
- Tiring for teacher
- Listening
- Speaking [Expanded on this in teacher-centred]
- Lesson directed by page of book/dictated by course book, no supplementary materials

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After the discussion had finished, the participants wanted to know what I was doing in terms of this research, so I informed them about the following aspects of it: it is qualitative, it is about teacher culture and how teachers think about teaching, the ideas come from the data, the video was a means of making them talk about teaching because it is an example of practice that is different to what they do. They are interested in this and ask questions. Early in this discussion of the nature of the research, Nigel asks if it is about student-centredness. I reply that it is partly, but it is about other things as well. [Did he guess because my questioning started on this or does he know something because he is a member of staff?] The video was once again very useful because it provoked discussion on the areas that interest me because of how it contrast with normal BANA ELT practice, especially in the fact that there is no group work, and how teacher-directed it was.

4.4.2 Discussion Transcript

N.B. the transcript does not show phonological features because this is not at the moment for discourse analysis (or are they necessary for discourse analysis?)
Louise = L; Nigel = N; Chris = C

It should be noted that this interview seemed to be for me quite slow to get going and there was a certain amount 'silences' at times. However, this does not mean that there was not a full and interesting debate.

N: You notice how Hungarian sounds very similar to French? (unclear comment)

C: Reminds me of you what's his name? The one who used to play Dracula. (Laughing from all) Bela Lugosi.

N: Bela Lugosi. My name is Dracula (impersonating Lugosi).

C: Right, I just want to check this works. (Gap in recording)

C: Okay, so erm . What were you reactions to that?

N: Ladies first.

(Silence for a few moments)

L: Not exactly sure what to say really.

N: Do you want an evaluation or…

C: Yeah, whatever you want to say. I don't want to define what you say. If you want to evaluate it, yeah that'll be fine. Or if…just…I don't want to define what you say…

N: Yeah.

C: …at the moment. I mean I've got some things I want to talk about but I'd prefer you to set the agenda.

N: Yeah.

(Silence for a few seconds)

C: I mean one way you can look at it, if you find it difficult to talk about, is to think of it in terms of your own teaching. A kind of comparison.

N: Yeah…yeah. Well, to…stating the obvious it was erm it was a very teacher-centred lesson, right. Erm I thought it started…very well. When I watched about the first fifteen minutes of it I thought well it is very teacher-centred but, it doesn't matter because even though it is teacher-student, teacher-student. I still thought that the students were given a fair chance to practice the language being taught, but then it started getting erm much too heavily teacher-centred I thought. It became very heavy…and er some…one exercise where he wrote the vocabulary up on the board and the students had to tick which one was being defined. The actual words were so easy that in his definitions, the definitions actually had a lot of difficult, more difficult vocabulary…

L: Yeah that's what I thought. The metalanguage was much more difficult than the actual words he thought he was teaching or…I don't know whether he did think he was teaching them though, or whether he felt he was just revising them…

N: Revising them.

L: …but then he wanted them written down in the book, their copy book…

N: But they had already written the story hadn't they I think so…

L: No they hadn't. Well I got the impression that it was an ongoing story so there were sort of episodes of it.

N: Right.

L: I don't know.

C: Yeah. That's what it is.

N: Right.

L: But the words he was choosing them to write down and the definitions he was reading out just seemed that the definitions as you say Nigel were just an awful lot harder…

N: Than the actual vocabulary being revised…yeah, yeah.

L: I suppose I would be quite interested to know what happened afterwards. You know, did it carry on being teacher-centred for the rest of the lesson and he just standing there and asking questions.

N: The whole, yeah, and also I mean judging from the responses the students were given their level was pretty high I thought and even though it is very difficult to say just watching such a short extract…

C: Yeah sorry to interrupt, it does go on like that.

L: Oh right.

N: Right. I felt that…do we get to watch more than that? That much? (Laughing)…

C: I only give you an extract (All laughing). A flavour.

N: I didn't feel that they were being really challenged enough. That's the impression I got. He was playing safe. It seemed to me.

C: But of course…

N: I don't the class do I. I haven't got a clue. That's just the impression I got.

L: Well they nearly always seemed to know the answers didn't they.

N: Yeah and their answers were actually quite accurate…

L: Yeah.

N: …they produced some good English.

L: I was quite interested though with 'suggest' because it seemed to me that he just used 'suggest that' didn't he. He didn't use 'suggest' with the gerund.

N: No he didn't. He wanted them I think to use 'suggest' plus 'should'.

L: Oh that's right 'suggest' plus 'should'.

N: Yeah…yeah. But it is very difficult to talk about a lesson and not evaluate it because it's…

C: That's fine yeah.

N: …but I don't know if that's how…how else…what else could you talk about. It's such a teacher thing to do isn't it…

L: It's difficult too…

N: …to say well watch that and just comment on it and your going to start pulling it apart which is not really fair in a way because you know this bloke with whatever with his limited resources or whatever he's got you know…

L: He was trying to at least design an activity wasn't he.

N: Yeah I mean I don't know anything about teaching in Hungary but erm I don't think it was a deathly lesson at all. I thought it was all right. You know it had its good things about it…

L: He must have taken, he must have spent time to prepare all those dictionary definitions of what the words were.

N: Yeah…yeah. But I think at the end, I think the basic question that you should ask at the end of any lesson is 'Have the students learnt anything?' And erm I think at the end of that lesson they'd probably should say 'yes'. (Silence then laughs) You know…it wasn't all. Yeah.

L: What do you think they would have learnt?

N: I don't know…vocabulary. What they were going to do was read that text and underline anything they didn't understand or anything they wanted explaining.

L: Do they read the text at some point?

C: Yeah. The last fast forward I did they were actually reading the text…the last point when he was writing things on the board and they read the text then and they had to answer questions as well.

N: Yeah. I thought it was great that the whole lesson was conducted in English…

L: Yes.

N: …or most of it was…which erm…I was…slightly surprised at, I don't know why, I was slightly surprised at that. I can't explain why but…it just occurred to me, so I guess as it occurred to me I must have been slightly surprised.

L: Mm.

C: At what?

N: That it was conducted almost all in English.

L: I got the impression that also he might have spent quite a bit of time preparing that lesson. I mean as you said it was really teacher-centred but I think it might have taken him quite a while to sort of prepare the lesson. You've got to get the dictionary definitions together…

N: The bingo game didn't work very well though, did it. You had…I can't see how…

L: How on earth, did anybody ever say bingo?

N: I think somebody did and let go. I heard someone go…make a noise…a half-hearted noise. I'm not sure if that person had got bingo or not. Do you know Chris.

C: I didn't notice it. (Laughs) It's the fourth time I've seen it and you pick up new things every time.

N: Yeah (laughing). Yeah I mean that was a bit wishy-washy because again we're pulling the lesson to pieces but er he didn't make anything of that at all. He had an idea, 'Ah what we can do is vocabulary bingo' and it didn't work because he didn't set it up properly. Yes. Did you notice that?

L: Now that you mention it I totally agree, yes. But I'm…

N: Because the students should have had different words each shouldn't they, if you're going to play bingo properly (joking tone).

L: I just thought the whole thing, I mean it's because it's so different, well of course we do loads of lessons that are teacher-dominated but you know not to even sort of have the students at any point seeming to work in pairs or groups or to talk to each other was rather surprising. Also it made me think how tiring it must be for a teacher…

N: Yeah that occurred to me as well.

L: …you know especially if they're going to carry on doing that for the rest of the day.

N: Mm…yeah…yeah. That is surprising. Especially as he is a teacher who believes in conducting the lesson in the target language erm…and he decides he doesn't do any, well maybe he did later on in the lesson, did he? Sorry Chris, did he put them later on in the lesson in groups or pairs or whatever speaking to each other?

C: No, that's a fair flavour of what the lesson was like…

N: Right.

C: …what it represents the whole of it. That is one of the reasons I didn't show the whole thing to you…

N: Yeah.

C: …there is nothing different.

N: Because obviously he puts a lot of emphasis on speaking because a lot of it was, most of it was, spoken but then he didn't put, he didn't choose to do pair work or…

L: I doubt whether it was actually emphasis necessarily on speaking. He seemed to be checking for understanding maybe, understanding of having followed that story and erm…he checked the homework didn't he and just checked the homework out loud. I don't know whether I would really think that you would learn much about speaking from that lesson…you'd perhaps learn more about listening if anything, you know, with him reading out these sophisticated descriptions of fairly easy words and they were being

busily copying them down in there books…it reminds me quite a bit of how I was taught French at school…I think it would be quite tiring for the teacher.

N: Yeah…yeah…although he was correcting their pronunciation…he did now and again.

L: Yes but I don't see any way in which he was really kind of teaching…

N: But that wasn't the aim of the lesson though…

L: …with the aim to improve his speaking…I mean it seemed to me that the lesson was, you know…the aim of the lesson…was dictated by the pages in the book they'd reached…don't you think so? I mean you know they'd reached a structure erm…

N: 'Suggest'.

L: 'Suggest' plus 'should' and they'd reached a certain point in the story and he'd chosen certain words he wanted them to write in their book and then tried to make a little activity out of it with definitions. It seemed probably that it was completely dictated by the course book.

N: Yeah.

(Silence)

C: All right, do you feel that you've said your piece now (laughing). I don't mean it that way (all laugh) but you've…what I have been doing is to sort of develop this is I've just been writing out some of the key, what I think are the key things that you've said and some of the points that you've made or certain concepts…and…if it is possible, I going to go through them, or some of them as many as I can and if you could just tell me how you perceive what is this concept, what does this mean…this concept so these are concepts you've said.

N: Yeah.

C: So I mean the first thing you said was teacher-centred. What do you consider teacher-centred is?

N: Erm…I…it's teacher to student, student to teacher so in other words where there is no, no interaction at all between learners and so it is the teacher who asks the questions and it's the teacher who gives the prompts and it's the teacher who corrects…and it's the teacher who's just the dominant one really yeah well yeah.

L: The teacher has control…

N: Of what goes on.

L: …everything that happens.

C: For example, like what?

L: Erm well certainly the content of the lesson and then the broken down into the different parts, the teacher decides when with finished with should, 'suggest' plus 'should', and then moves on to the next thing. The teacher decides the agenda. The teacher has decided the complete agenda…erm. The teacher didn't at any point invite them to ask questions, did he?

N: No, he didn't, no.

L: He didn't invite them to ask questions. I think that teacher-centred is characterised by the teacher doing the question asking and the student doing the answering, so the teacher is defining the lesson and the teacher does more talking than the students.

C: You said 'dominant'. Is that what you mean by dominant? What Louise has just said. You said the teacher is dominant in teacher-centred classes.

N: Yes. So if somebody walked into their lesson, if somebody walked into that room they would know immediately who the teacher was because he was one standing at the front talking to them…whereas…the lessons I've seen, student-centred classes, sometimes you walk into a classroom and you think 'I wonder which one the teacher the is,' because everyone is so involved and…interacting so much and working with each other, learning from each other…yeah.

C: Do you agree with this Louise?

L: Uhm, I don't think I have seen many lessons quite that spectacularly good but erm…I…I think for example that someone could well walk into a lesson and find students talking to students or students calling out a question to the teacher erm…yeah, involved in, I mean he wasn't using any different interaction patterns. It was either teacher speaking…

N: There was no variety.

L: …to the whole class or teacher speaking to individual student.

C: So the opposite is student-centred is that what you define as…as student-centred for example you gave two examples the students interacting with each other and the students asking the teacher their own questions. Is that student-centred?

L: I don't actually think that there are any lessons that are completely student-centred. I don't think so. I just mean that you know within the kind of methodology that we're more familiar with there will be student-centred times within a lesson.

N: Yeah.

C: And how would I know that they are student-centred these times?

L: Well really by what we said before, that you could come in and find the pairs of students were talking to each other. They quite often go off the subject that the teacher set for them as well. I mean so in fact sometimes the ultimate in student-centred isn't really necessarily what the teacher wants because they start asking each other questions about other things or giving each other bits of advice about living in this town or things like that. But erm, I think you would see by the variety of interactions patterns as opposed to everybody sitting down just looking at the teacher.

C: Is this how you see student-centred?

N: Well erm yeah, more or less, but I suppose if you think about it if there is such a thing as dictionary definition of student-centredness, I don't know if there is, but you could say because the teacher is speaking to individual students therefore he's giving them individual attention and he's correcting them when necessary. You could call that student-centred as well in a way…from a different angle. Do you know what I mean? In other words the student is at the centre of the learning so in a way I suppose.

L: But the teacher is imposing something.

N: The students not given choice you mean?

L: Mm.

N: And not erm…given an opportunity to be creative at all in the language. It's just…

L: Yes I think…

N: …very controlled.

L: …the teacher is sort of imposing some kind of control. But then again that's not to say that that's not a good thing you know.

N: No absolutely…yes…of course.

L: I wouldn't choose that particular moment as saying it was student-centred. I would just simply say that the teacher was giving individual attention to the student, but er assuming power in the situation.

C: So student-centredness has something to do, not just with interaction, but with this notion of power.

L: Mm (not sure) I think students have…

N: I think so yes that's a good way of putting it.

L: …yes.

C: So how do you define this power? What is this power?

N: To choose…to make choices.

C: What kind of choices?

N: To elect (laughs).

C: What kind of choices?

N: Well anything that Louise has mentioned before about erm…well let me think…let me think. It needs thinking about really because this is not straightforward.

L: Speaking at their own pace, speaking when they want to speak erm…having an element of control.

(Short silence)

C: Anything else?

N: Being able to choose…from their from the rest of their repertoire of language that they've got. Yeah but yeah. So he imposed this structure on them and they had to use, he wanted them to use 'suggest' plus 'should' that was one, yeah but then so what I mean I'm not saying that's necessarily wrong at all because I do it sometimes. He obviously wanted to control practice.

L: But then again you couldn't say that from that eliciting the homework, you know the sentences for homework, you would have no idea whether the students could really use that language erm when they were speaking if they spoke to each other. There was no…

N: Yeah but you don't know that do you though Louise because we saw twenty minutes of it we don't what he's going to…

L: …well…

N: …do the next day.

L: I think, I thought I was getting the idea that this was sort of like a style of teaching that was adopted rather than you know a style of teaching we allowed for pair work and group work.

N: Right so in other words so no one would ever know if they could use it spontaneously you mean…

L: Yeah.

N: …because it they never get the opportunity to…try.

L: Yeah, I mean there was no other there was no kind of speaking activity even if it was a fairly structured activity set up to see whether they could use it with each other you know…

N: Yeah.

L: …making suggestions.

N: But maybe they'd done that before because that was their homework they were going through so maybe they'd done that before.

L: I suspect what they'd done is read a page in a course book together and that they'd then gone, went home and…and answered the questions at the end of it…in a sort of structurally and situationally-based course book which has got a little story running through it.

N: Possibly…I don't know.

C: But imagine that that is the case.

N: Ah uh, then.

C: What do you think? (Laughs)

(Silence)

N: Well then I would say that…erm they're not probably getting what they should be getting be getting, which is the opportunity to develop their fluency, which is an essential part of language learning for most people.

C: What do you mean by fluency?

N: Being able to not necessarily accurately but be able to speak spontaneously in a situation and be able to draw from one's own resources and communicate effectively in the target language.

L: Being able to fill time with talk.

C: Er that's great. Just a couple more things. Louise you mentioned that, you said that the lesson was directed, seemed to be directed by the page of the book or erm dictate the lessons, later you said the lesson is dictated by the course book. You seemed to be critical of that. Why are you critical of that?

L: I suppose…I didn't get any sense of him using supplementary materials other than that he'd gone to some trouble to erm to go through the dictionary definitions of these words erm…I…as I said it reminded very much of my own experience learning French. There'd be some little story and they'd explain a structure, show you how it worked on the basis of form and then give you an exercise where you had to fill in the correct bit and they'd be no follow up which included some freer practice or even fairly controlled practice to see whether you could use it or not so I would say that if you, your lesson is…almost entirely dictated by the book so that the book is your syllabus and the book doesn't actually contain suggestions for other activities then you're going to only be doing grammar, you're only going to be doing kind of

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grammar exercises probably gap-filling kind of exercises and erm reading an episode from a story so you might actually improve your reading skills and erm…it was good that he always spoke in English, so you know accidentally they would you know, not accidentally but you know incidentally, they would pick up bits and pieces of English you know those certain you know possibility for acquisition language acquisition there but erm…

N: Because they were clearly going along with it. They didn't seem as though they were being left behind. Although there wasn't that much checking being done but…

L: No but the questions were very controlled and erm but yes the childr- you know the students seemed well able to answer to answer it. You wonder whether they were being pushed enough and erm I would say that they didn't have any real opportunity for self-expression.

C: So for you supplementary materials are a way of providing practice.

L: If the main book that you're using doesn't provide it then I would think that you need some kind of supplementary materials or a bank of ideas or a bank of activities in order to give the students more meaningful practice.

C: In a sense that was what was missing from the lesson.

L: Yes, in my opinion yes.

N: Yeah I agree with that.

C: They had the texts the exercises or the grammar but it was the practice that was missing.

N: Yeah…although actually I just they started telling the story didn't they. Remember that bit?

L: Well I thought he, what they were doing there was recapping on the story you know…

N: Were they inventing, were they making one up?

L: …no I think they were just trying to, he was just checking that they remembered what had happened previously in the story.

N: Oh right.

C: Actually you mentioned just before self-expression in students erm "Didn't have opportunities for self-expression." What do you mean by that?

(Short silence)

L: Well no sort of spontaneous reaction to things. They were I felt that they were forced into a passive role waiting for their name to be said by the teacher. I mean the teacher seemed to name a student and ask them to answer a question. That seemed to be the main technique that was being used. So it wasn't as if the students could you know sort of you know "Oh oh let me answer that one" you know anything like that it would be 'X', "What's the…" you know "this their sentence. What's the answer?" I would just say that it was…quite rigid in the way in which student-teacher interaction was defined. If the students were actually asked by name to reply to certain things. You could say it's good because he made sure that one student didn't dominate yeah, but it was still fairly rigid in that so far he was just I imagine rotating the questions around the members of the class.

C: Any comments on that?

N: No.

C: Somebody said, I can't remember who said it. One of you said that the class seemed very heavy.

N: Yeah I said that. Heavy and slow, a bit like walking through syrup.

C: So…

N: Not much, there wasn't much pace to it was there.

C: …so in terms of pace, it's heavy.

N: Yeah I think it was a bit.

C: Not subject matter or…

N: Well it was dry. The subject matter was a bit dry and his vocabulary items were a bit…erm unrelated. They all lead [previous word unclear] to the story didn't they?

L: Yes.

N: Oh okay so they were.

L: But you're right about the pace. The pace didn't seem to change.

N: Yeah it was interesting. When the camera panned out and you saw the students, there was one boy sort of with his hand over his eyes. I'm sure he was quite tired. It seemed the students were quite er tired from it.

C: So this change in pace is a way of keeping students alert then?

N: Keeping their energy, you've got keep their energy levels up. You've got keep their…yes. And I think it's important to have a variety within any one lesson, sometimes have something pacy, sometimes have something slow, sometimes have something noisy, sometimes have something quite whatever.

C: So this is slow. What would be something pacy?

N: What would be something pacy?

C: Yeah.

N: What in general…

C: Yeah.

N: …or something related to this.

C: You could imagine [not clear].

N: How could I pace that up?

C: Yeah.

N: Erm.

[Short silence]

L: Give them an activity, put them in pairs and er whereby they were going to use the structure 'suggest that.' In other words design some sort of little role-play. That would have changed the pace because it means that instead of speaking maybe once every five minutes they'd be speaking maybe…twice in a minute.

N: Yeah.

L: And I think it also might have woken them up as well. I mean obviously they perceive English as very necessary so they're going to hang in there and they will learn probably regardless of the methodology that's used erm but I would've thought that erm that…er they, you…well I think it's something that we would probably do in our own lesson if you suddenly feel that the students are kind of disappearing from you because you have been talking to much you suddenly think "Quick…" you know "…let's get them into some kind of activity. Let's get them talking to each other. Let's…" you know "…change the interaction pattern." Changing the interaction pattern is clearly one of the main ways of changing pace.

(Short silence)

C: You said it was great that it was conducted in English.

(Short silence)

N: Did I?

C: Yes [laughing]. I have it down here.

N: [Indistinct utterance]. It was wonderful, stupendous [humorous tone].

C: Why's that do you think?

N: Why do I think it was good?

C: Mm.

N: Erm…well isn't that obvious or do you want like me to…

C: No I'm interested in the obvious.

N: Erm…okay I'll see if I can express the obvious. Well as Louise mentioned before it's kind of erm…having somebody speak continuously in the target language is going to be some things that perhaps they don't know and there'll be a little bit of acquiring, sort of learning by osmosis. Erm getting them used to, I mean obviously I guess, of course I don't know, I guess in Hungary schools haven't got much money, perhaps they haven't got cassette recorders, haven't got access to a radio or TV or whatever, so just to get their, students ears attuned to the language for long periods of time is obviously beneficial…yeah.

L: We don't know about exactly what the relationship between teaching and learning is but you know there are, were opportunities for acquisition there you know and er if depending on…I know Krashen's a bit sort of out of fashion and everything but I think quite a lot of people would say that if someone is actually speaking English and speaking English well you know ah his English is very accurate um I think that there were certainly he was some kind of model and there was the opportunity for acquisition there.

C: Okay. There was er another thing was um again I can't remember who said it, it might've been Nigel, who said there was no challenge, he was playing safe.

N: Yeah that was the impression I got. Of course I don't really know. I'd have to know much more about the students.

C: In what sense do you mean there…

N: I said that because I just thought that the answers were always correct…

L: Mm.

N: …they knew all the answers. I think that's right. Sometimes I didn't quite hear. I didn't quite catch something but erm…like some of the, for example if you compare some of the sentences they produced with the some of the vocabulary items that were being revised like 'police station' and 'hide' you know, I can't remember exactly how he defined the word 'hide' but it was certainly, some of the words were a lot more difficult than the word 'hide' itself.

L: The definition for 'fingerprint' was something really stunning wasn't it.

N: Yeah.

L: Sort of like "ridged…

N: It was obviously lifted straight out of a dictionary.

L: …oh yeah.

N: Yeah.

L: It was amazing that it didn't, I wonder if it did occur to him that it was a lot more difficult than the word fingerprint.

N: Don't know. But that's what I meant by that though that…I felt that er they were being presented with language a bit below their level. I may be wrong you know I don't know for sure.

(Short silence)

C: Erm did you, watching the video as a whole, the way that he structured the lesson, the way the parts of lesson if you like the staging of the lesson was done, did you find that alien to the way you teach or did you…could you identify…did it seem familiar?

L: It reminded me of how I used to teach before I did any training in teaching English as, English language.

C: Mm.

L: Because I actually started off teaching English as a foreign language without doing any training beforehand and I actually did quite a few of those things.

C: So did I [laughing].

N: I didn't [laughs]. Because I never taught actually without having any training.

L: Mm.

N: But erm no none of it was really, well some of sort of the ideas behind the activities were familiar to me and things I do yeah…so yes and no is the answer really.

C: The way he staged it.

N: Erm…yes I sometimes go through homework at the beginning of the lesson…erm what was the second thing he did? The…definitions wasn't it?

C: Yeah.

N: Yeah.

L: No it was recapping the story second wasn't it? Didn't they recap the story second and then they went on to the definitions.

N: So that's familiar to me, I mean yes that's the kind of thing I would do yeah.

C: Then it was the vocabulary.

(Short silence)

L: And then they got, and then they got the story, the next section…

C: Then it was the prediction vocabulary, two sets. There was the definitions thing, then he wrote the second set, which was where they had to sort of predict the story. They gave a series of sentences.

N: Yeah that's it. They were predicting the story weren't they, yes.

C: I think they were.

L: Yeah.

C: It wasn't very clear [laughing]. I couldn't hear them very well what they were saying.

N: No.

C: But I think that was what the idea was.

N: No I think that's a good idea as well actually…

L: Yes.

N: …he just gave them a key word to work with and they had to build up something around it…so yeah some of those, in fact the more I think about it, the more it is actually quite familiar to the way, to the ideas that I have when I teach…but I perhaps execute them in a different way.

C: Yeah.

(Short silence)

C: One of the aims of showing this video was to try and find something that was quite different to the way that you teach as a means of getting you to think about teaching and talk about it.

N: Yeah…mm.

C: It's quite interesting to know how different it seems, or in fact you know you might have identified with it or not identified with it at all.

L: In fact I think Nigel's right that there is quite a logical sequence there which is better than I initially thought…you know correcting the homework that's…there is no alternative to that really. Unless you took all their books in and marked it and for that exercise it didn't really seem to be valid, necessary or whatever and then yes working from what they know to what they don't know. Although I don't think he could quite, you know I don't think he had quite got the vocabulary pitched right.

C: Mm.

L: And it would be interesting to know what his sort of selection criteria were for the words that he did pick out and said "Now I want you to put these in your copy book" did he, is the term he used. It would be quite interesting to know why he picked those words out. Or probably it might even say in the teacher's book take these words out and write them down.

C: Okay. Right is there anything else you want to say? That's kind of come to an end.

N: No…no.

L: No I don't think so.

C: Marvellous, that's great [Nigel laughs] really good

4.5 Discussion 3 - 2nd June 1999

4.5.1 Non-Taped Notes

The discussions were arranged to take place from 14.30 to 15.30 in the Harmer Building in room HG02, the room in which I did most of the classroom observations the previous year. The teachers who were supposed to be present were Janet, Jaclyn and Simon. Jaclyn, however, was absent. I entered the room at 14.15 in order primarily to set up the video, but also to arrange my other affairs. From the previous discussions, I had become aware that finding the beginning of the right lesson always took time, particularly as I was dealing with a different video recorder each time. The classroom was empty. I arranged three desks into a square form and placed chairs around it. At 14.25, Simon entered the room asking "Is it all right if I have a fag before it starts?" I said "That's okay." He leaves the room to have a cigarette outside the building. I check my watch at 14.32, and there is no one in the room apart from me. Then Janet arrives, and she then says that she is going to get a coffee. Simon then arrives and I ask him if Jaclyn is available and he replies "You better go and check." Again, I feel hesitant about being pushy, especially as she will probably be my boss during the summer school and she is the person who can give me extra teaching work. I nevertheless go upstairs to find Jaclyn. She is in her office talking to Nigel. The door is closed (there is a window in the door, so I can see them). I get the impression from the looks on their faces that there is a serious discussion going on. I knock on the door, enter and ask Jaclyn if she is coming. She replies that she cannot because she is too busy. Her tone is slightly apologetic and she goes over the amount of work she has to do. I did not get the impression that this was some form of avoidance tactic, rather she was genuinely busy particularly dealing with the end of term and the new term coming.

I started the process in the same manner as the previous sessions by saying that they were going to watch a video of a lesson, asking "I want to know what are your reactions to this video?" and explaining that I will note down comments if they speak during the video playback, and that the follow-up discussion would be recorded. I also told them about anonymity and how I would fast forward sections of the video. Just before the video started, Janet asked coldly if the discussion would be over by 15.30; I replied "Yes, it will." The video starts playing, and Janet asks if the first that is seen in the video is the teacher; I replied "Yes." Both of the participants wrote notes during the playback. Janet laughs when the teacher in the video asks for sentences with "should." Simon later utters a non-lexical filler of recognition "Ah" and then wrote something when the teacher says "Write it in Hungarian." [Is this because he realises what the L1 is?]. When the teacher in the video changes a word on the board during a vocabulary exercise, Simon said "Ah he's changed it." Then when the teacher gives definitions of 'sergeant and 'inspector', with each referring to the other, there is a faint laugh from Janet and then Simon. Just before I do the second fast forward, Janet laughs, then as I fast forward it, she asks "Do we ever get to see the class?" I replied "Yes, at the end of the video extract." She then asks "Why isn't it filmed with images of the class?" I replied as politely as I could "Can we discuss this after the video?"

At the end of the discussion, Janet did not rush off at 15.30 as I had expected (I looked at my watch at the time to check this). In fact, she continues talking, even after I stopped the tape. She leaves at 15.35.

As with the previous discussions, I noted down the comments they made during the initial part of the discussion as a means of developing the discussion later. Once again they seemed to get down to doing the discussion without too much encouragement on my part. These are the following points that I noted down during the beginning of the discussion as a means of further exploration. The underlined ones are the ones I expanded on and developed as the free discussion with little of my aid began to peter out.

- Vocabulary - testing what was pre-taught?
- Can't look at the lesson without the students, must see students
- Differences in NEST/NON-NEST teachers
- Good using ear
- Pacing about
- <u>Humour</u>
- Aims
- <u>Teacher focused</u>
- <u>Lockstep</u>
- Upper-case
- Methodology
- Eliciting

Some of the themes I did not develop (e.g. upper case) because they spoke enough on it developed it later without my provocation.

4.5.2 Discussion Transcript

N.B. the transcript does not show phonological features because this is not at the moment for discourse analysis (or are they necessary for discourse analysis?)
Christopher = C; Janet = J; Simon = S.

S: It was clearly filmed in Hungary I would assume yeah?
C: Yeah.
S: It was very brave of him to actually use or attempt to use English throughout most of the lesson yeah. If that's what you can call it [laughs]…and I'm not quite sure what he was trying to do, obviously I get the impression that erm the whole point of the lesson was erm preparation for a literature text that you know a

reading text that he was actually going to present erm and perhaps that comes later but it didn't actually seem that if he was actually [indistinct word] any new vocabulary for this particular text. It seemed to be more a case of testing what was already pre-taught yeah. Erm I'm not sure but when he actually did that thing where he wrote the words on the board and then he actually gave the dictionary definition, now that's incredibly tough and I got the impression, the sound quality wasn't very good, I got the impression that they were getting most of them correct…erm. They could only possibly have done that if they were familiar with not only the word but the actual dictionary definition as well.

J: Also it was really extremely decontextualised in terms of vocabulary.

S: Yeah, well I mean that's right it's done in the sense…

J: I mean you know what basically what was the purpose of that you know what…

S: I know perhaps he'd just gone through the text highlighted words they may have had a problem with and…

J: I found it very difficult to actually look at the lesson without seeing the students…

S: Mm.

J: …I mean I think that you can't make, you can't look at a lesson really, any kind of lesson without seeing what's going on in the classroom. I mean you had no idea of who the students were…

S: Mm.

J: …I mean what are you doing just looking [indistinct] a lesson is the group of people in the room not the teacher and the only thing we got on film was the teacher. Was that intentional or?

C: I'm not a hundred percent sure. It's a BEd programme; he's a student teacher. I assume it's assessing him.

S: Mm.

J: But I mean how can you assess a teacher without actually assessing the you know assess a teacher how can you look at a teacher without actually seeing the class and students' reactions and what's going on in the class. How can you say that this teacher you know it's…

S: Yeah.

J: …I don't feel that's valid at all to have…

S: But what made it doubly difficult…

J: …any kind of assessment…

S: Yeah.

J: …on a teacher…

S: What made it doubly difficult as well was I mean that, I said I wasn't clear whether or not the students were actually getting the answers correct…

J: Yeah I couldn't hear that.

S: …because as the speaker [sic] was obviously focussed towards the front, the sound quality coming from the back was entirely clear at all.

J: Mm. I think that just the fact that you were focussed on a person in this classroom was the most disconcerting thing [indistinct words] erm than if you were watching it for…

S: Why do you feel that about not having the students then?

J: Because what is a lesson, a lesson's about teachers and students…not just about what a teacher does surely it's you know picking up on what happens in the classroom and we had no idea or I had no idea, I couldn't hear half the time what the students said…

S: Mm I found it very difficult.

J: …[indistinct] I couldn't see that second exercise I couldn't actually see what was written on the board anyway so I didn't know what the students were supposed to be doing. Was it sort of putting some kind of things in order making sentences that…

S: I assume so…

J: …were somehow related?

S: …he…giving them key words from the text and they had to erm structure a sentence around it and it had to link with what the students had said previously so it was like a story developing yeah?…

J: Yeah that's what I…I thought it was some kind of process wasn't it.

S: Yeah.

J: I mean the other thing that I found rather…I suppose for me rather interesting was the…the view of a non-native obviously non-native speaker teacher who sees erm language in terms of structure, "Now read this passage and underline vocabulary and structure" [almost laughing]…

S: Mm.

J: …and that's a particularly you know non-native speaker teacher view you know that's a predominant view in my experience…

S: Mm.

J: …of non-native speaker teachers…you know it wouldn't be our initial reading task wouldn't be read this and pick out, it might be a task you might give somebody later on but it's not going to be your first task…

S: Yeah that…yeah.

J: I found that quite odd.

S: Mm I mean I've witnessed well very similar teaching in Northern Cyprus and I think there is a big difference between…

J: Yeah.

S: …NEST and non-NEST…

P; Yeah.

S: …in the way they actually approach the lesson but what was I mean obviously clearly as well I mean looking at that video and seeing the students at the end, they all seemed in their early teens so I assume it's not a private school I assume it's a state school and the students have to be there hence the lack of humour…

J: Yeah…

S: …hence the lack of…

J: …the absolute grim yeah.

S: …laughter hence the lack of bothering actually to er I mean…

J: To start the lesson [laughing].

S: …start the lesson or entertain them [laughing]. He realised they've got to be here that's all that matters yeah.

J: I found very irritating in watching him the…the sort of…the eternal moving around, the pacing…

S: Mm.

J: …I mean that irritated me in watching…

C: His pacing about.

J: …he just about…

S: Mm.

J: …I mean he didn't actually, he didn't actually ever stay in one position. He didn't give any sort of like opening the lesson…

S: Yeah.

J: …there was no sort of erm introduction. It was kind of like oh the homework was that and he seemed to be, this is when it got I found it irritating it seemed to be talking to a group over there about the homework, you didn't know who had heard about the homework, who was paying attention about the homework…

S: Mm.

J: …he never seemed to get eye contact with the people you couldn't see erm you know as you say I thought he was very brave to do the lesson…you know and erm…

S: Mm.

J: …I'm used to looking at lessons probably in a slightly different way so I…

S: I mean to be fair I get the impression that he was obviously quite young…

J: Yeah, yeah.

S: …I assume relatively inexperienced and this walking around and constantly holding his file…

J: But also it…

S: …like a waiter yeah.

J: …yeah, also having the video on him all the time.

S: I mean yeah he was probably I mean insecurity yeah and as you said the video as well didn't help…

J: Yeah.

S: …so maybe he's probably better than that normally but erm…I mean it's certainly wasn't an inspiring lesson but…

J: But neither you nor I have a real clue what his aims was in that lesson.

S: No, none at all. I mean it's erm, there might have been some other something else he was trying to do but I mean like some of the activities it seemed nonsensical like having I mean that one with the "sergeant" and the "inspector"…

J: I mean he's gesturing "below" and "above"…

S: I know.

J: …he's giving them this really difficult definitions, decontextualised definitions…

S: I know.

J: …a what fits what context and then he's going "above" and "below" like they're beginners…

S: I know it's like…

J: …I mean I think this is…

S: …it's like giving students a choice of the word 'yes' and the word 'no', the definition is "It's not 'no'", "Oh well it must be 'yes' then" [laughs]. So erm I wasn't quite…

J: It's quite awful to sit here and…

S: Mm.

J: …sort of throw rocks at somebody who has been brave enough…

S: No even I…yeah…

J: …and kind enough to [unclear] and obviously his English is extremely good and he made a great to…

S: Mm.

J: …I mean you know I suppose if we're looking at from our point of you I couldn't under- [unclear] these students are pretty competent or appear to be dealing with that level of language you know it was so basically teacher-focussed, there was no chance of them to check with anybody to see that if anything was going on you know it was very teacher…just lock step, I, I mean you know ask a question, you almost answered the question before they then had a chance to work out what the answer the was but you know that as you say we don't know what the context was…

S: Well that's right. There might have been other reasons for doing things like, when you actually sit back and you observe somebody else, erm you have the luxury of being able to actually analyse it. I mean like very often I do things and somebody might think "Well why on earth is he doing that?"…

J: Mm.

S: …and like, all this writing, like with individual words I could understand but I assume at the end he was writing sentences but everything was in the upper case…

J: Yeah, well that's what I…

S: …I thought well why is that, is that…

J: …well I put that down but you see the thing is that it's quite interesting in terms of, I don't know what you're interested in is the commonality of what we perceive as…

S: Mm.

J: …erm you know I watch T.P. what six hours a week every night and you know 'don't write in upper case.' It's a kind of ethos but I thought well you know so maybe they're just used to him writing in upper case and they've accepted it and they're all monolinguals and they don't mind

S: Mm.

J: …have this problem of there are no Arabs in the class or people who don't distinguish between upper and lower case.

S: Yeah, that's what I was thinking perhaps there's a specific reason for it maybe erm writing for Hungarians, I don't know if they use the Cyrillic script or something like that. Perhaps that's why he did it but er yeah.

J: Mm. I think he looked awfully grim…

S: Yes.

J: …but I don't know whether he looked grim because of the camera or he looked grim because of the situation or he's grim any way you know a sort of as you say it was like going through the…you know then we've got to do this now.

S: Yeah. Well in Eastern Europe, I mean they, one time obviously Russian was obviously the foreign language and…

J: Mm.

S: …I think the methodology that the Russian teachers would have used has simply, that hasn't changed it's just simply the language that's actually changed, instead of Russian it's English yeah.

J: He seemed to have quite a nice code for pron though didn't he sort of like he…

S: Mm.

J: …had this sort of like they were aware that when he put his hand up to his ear, they were kind of…

S: Mm I think [unclear].

J: …erm you know I'm very loathe to say what I would if I was watching a trainee do that lesson I'd say a whole lot more than would be prepared to say to…to that guy. He's obviously you know you wonder I don't know what their teacher training is. What is there?

C: I don't know.

J: I mean it's almost like kind of like this guy is a good, he learnt English and learnt English well, maybe did a degree in English…

S: Mm.

J: …erm and then he decided, maybe that's what all you need to do to become a teacher in Hungary I don't know, but in terms of kind of methodology…

S: Mm.

J: …and how to go, well that would be my feeling about it.

S: I think even just erm classroom presence…

J: Yeah well.

S: …or charisma…

J: I said grim you said yes [laughing] that's sort of…

C: So you don't see any methodology at work there that you could…

S: It wasn't entirely clear. I mean we've got part of something and erm it's hard to see where he was actually going I mean perhaps as I say I assume it was a literature class, I assume I mean in another lesson

they're actually doing structures and they're doing other things you know the skills but this was specifically literature English literature at what would appear to be an upper-intermediate, an almost advanced level with those you know those dictionary definitions yeah.

J: Yeah…I mean that was quite good le- [unclear] for it, I mean was he doing it for that I mean was he doing it for that reason. I mean what was his rationale there?…

S: Mm.

J: …vocabulary with decontextualised, did it belong to a previous lesson maybe it did…

S: Mm.

J: …and it was checking up. The kind of, he was sort of eliciting, sort of eliciting, some kind of story, what had happened before…

S: Mm, mm.

J: …and then there was that other exercise which was some kind of process where they're all making sentences and then "I want you to read this." Now what relationship did the vocabulary on the board have with the reading? "I want you to read this." Don't read it and find out what it's about with have clue what was, what was the topic of it, and read it and find out underline the things all the structural bits you find difficult and the vocab you find difficult…

S: Mm.

J: …it is hard to see from my point of view what the lesson was about or aiming at…

S: Mm.

J: …you know vocabulary input, vocabulary revision, not reading skills, structure what stru-? You know why's looking for structure in the middle of this? Anyway that's…

S: Mm.

J: …you know I found this but…

S: I mean clearly that little bit of structure at the beginning was just simply checking homework and had nothing to do with the rest of the lesson we actually saw.

J: The thing about that is he didn't actually pick up on any of that did he…

S: Mm.

J: …I mean he just sort of oh yeah he did the correction and then it whizzed over. There was nothing he didn't actually sort of you didn't know that's when I wanted to see the other students so one got it wrong, did the others all get it right? And did he…he didn't white board anything, he didn't sort of home in on…you know on what went…what was wrong…so what benefit were the other students getting? Were they just sort of…you see you don't know the background to all of this…

S: Mm.

C: Okay…

J: There you go…but I do think they were too good just to have this lockstep approach…you know sure these students could have figured out a lot of this stuff…I mean the definitions I s- [unclear] the definitions, I thought it was actually quite a nice idea in terms of you they're monolinguals they don't get a lot of

listening practice, it was quite nice to have a bit of listening practice but you know what…what these were decontextualised definitions. Definitions applied to what? You know a dictionary definition well maybe there were words there that could have had…you know in a context could have had other definitions…

S: Mm…I mean at one point he…

J: …what will they remember after that?

S: Mm. He realised he had made a mistake as well like to take another person's property, you know the word was stolen but he obviously felt well it wouldn't really fit and very quickly he scribbled up 'steal' yeah.

J: I mean it was quite…I suppose sort of giving a Hungarian equivalent, then they had this big long list, I suppose that's how I learnt French and my French is no the worse for it. I have to say while I was sitting here watching it I thought look these people are actually really quite good, look at this pretty mediocre…

S: Mm.

J: …teaching, these people still learnt. [Laughs]

S: Well that's something that really has to be taken into consideration…

J: Yeah still they still learnt.

S: …because when I was like the four trips I had to Northern Cyprus…erm I mean certainly in my opinion and certainly in the accepted opinion I mean a lot of the teaching I saw…

J: In our accepted opinion [laughs].

S: …was appalling but at the same time I mean the students were actually able to produce very very good English so something was working yeah erm I mean perhaps it appeared to be appalling because they were so nervous that they were being observed and generally they're actually doing more dynamic things and much more interesting things…

J: Mm.

S: …but erm strange, and also I had a very very similar situation in Poland, and actually when I saw the Polish teachers they were full of like erm you mean like self disgust and self loathing they're ability as teachers, yet when I actually saw the students that they'd actually taught, they're level of English and they're level of enthusiasm for learning English was extremely high. I mean it's erm so maybe…

J: But is that had been a lot of other factors but is that depending on the fact that these people are quite young, young people learn whatever you chuck in front of them they usually learn quite [unclear]…

S: Perhaps yeah...

J: …that English is sort of big bickies, it's a better job, it's culturally trendy, you can listen to English music. There's a whole lot of reinforcing of…

S: So they don't need to have a [unclear] on the lesson itself yeah, because there's all these external influences that…

J: …yeah I do think that…

S: …motivate them.

J: …sort of I think that helps English language teachers world wide…

S: Mm.

J: …the sort of erm…you know the fact that English, you need English, presumably they're reinforced at home, parents are saying "You got to do well in your English since you're not going to get a good job unless you do w- [unclear]." You know I mean you've got all that kind of…I said my friend who teaches in Portugal says it's absolutely the in-thing to be hanging round The British Council on a Saturday morning you know in your jeep…

S: Mm.

J: …and that is the trendy thing to be doing…so it's…you know I think that say a French teacher teaching French in England has a greater battle…

S: Mm.

J: …than an English teacher however…you know…however mediocre abroad. But I mean you know it…it how did I learn French? I learnt French from pages of vocabulary just like these…

S: Mm.

C: Could I just return to some of the things you mentioned? I'd just like to sort of explore them. I think Simon you said about the lack of humour…

S: Mm.

C: How do you see in the comparison to if you like a state education setting here and in what you do?

S: Erm…well that's it. There's a, there's probably limitations within a state education system because here with clients in a way or customers so to speak…erm not only do I feel that they've got to get value for money in terms of actually learning but I feel that I don't know it's just me it's just my interpretation I feel that I've to entertain them. I've got to make them happy being in the lesson…

J: But I don't, I don't know if it's entertainment. I just think it's how you relate to other people. I mean I think that if you're a person who likes to have a laugh…

S: Mm.

J: …then why are you going to be any different outside the door than you are inside the door?

S: …inside the door yeah. Yeah but I mean I've got other reasons for that as well I mean like as a student myself erm I mean the teachers who actually had a classroom personality…

J: Mm.

S: …who were actually quite entertaining. I mean the little anecdotes, the little things that they said, they've actually stuck. I mean I've actually remembered them because they were presented in I mean an interesting you know a way that actually held my attention erm and I think well for me that's the style of teaching I've tried to actually follow yeah erm perhaps in a state school you couldn't do that, perhaps with students who are thirteen or fourteen years old if you were too larger than life they might think "This guy is a complete and absolute loony" and then just…

J: Well I mean I don't know, I don't know about the larger than life thing but I think a sense of humour with teenagers is absolutely crucial…

S: Mm.

J: …absolutely crucial. You know I thought that guy looked quite grim didn't he.

S: Yeah…that's probably not fair to say but erm he had that look about like he thought he was…

J: It might have been…

S: …the bee's knees yeah [both laughing] like the eyebrow coming out uh-mm [doing an impersonation of the teacher's style of responding positively to students' utterances] [laughing].

J: But I mean again it was an unreal situation isn't it having a camera focussed on you.

C: And another thing erm that you mentioned Janet was teacher-focussed. You sort of said that this is teacher-focussed. I mean how, in what way?

[Short silence]

J: Well I say it was really difficult to look at this for me to look at this as a lesson. Basically what we were looking at was a teacher, we weren't looking at a lesson, we weren't looking at a class, we were looking at a teacher. But in terms of, I mean you know it's the old sort of the old chestnut that basically he asked the question, one person responded, he asked, one person responded, you know it was the same, you know the same way…you know that's what I mean by that's what I mean by teacher-focussed I don't think I need to.

[Short silence]

C: So is that what you define as lockstep then?

J: Mm.

C: This question answer.

J: Yeah question answer. I mean there was no chance for them to discuss any of their answers, there was no chance for them to do any kind of interaction amongst themselves. It was teacher driven…you know he asked, I mean half the time he answered his own questions anyway. He'd sort of ask them and then you know because he wanted to show how good he was he'd answer them as well [laughing]…

S: Mm.

J: …you know I don't feel that he, I thought there was a lot of capacity, those kids seemed to be really quite good…

S: Mm.

J: …and probably could have managed to do other…

S: Mm.

J: …things, that's my feeling…

S: …that's what I…

J: …that's my own perception of what a language classroom is all about. Now they're not Hungarian's perception or that establishment's perception.

S: Mm. There's probably something in that because erm certainly with the Northern Cypriot teachers and the Polish teachers I've actually taught, they seemed to be far more concerned about they're ability to speak English…

J: Mm.

S: …than they're ability to teach and…

J: Absolutely.

S: …I mean this chap I mean rightly so his English was very good and he was proud of it and he wanted to show that he's a competent English teacher because he's a competent English speaker…

J: Well that I mean that goes…

S: …yeah maybe that's yeah…

J: …back to my view that this guy did a degree in English, this is just my perception of, I don't know what in Hungary if you actually have you to do a year's teacher training or whatever the situation but you do a degree in English so you get to be really proficient at English therefore you teach like in China like there's no…teacher training in China because once you've been in a classroom as a student so you know how things work in the classroom…

S: Mm.

J: …you know there's…this is…is we sort of seem to be saying the same thing don't we?

S: Same thing yeah…hence the concern with the level of English rather the ability as teachers…

J: Yeah rather than the teaching.

C: So did you get the feeling that he'd had no training?

[Short silence]

J: Not that he'd had no training. But I found it, I mean I'm…I'm grounded in a very erm suppose my whole training and the training I do myself is pretty I suppose, can't really say narrow but you know from where I'm sitting I found it hard to believe that he, I just found I couldn't find an aim to what I saw.

S: The purpose of attending a course. I mean again it was hard to say in that sort clip…

J: Mm.

S: …obviously I didn't see the full range of his talents yeah…

J: Or what came before or what lesson was going to come after.

S: …I mean what maybe it was a difficult film to analyse because he did appear to be teaching literature as such but had we seen the lesson previous to that with 'I suggest you should' that might've been much more interesting yeah.

C: [unclear] …that that shows, insider knowledge, it's a text book, a course book…

J: Mm.

C: …which has a series of texts…

S: Mm.

C: …followed by erm sort of comprehension questions and then language work related to the texts…

P & S: Mm.

C: …that's it…that's…

J: But that wasn't his first question was it, it wasn't a comprehension question…it was read and do some language work wasn't it?

C: Yeah but what…at the end I only realised…what actually happens is that after he does that, after he writes all the stuff on the board which I fast-forwarded through, and he goes afterwards and he asked them

and actually they did, the first thing he asks them was comprehension questions and they'd actually done these comprehension questions but I realised that they obviously didn't need to be prompted or asked to do those…

J: Yeah well you see that's the background that you've got that we don't have. You know are they so like the capital letters, they're so used to it, this is the…the ethos of the establishment, this is how it all works, we know when we read this, we've got to read to understand. We don't have to be…

S: That's true, he might be restricted by the text book. He's probably been told like on day one you cover these pages, and day two these pages…

J: Mm.

S: …so we don't know. Because certainly in Northern Cyprus that was very much the case, erm some of the teachers would've liked to have been a little more experimental but that they had to cover a certain amount of pages. I mean not grammatical points but pages in a particular lesson.

J: I think that's true in Japan. You've got to be on page sixty-two on August the third of the you know…this year on page sixty, two-hundred and sixty-nine the next year in August.

C: So I get the impression that both of you seem to pay a lot of importance on aims and if you can't perceive the aims, then for you watching this becomes quite difficult…

S: Mm.

C: …in a sense if you've got no perception of the overall aims.

J: Mm, mm.

[Short silence]

C: Is it…

J: Yeah well I mean it was like was he going in the room to do page three and four and or was he going in the room because on page three and four he wanted to do this and this. That would be my feeling.

[Short silence]

C: Right erm…did it all seem to be completely alien or was there anything you could think you could kind of relate to…to your own practice or the practice that you teach in a sense?

S: Erm…bits but erm not very much.

J: I'm just trying to think it relates to what I'm doing with the Arabs at the moment. [short silence] No not really because I'm actually it's quite interesting because I'm ploughing through this book at the moment with the Arabs, this general science book, and we're just going from page one to page two to page three to page four…you know we are. It's completely different way I'm teaching. But you like…

S: Because you've been instructed to do so.

J: …I say to them okay so you know this is about process and the reason we're looking at this because you know it's like making a cup of tea, making a car you know I mean I try to make them perceive why we're doing what we're doing and I don't think I could just say well now you know do it…

S: Mm.

J: …it sometimes seems a bit more like his kind of teaching…but I still would expect them to look at to kind of you know check somebody else's sentences to see if they are right, to try to get them to be able to look at their work to see if they've got errors or you know [short silence] so mm.

[Short silence]

S: Yes it was interesting as well she's checking errors as the entire lesson was him standing in front of the camera. There was no movement towards the students or moving amongst them but the part of the lesson that we actually saw supposedly wouldn't permit that anyway because it wasn't writing, it wasn't pair work. It was just simply is it right or is it wrong yeah. It's more like testing I think rather than teaching.

J: You see I don't know in terms of the definition thing, I mean I think there's a bit of an aim in getting…them having this listening practice to him reading out the definitions then why didn't he give out the definitions on an O.H.P. or if he doesn't have an O.H.P. on I don't know on another piece of, or let them sort of muck around and work it out and discuss it and get a bit more out of it…

S: Mm.

J: …than…

S: Yeah, you er I mean erm probably quite possibly he wouldn't have had an O.H.P. and to actually write the definitions on a blackboard would have…

J: Very long.

S: …been very time consuming and that's probably why he just read them out.

J: There's methodology dictated, I mean I think that we live in EFL live in the BANA countries, as Andrew would say, we live in very much in an almost photocopying methodology…

S: Mm.

J: …take away our photocopier and we'll change our methodology quite rapidly. Take away our bits and bobs and our methodology would change. I mean we're you know…these bobs in our classrooms actually dictate a lot of methodology.

[Short silence]

C: Could you think of any examples of that?

[Short silence]

J: Well just what Simon exactly what Simon said…you know if I for example tomorrow morning I want to practice gerunds and infinitives so erm I can gaily write out one for A, one for B, go down stick it in the photocopier erm…

S: Mm.

J: …chop it in half with a paper trimmer and bring it up and I've got an A and B pair work activity. Now if I have to write it on the board, all the As can see what the Bs are going to ask them, it's lost its impetus…I mean so if I don't have access to that unless I hand write them all for seventeen people, so I mean we are victims or privileged by our activity.

S: Mm. I mean certainly in Northern Cyprus it really was very much a case of chalk and talk. I mean if they wanted to present any erm authentic listening material, it was impossible because (a) there was probably

one cassette shared by the entire college or school and if you managed to get a hold of it (B) there was probably no electricity that day yeah. So erm the teacher would stand up there and just read out the tape script from the back of the text book…

J: Yeah.

S: …and the students would do the exercise that way.

J: But I mean this is always interesting for me. I mean is it possible to minimally but at least in some way still incorporate some kind of you know interactive sort of, now what could he have done in that lesson considering that he's only got a board and a chalk, a piece of chalk…right what, what, how could he have got round that lock step approach. I mean I'm sure there are ways of doing it…you know why does it have to be…

S: Mm.

J: …read silently yourself and underline, why can't it be "You three okay when you've read it, get together and together underline, you've got to choose five things that you want to underline." You know…

S: Mm.

J: …that doesn't, that's not involving anything is it.

S: But again because we didn't actually see the entire video perhaps the class might have had seventy-five students in it we didn't see, perhaps…

J: Yeah that's what I mean.

S: …the chairs and tables may have been bolted to the floor. We don't know yeah. Erm perhaps the Hungarian educational system doesn't permit under any circumstances…

J: Mm.

S: …for students to get out of their seat and talk to another student yeah. I don't know. I mean it's very hard to say. It's just, I've got no idea what sort of restrictions this chap was under so I mean to be honest I think making any sort of judgement is almost unfair.

J: Oh I would…I mean I agree but given that we have this chance to… [Simon laughs] No I do agree. You don't know. It did look like it was quite a small class if where the camera was positioned can't have been in front of class, but I think that's the first thing I said I think it's very difficult…

S: Mm.

J: …to actually make any assessment of anything unless you see the class and can they make a noise, are they allowed to whisper. What would the people in the next room do?

S: Mm.

[Silence]

J: I still have to say, I still have to say despite all of that I'm quite convinced that despite the bolting to the chair floor, the bolting to the floor chairs in Cyprus, the scrapping on the concrete [laughing], you told me about that…

S: [Makes a sound representing scrapping] It was true I mean yes it was absolutely true. It was just with no furniture in the room at all just I mean nothing on the walls, it was like an echo chamber yeah and as soon

as you actually tried to get the students to do pair work erm the mathematics teacher from next door would come dashing in and like complaining about the level of noise yeah. And erm no it's just the restrictions that a lot of people are actually under, but having said that…

J: But in that you know that Alexander, is it Polish Alexander, a book, she actually has these wonderful recipes for getting students to move chairs silently, so you kind of train them at the beginning and you get them to sort of you know, there's kind of sort of quiet little scurrying they all move their chairs…you know I think you can…

C: So in a sense you think you can think you can impose your methodology.

J: No I don't want to impose my methodology. I just said they learn anyway.

S: Yeah…I mean…

J: Yeah I mean they're learning, they're quite happy. I just think if you went on like that day and day after, it'd be pretty boring.

S: Mm…I mean…

J: Boring for you…

S: Yeah.

J: …exhausting for you.

S: Certainly some teachers with restrictions as such I mean can be still be very resourceful and can find…

J: Yeah.

S: …ways of overcoming it yeah. Maybe he does eventually, I don't know…we're just guessing.

J: I don't like the word 'impose'…

C: Yeah.

J: …because it adds, I said that these people learn anyway. They learn, obviously these kids are really good, they've learnt, they've learnt…

S: Mm.

J: …we don't know what teachers they had before but he's you know they've learnt…what are we saying about language learning what are we saying? What are we saying? You're saying people have to be entertained and I am sort of agreeing with you…

S: Well not…

J: …this is quite frightening I realise [laughs].

S: …language learners I mean that's a personal view and I would never inflict that view upon anybody else. I mean if I was actually doing a teacher training course I would never actually say to the trainee teachers "You've got to entertain the students" yeah.

J: No but what we…

S: It's a method that works for me. It's a way of teaching that I feel comfortable with and I do seem to get I mean the response I'm looking for in the students by doing that yeah but it's not possible for anybody to entertain…

J: No, but I mean. I thought he was grim on a human level…

S: Mm.

J: …I mean he didn't smile. He didn't sort of start the lesson. He didn't say "Now we're going to do this but first we'll check…" He didn't sort of, interpersonal skills seemed a bit weak but that might have been the video…mm…I wonder what we…I suppose as you said before a state system, they're here they want to learn, why should I expend any energy to [laughs]…

S: That's right yes.

J: …to make them laugh.

S: You've got your captive audience, just look at that clock on the wall and just get through the day.

J: Yeah you get your pay check at the end of the month.

C: It's er three-thirty.

J: Yes, yes we've given you enough fodder now.

C: Shoot off. Right thank you very much. I appreciate your help.

J: We want to see the finished product.

4.6 Discussion 4 – 21st July 1999

4.6.1 Non-Taped Notes

Whilst discussions 2 and 3 involved some of the permanent members of staff, discussions 4 and 5 involved the temporary summer staff and five teachers took part in total. Two of them (Peter and Dominique) had previous working experience at the institution on both summer courses and other courses on a temporary basis, for example replacing ill teachers. One of the others, Reena, had taught for a short while in the previous academic term, but had not taught on the summer school, and had done the C.E.L.T.A. The remaining two, Sheila and Ian, were new to the institution.

Before the summer school term had started, I had asked Jaclyn's permission to do the discussions with some of the summer school teachers. She accepted that I could do the discussions and these were to be arranged with the individual teachers, with the Wednesday afternoon meetings being the most convenient time to broach the subject. Thus on the first meeting (21/7/99), the subject was brought up and the teachers accepted doing the discussions. As I was working on the summer school for July, I was able to establish and re-establish relationships with the other teachers which aided the process of negotiating the discussions. It was not possible for two of the summer school teachers to attend the discussions. Mick could not because of his knowledge and involvement in my research, particularly the fact that he leant to me and suggested the usefulness of the video being used whilst Linus could not because he was transferred at the end of summer one (the first two weeks of July) to a teacher's course because of staffing problems. At the first meeting Dominique was not present as she was just teaching on summer two. Consequently, I asked for her permission at the beginning of summer two.

As I had previously experienced in the process of arranging the preceding discussions, it was a difficult to find a time and a place that was agreeable to all the participants. However, as mentioned above, it was easier because I was working with them. Many factors lead to this difficulty: such as teacher's busyness, having to do the language laboratory after classes, dealing with their children after classes and so on. I decided to divide the teachers into two groups with Reena, Sheila and Ian in the first group and Peter, Dominique and Linus (who finally did not attend; see above) in the second. Originally it was decided that Wednesday afternoons after the meetings would be the ideal time to do it with the discussion taking place either there (HF02) or the room below (HG02). These rooms did not need to be booked out as they were booked out all summer to the summer school. Wednesday the 14th was not possible because after the meeting all the teachers had to go to a staff development session on a new language laboratory that had been installed on campus. Consequently, the following Wednesday was chosen for the first group, i.e. discussion four. Wednesday the 28th was not possible for the second group because there was a meeting on the British Institute of English Language Teachers, and Dominique had problems related to her child. Thus, this discussion took place during the lunch time of Thursday of the 29th

The discussion structure, and the video used, was identical to that of the previous discussions. By now the process of the discussions had been established into a regular pattern which worked. The video seemed to generate easily discussions and these covered the areas I was interested in. The discussion was a little late in getting started because Sheila had to see Dominique directly after the meeting before returning for the discussion. Whilst showing the video Reena and Sheila laughed and smiled when the teacher made the mistake on the board with the word 'stealing' and also when he defined 'inspector' and 'sergeant' by comparing them to each other. The following table shows the notes I made during the discussion; the underlined words are the topics I brought up later. [N.B. there are fewer detailed notes for discussions 4 and 5 because I was so busy teaching]

- Sit down
- See students
- Teacher-centred – controlled – rows – not own/in group
- Teacher had a good English/accent
- Oral – chain stories
- Bingo, nobody said it – defining problem
- Using translation
- Reading – underlining – too open – not focussing on the skill
- Not always be willing to answer questions
- Aids: board and book
- Use listening input?
- Students had a good level

4.6.2 Discussion Transcript

Christopher = C; Ian = I; Sheila = S; Reena = R

C: Erm what are your reactions to this extract?

S: I wished he'd sit down; it was making me a bit nervous all the pacing back and forth.

R: I spent most of the time wishing I could see the students. It was the teacher most of the time. It's important to see the learners not just the teacher.

S: And it was very teacher-centred as well.

[Silence]

S: Good English though.

R: Mm. Is the teacher Hungarian?

C: Yeah. It's in Hungary.

I: I wasn't sure about something. When he got them to tell a story from the words, was it a story they already knew?

C: At the beginning?

I: No the second time he put them up. The first one he puts some words up he gave definitions of and the second time he put some words up…

S: Was that continuing the story I thought.

C: No, I think that was more of a prediction thing.

I: Right it was an oral chain story then?

C: Yeah, I think the idea was before…before they read the text…

I: Mm. Could they guess…

C: Yeah, erm hold on I've got to look at my notes…I've seen this about fifty times [laughs]…yeah…[reading notes]…yeah predict story from the words.

I: I just…I think they're quite difficult to do oral-chain stories because of the fact that people don't refer back and they forget what's happened. I do written chain stories more because they…and erm…I mean [unclear word] they hand them round so they've always got the story before to read, it's a different skill obviously, but I think it was erm he had to refer back a little bit. It must be quite, I mean it has to be either long or short or erm…

C: It was based erm…based on the words on the blackboard. He wrote some words and they had to predict.

I: Yeah.

S: I wondered why he didn't let them do it on their own more…

I: Also yeah.

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S: …and then if they're working in a group they would automatically refer back wouldn't they. They'd encourage each other to do so when it's he who is having to prompt them a lot.

I: It's not easy to do orally unless you do a very short story and then you say [unclear]

R: I thought he'd prepared them quite well for the vocabulary to start with, made sure that they knew the key words for the story…

I: Mm.

R: …but then he kind of took over didn't he. He controlled the whole thing and he was just getting them to do er sentences individually.

S: I quite like that erm vocab bingo idea except it didn't work [all interviewees laugh]. Nobody said "Bingo."

R: I wanted to [unclear]

S: I wasn't quite sure what they were supposed to be doing. Were they supposed to be matching the definitions with the words or coming up with the Hungarian? What was the…

R: I think the Hungarian bit came later didn't it. They were first supposed to identify the words and then translate them to show that they understood.

I: Yeah.

S: Yeah. That's what I thought at first and then I wasn't sure because at the end he gave them the Hungarian.

C: I think answer was also that Hungarian was the kind of let out clause that could [unclear] because he said they had to match, but then sometimes they'd say which word, he'd say the definition, he'd say even Hungarian [unclear]

I: Yeah and as ever not his fault. Sometimes defining words is really difficult. It ends up being more complicated than the initial piece of vocabulary but they were getting it all so perhaps it's just different routes you know you could see the vocabulary are linked to the definition rather the other way round erm.

S: Were those words revision?

C: Erm no…no that list of words were words coming up in the text.

S: All right.

R: And they'd be doing that for the first time?

C: Mm but it's an ongoing, I don't know if you could get it, but it's an ongoing, in the book that they use, it's an ongoing story…

S: Yeah.

R: Mm.

C: …sort of unit to unit.

I: He said "Contact: get in touch" now I would given 'get in touch' as a definition of 'get in touch: contact.' I thought the definition was more…not all of them, but some of them, but they seemed to be getting them so perhaps they were translating and then relating that so it's a different exercise you know.

R: But if this was an ongoing story then that makes it a little simpler for them to do this er oral-chain story because they've got the context…

S: They got the characters.

R: …they know the characters.

I: Yeah.

[Silence]

R: I put er sometimes it does help if it's a monolingual class and the teacher speaks the language, although he did it all in English, after identifying the definitions and the words, he could check that they really understood the Hungarian word so one way you can bring in the first language…

I: Mm.

S: Mm.

R: …into the classroom teaching.

C: He does use translation more later on in the video in the part you don't see as this is an extract of a forty-five minute lesson. He does bring it in later.

R: Mm.

S: Mm.

R: Particularly at the lower level it does help sometimes at least to check their understanding…

S: Mm.

I: Mm.

R: …to back to our first language.

[Silence]

S: Another thing I noticed when they were about to do the reading, he said underline all the grammatical and vocabulary problems that they'd come across.

I: They didn't understand…

R: Mm.

S: Yeah.

I: …and that's far too open for me because certain people…

S: It could be horribly dangerous couldn't it.

I: …yeah because you, the controlling and checking of that in as much as the student wants to put in…

S: Yeah.

I: …quite often they just think fine yeah I'm okay [unclear]…

S: It wasn't like focussing on the skill was it really. But erm I mean we didn't see er the upshot of that…

I: …but it's like saying "Do you understand?" isn't it.

S: Mm

I: Instead of checking if you understand. It's not…

[Silence]

I: I think on the whole what you know as long as this view ain't critical what he was doing was fine but it was just the teacher-centred thing was far too overwhelming and erm you know there were just plenty of opportunities where you could have taken it back somehow organise just what the students were doing and also you do get classes where they've been prepared for an observation in a way, they don't all get them willingly answering questions like that when it is so teacher-centred hence why…

S: Yeah.

I: …you know we don't…

R: It was also teacher-centred visually wasn't it…

I: Mm.

R: …I mean you had the rows of students…

I: That's true yeah.

R: …sitting in rows and the teacher in front standing all the time sort of towering over them.

S: It's typical, I mean that's how I had language lessons…

I: Like at school precisely.

S: …at school. But I mean rows are just…

R: It doesn't give them the chance to interact.

S: …I hate teaching students in rows.

R: Mm so do I.

I: How many were in that group actually, students?

C: About twenty-five, something like that.

I: Right that's big enough for [unclear]

R: Oh.

C: It wasn't that many.

I: Mm.

C: But when the camera pulls back…about twenty, twenty-five.

R: That's quite a lot for er a conversation, communication class, it's quite a lot.

S: What kind of school was it?

C: Secondary school.

S: Right.

R: Mm.

I: Mm…in terms of aids he used the board and the book and I wondered if he could've had the possibility to use a listening input in another voice and preferably in an English erm you know an English-speaking person perhaps mother tongue as a variety to his voice and also maybe erm, what he was actually doing would be difficult to arrange to get somebody to do the definitions…

S: In a quite a strong accent…

I: Mm.

S: The students seemed pretty good level though…maybe I mean what was the case [unclear] of the observation, did he kind of prime them or something?

C: I don't know. I don't that much detail. I know some of the details but I don't know everything [laughing] but erm…no I don't think they would have been primed no from what it is no.

R: [unclear] this was only one segment of the class we watched and we don't how he would continue, would he play a tape you know, listen to the story?

C: Yeah he went on, he was going through these questions, he asked them questions about the text and then asked them if there was anything they didn't understand, the text that would be underlined, and they said no erm and then he go the next part was erm some grammar reformulating sentences from passive to active, active to passive…

R: Ah so he goes on to [unclear]

C: …so there's more if you like erm well grammar task based on the text.

I: Which [unclear]

C: This more and more detail [laughing]. I've never been asked these questions before yeah…I think it was erm I can't remember if they wrote them down and they did it orally, but there was an oral, they went into it, and there was quite a long translation.

R: Having been at the receiving end I could sort of feel that if you watch a segment sometimes it's not totally fair to judge…

I: No.

R: …we have these thirty-minutes teaching practice and you could never do a satisfactory job even to your own satisfaction, never mind the students…

S: No.

R: …because you can't integrate skills, you can't complete it, you just start it and the times over. You think but I would have done it differently if I would've had an hour.

C: I mean for the nature of what I'm doing I only showed an extract. I could have shown you the whole lesson…

R: Mm.

S: Mm.

C: …but it would've taken quite a long time…

R: Oh yeah I mean you could just literally tell us if it's…

C: …I mean tons of just speaking in Hungarian [laughing] explaining the passive.

R: Oh he explains the passive in Hungarian does he?

C: Well I don't know because I don't speak Hungarian but they do do these sentence transformations and uses a lot more translation in his grammar section.

R: So he brings his native language into it.

C: Yeah a lot more in explaining the transformations.

R: What level are these students, would you know?

C: Again I don't know but they seem to be quite good don't they…they seem to be sort of upper-intermediate, I imagine a sixth formy age.

R: Well they spoke very little didn't they, they just answered questions.

S: But they coped well with him speaking English all the time.

R: Yes listening to him.

C: Okay what I want to do is I want to sort of try and get you to clarify some of the things that you've said that I thought were interesting…erm sometimes I might ask, [laughs] I've done this before and someone said "Well that's obvious" but in a sense what I want to try and do is if you said certain things and I just want to see why you said them, what, try and look at the way you think of this as teaching or teaching. So first of all, some of them are very obvious, very simple things so erm…you might think "I don't know he's stating the bloody obvious" you know [laughs] but the first thing, what is it about sitting about him not sitting down that you didn't like?

S: It's very made him very dominant immediately didn't it and it wasn't just that he wasn't sitting down, he was just kind of pacing backward and forward all the time. He didn't look very comfortable to me. I don't know if that's just because there's a video camera or what but…I mean there were several times when he could have not necessarily even sat in a chair but just kind of sat on the desk…

R: Yes perching on the desk.

S: …and looked more relaxed you know.

C: So it was just him not looking relaxed…

S: Yeah.

C: …and sort of put you on edge in way, putting words in your mouth am I?

S: Yeah that's right you did yeah.

R: If although Sheila made that comment I could add to that…I would feel if I were a student that you know you have these two different levels, the students at a below level and the teacher is towering above you so again visually you've got the two levels so as she said even just to sit on the edge of the table and maybe swing your legs or something, you know just to appear that you're a part of it and more relaxed…

S: Yeah.

R: …I think would put the students more at ease. They might know him very well and they might be totally at ease but in some situations maybe students might feel a little nervous.

C: And going on I think you've kind of explained that quite well, in quite some detail but you said you'd like to see the students, in a sense you thought that's an essential part of classroom observation.

R: Mm. Yeah because there's the teaching going on and there's the learning going on, both equally important and I, it was just a feeling that I had throughout, 'Can I see the students please? Can I see how they're reacting?"

C: One of the reasons why I actually stop it when I do is so you get a chance to see what the students look like at least because it pulls back at the end.

R: Mm.

C: Okay now. There were a lot of references made by all of you to teacher-centred erm and how you thought it was teacher-centred erm controlled. How would you define that teacher-centred?

R: I think whatever is happening in the class is determined by the teacher. A simple example would be he asks the questions and they answer, he writes on the board and they copy it erm sometimes if you just stop for a minute and just sit back and let them take over, you can just be monitoring and listening for a few minutes and give the ball to them so to speak and let them toss it about a bit.

S: They weren't interacting with each other at all were they.

R: No and the way they were seated you look at the backs of students, you can't interact.

S: Yeah.

C: Do you concur with that?

I: Yes I mean he…I also you know it did remind me more of secondary school teaching of language and I think it would have been quite easy to have erm…not really done much as a student in that lesson and got through the forty-five minutes sitting there you know erm which that's what I find the danger of teacher-centred is that it's focussed on the teacher and generally with one student, the way he was doing it anyway, with one student…you know it would be quite easy not to sort of take part or switch off as a student in that situation. I mean not necessarily but it is a possibility.

S: And it's also giving then, they don't have as much time to practise do they…

R: Mm.

S: …because twenty-five to one person, they're not going to say much.

C: Erm someone said, I kind of did mention this earlier, but someone said the word "control" so do you associate teacher-centeredness as being something that is controlled?

R: Not necessarily but it could be…erm…in this case it was controlled erm…

S: I think it is and I think that sometimes it has to be for a specific purpose but not all the time…

R: …not all the time.

C: You thought that in this case it was controlled. You could use that adjective to describe what was going on between the teacher and students.

R: I could yeah

I: Yes because no one spoke apart from when he asked them, no one actually said any comments unless he made, he actually them do it…

S: He never actually said you know like you sometimes do "Class what does anyone think?"…

I: Mm.

S: …and let them kind of come out with something by themselves.

R: Okay then it was just the segment but in that, that sort of thing we've got to base on…

C: It's quite representative of the whole lesson.

R: …right, so we've got to make our comments based on what we saw so based on what we saw, the students didn't really use any of the language freely did they. I mean there was absolutely no free communication at all. It was controlled again to use the word. They just did what he told them do to.

C: I'm also, I think it was mentioned earlier, I think again this…this do you associate this being in rows. You mentioned you associated it with secondary school…

S: Mm.

C: …and do you associate rows as being something that's teacher-centred?

S: Yeah

R: Yeah because the opposite would be the students are interacting with each other and to do that you've got to look at each other. I mean that's the absolute basic, you should look at each other's faces and expressions, smiles, eyes, gestures whatever.

S: And to be able to hear each other properly as well.

R: Yes.

I: Mm.

R: Talk to each other basically. You can't talk to one another if you're sitting behind the other person. So they're all focussing on the teacher…

I: On the teacher yes.

C: And I think you said Ian that in a situation, they may not be always willing to answer the teacher in this sort of teacher-controlled, teacher-centred, did you say that?

I: Yeah well I mean I just think that erm if somebody wasn't interested, by that amount of teacher control where you've actually named the students, it's quite easy to switch off for all of the lesson and even some of the students didn't answer these questions. I mean it could've been their one or two turns in an hour basically you know he wasn't reprimanding them naturally, but you know it's er…there's a lot of room for them just to do nothing really.

C: So how do you visualise the opposite er student-centred?

S: Sort of changing the desks for a start. Well it's difficult in that kind of classroom situation…

C: Changing the desks into what?

S: …in a high school. You've got twenty-five. I don't know, just have to have tables maybe.

R: They would have them in groups so that they can look at you and talk to you and they can look at each other and talk to each other. A very small example, in the eleven o'clock class, the skills class I had the students sitting some of them with their backs to me, that was only part of the class and that was deliberate because I wanted them to leave me out of it and interact with each other and use each other as a resource you know and not depend on the book or the teacher. It didn't matter that they couldn't see me because I wasn't important then. That's one way, visually, to change how they sit and get them to relate to one another but I'm sure there's a lot more than just the seating.

S: Pair work as well…he could have done that even though everyone was sitting in rows.

R: Mm.

C: Even sitting in rows.

S: Yeah.

C: Erm I mean this, in a sense, the shape of this classroom which is a u-shaped, a 'C' shape or a horseshoe shape [referring to classroom where discussion is taking place]. Do you that, you could do that with twenty-five students?

S: No you couldn't I don't think, but you could have them in groups you know twenty-five groups of four tables or something.

C: So sitting around tables.

S: Mm and as Reena said some of the time they're going to have their backs to you but you can always get them to turn their chair around so if you want them to look at you.

R: Mm.

I: Mm. I was saying about he was doing the erm…it doesn't matter whether they knew the story or not, it was predictive, it's an oral chain story. As I was saying I do them in writing because erm I get the students to pass them round and they have, no it depends, in the monolingual group it's very great temptation if there's a problem, they'll ask the previous student in Hungarian but not necessarily in some of our groups and there's totally, he could have done that with equipment say he had say four tape recorders, put them in four groups of six and said you tell the story to the tape recorder. When they can play them back to the class you know each, all four of them, er it just takes him out and puts them more in charge of what they're doing and responsible for that activity for themselves…

S: Mm.

I: …you know and you're monitoring, this is what I mean, teacher-centred, is that still teacher-centred slightly because you're going round monitoring, but just something to take it away from a one-to-one with the teacher. It's difficult with oral especially equipment wise, you know organisation and actually having it but er.

R: You can also do stories by erm having two groups and turning them into a bit of a competition or something…

I: That's true.

R: …of course students love it. Have one spokesperson and maybe give him the words or something and the definitions…

I: Yeah.

R: …and get them to do the matching themselves and you could divide the board, if it's a large enough board, into two segments and get them come and write on it rather than you spend all that time writing and then get this group to have their story because it's their own story if that is the case and have two separate stories and then you can see how using the same vocabulary, it can get two different stories.

S: Mm.

I: You can play more of facilitative role there…

R: Yes.

I: …and you know you are using other language apart from you know they didn't ask you over and say "How do you say…?" what, you know, vocabulary input…

R: Mm.

I: …I think that's a more relaxed way of doing it than…

R: And it also gives the teacher a bit of an outlet doesn't it.

I: Yeah.

S: Yeah.

R: And then you have more scope to check how maybe individuals are doing because you can go around and listen to them. I think it gives you a better feedback too sometimes.

I: Mm.

C: So I suppose…again I don't want to put words in your mouth, but student-centred then again is about taking the pressure away from the teacher, I think that's like putting the ball onto the side of the court of the students erm them to do things independently of the teacher. Is that right or is it wrong or?

S: Independently of the teacher but yeah but obviously you'd monitor I mean you wouldn't just let say "Get on with it." They could do that by themselves but I mean, there would be an element of control there still.

I: Mm. Then there's a feedback thing afterwards which I think they come back to the other groups and say what they've done. So you know you are, your [unclear] facilitating things, you're making erm getting them to produce things, then there's the control afterwards. It's much more, a different kind of control there because you're not one-to-oneing. They're all listening to what they've done and you're going in and saying "Is that right, that sentence okay?" You can do that I guess but it's not so much really pulling one line from each student and then the one who said the first line really doesn't care what the last line maybe is you know erm.

S: It's just typically grammar heavy isn't it…

I: Mm.

R: Yeah.

S: …what you get in secondary schools.

I: Yeah. You can do diagnostic stuff afterwards and I think that is a bit more teacher-centred by just because but then also generally I find when I've done stories like that they're all interested to hear the bit they put in…

R: Mm.

I: …and they're more involved because it's their story you know rather than what's been elicited by the teacher for the class you know just as model…

S: This is the more fun isn't it.

I: Mm.

R: Mm.

I: But who [unclear] the smaller groups just as different [unclear] the group numbers here [unclear]

C: Do you er…I think erm…Sheila mentioned that erm something on the lines that you said that underlining errors or, sorry, underlining parts of the text that they didn't understand, you said it's not focussing on the skill.

S: No but that's reading isn't it and that's kind of taking a text and pulling it apart for grammar, vocabulary rather than like reading for information or reading for gist or whatever.

C: Do you think they should be separated then…er sort of reading for grammatical reasons and reading for skills reasons?

S: Yeah. They're not necessarily, I mean you can always follow up with something grammatical or you know vocabulary or whatever…but I mean you don't naturally sit down and read something and think okay what don't I understand do you. It's just not a natural thing to do. It's also not I mean it's not very motivating either really.

I: I think in that environment more than some, it's very likely that people won't admit not understanding something without checking it.

C: They all said "no" [laughs as well as Reena].

I: Mm.

C: …they all said "no" yet [unclear] didn't see it.

R: And how does the teacher know they have spotted the errors, that they haven't understood something…

I: Mm.

R: …if they're twenty-five? I think it probably in some ways is easier to spot the errors if…if you have these two groups and they're talking so you are free to go and sit, pull up a chair and sit by group and listen to them with a little notebook and a pen and then every time you…you listen to the mistakes they're actually making, make a note and then do the same with the other group and at the end put them all on the board and get them to check it…

S: Mm.

R: …rather than just keep telling them what to do.

C: Erm one thing about the reading which you may not have been aware of is that he asked them to underline the errors but what happened afterwards…

S: I mean were they errors?

C: Oh that sorry no, I keep saying errors. This is me, this is because the sort of thing I do [laughs]. Underline, underline areas of language they didn't understand. But immediately afterwards, the last thing we saw, they were answering a list of questions and in this course book they use there's a text and a list of comprehension questions and he didn't actually tell them to do that because it's just the standard thing they do…

S: Right.

C: …erm…

S: They were automatically answering the questions [unclear] work.

C: Yeah automatically they read the text and then answer the questions…

S: Right okay.

C: …and so that was the first thing he did afterwards was gone through the comprehension questions, a given, then he was looking at the language…that's confusing for people. You seem quite positive about using translation.

R: It's a dangerous thing really isn't it. It depends on where and how it is used. If all the students speak one language and the teacher speaks the same and if they're lower levels, then it's definitely useful, not to overuse but to just use it for checking that the students have understood erm some basic things or maybe you give an instruction and you to make, and this is beginner level or lower elementary level, and you tell them what they should do. There's no problem in making sure that they've understood the instruction otherwise if they don't know what they're supposed to do they might waste a lot of time. So depending on the circumstances, the situation and the level, I think it can be an asset.

S: I think it can be dangerous translating specific words because you know often they use something…

R: [Unclear] ones

S: Yeah exactly.

C: Looking at that lesson I mean as I say, as you say, it's only an extract, it's not the whole lesson, I purposely chose erm chosen for this, and I've used the same video for the other, this is the fourth discussion I've done, I purposely tried to find something that wasn't er typically representative of the kind of thing we do here.

All Participants: Mm.

C: Erm but looking at…as a means of discussion, but looking at that lesson did it seem to be alien to you as something "Well this has got nothing to do with what I do," or did you feel "Ah this an EFL or English language teaching class slightly…it's I can understand what's going on, I can see the logic of this"? What did you feel?

R: It was alien for me at all because that's how it's done in India, that's how it's done in Japan.

S: It wasn't alien but you know I think it's alien to EFL. I think EFL's quite…

R: [Unclear].

S: …yeah I mean I think that if EFL methods had been used when I was learning French for example, I'd've got a lot more out of it.

I: But I think we all do some of those sort of things some of the time…

S: Yeah we're not perfect.

I: …you know I mean the classroom isn't completely student-centred, never, not for me anyway. There are times when you know I'll be doing that…

S: Yeah.

I: …just talking at across to individual students but not [unclear].

S: Sometimes I'm doing it and thinking why am I doing it?

I: Yeah but we do do it don't we…

R: That is why I said that we're just basing our comments on what, the one segment we saw and so it can sound very judgemental because…

I: Mm.

R: …he might not be doing it at the time, as Ian said we do do it sometimes, and also there are students in some you know cultural backgrounds who want that kind of teaching, they expect that, they feel they learn so it might work in some situations erm but modern EFL learning and teaching is so different. I think some years ago that was quite the common practice.

I: Because often with a group discussion you need to springboard it by…by you know you'd have them in a different forum. You'd springboard it by actually getting some of the more forthright students to speak out and then it develops…

R: Mm.

I: …but you do need that control there…

R: Yes.

I: …I mean I do that very often because it otherwise it some things you could never work and you know not the students, our students, the students I generally have are that sort of automatically willing so there's got to be that control in there somewhere but not quite as strictly as he was doing…

S: Prompting.

I: …yeah I mean it's that isn't it.

R: We do that part of the time but then as long as you balance it with whatever else that we were talking about. The two problems for me with such teaching is (1) how much do the students learn of the foreign language and also it can be a bit boring…

I: Mm.

R: …and not very, not very motivating and really is the word fun I think that should be a very important element in language teaching. Make it fun as well as er something useful.

S: The students seemed quite bored actually. I mean they were very silent weren't they and…

C: Do you associate silence with boredom?

S: Yeah [laughs]. [short silence] You know it's different isn't it in a high school. You're expected to be silent when the teacher is talking…

Ra & I: Mm.

S: …or teaching.

[Short silence]

C: Okay any more comments? It's come to a natural end I think.

R: Mm. [short silence] I thought it so clearly was a gesture touching the ear…

C: Oh the ear.

I: Yeah.

R: …in this pronounce so you don't hear or you missed a word.

C: [Laughing] It works everywhere.

R: Mm. A very good gesture too okay very useful.

C: Okay thank you very much. That's wonderful. It's another great one.

4.7 *Discussion 5 – 29th July 1999*

4.7.1 Non-Taped Notes

For introduction to this, see discussion four. The discussion took place during the lunch break as the Wednesday afternoon was not possible because of problems due to Dominique's child.

Whilst the video was playing, during the point when the teacher gives definitions of 'sergeant' and 'superintendent', the participants said "God" and looked at each other and laughed.

The following table shows the issues I noted down during the initial unprompted part of the discussion. I did not mark the ones I brought up with the participants. In fact there was little interruption and questioning by me. The participants continued their discussions without much prompting.

- Two dimensional/static
- Boring

    - stilted because of camera

    - motivation

- dynamics

    - no pair work, no groups, problem of students in rows, no interaction, time to prepare

- Restrictions on what he could do
- Teacher-centred
- He did hard work
- Couldn't hear students and couldn't assess their ability (try to work out level)
- Dictionary definitions
- Students seemed bored
- Teacher by evening half dead
- Would change to traditional if at a state school because of syllabus. Can it change me?

4.7.2 Discussion Transcript

Christopher = C; Peter = P; Dominique = D

C: So…absolutely fire away, whatever you want to say, whatever you, points you'd like to make.

D: Sad [laughs].

P: In what way?

D: Oh I'm sure he's a very sweet guy. In fact he just seemed very dated and very boring and static.

P: Mm. But also, the thing about that was he was teaching in a language that wasn't his own.

D: Mm that's a point. I didn't think about that. But even still in terms of say dynamics…

P: Mm.

D: …it was very limited I mean there was no pair work, there's no, it wasn't, there was no interactive stuff going on between the students or really with him. I mean he had to prompt them the whole way. Whenever he asked for them voluntarily to give an answer, nobody did, did they.

P: Yeah but that's not necessarily his methodology as class dynamics. I mean you must've had very high level, that was a high level group, you must've had groups that just don't want to volunteer. You must've had that at times.

D: Sure if I have something like that then, particularly if it's me upfront and there's all the students the other side, then I break down as quickly as possible into groups because it could be personality…

P: Yeah I mean that's it everything was totally…

D: …you could have people feeling with inhibitions or whatever.

P: …it was teacher-centred the whole time wasn't it…

D: Yeah.

P: …and everything was…yeah there was so many ways he could have done even some of the same exercises with er…

D: I mean he did an awful lot of hard work didn't he…

P: Mm.

D: …I mean it was his input the whole way.

P: Erm that's right. I mean going back, another thing about his stiltedness I mean honestly he was teaching with a camera in the room. It's got to make his whole style a lot less natural, but yeah the way the lesson was planned was his input the whole way. I mean that dictionary thing when he tried to do it as a bingo game, he could have just said "Well look up the words in your dictionaries; the first group pair to find five words shout 'Bingo'" and then the same thing, finding the definitions could have been student-led.

D: Yeah…yeah definitely. Erm…

P: Unfortunately the fact that the sound quality was so poor on it…

D: I couldn't really hear what they were saying.

P: …they were obviously using a camera mike.

C: Yeah the mike was just on him, not the students.

P: Right.

D: Oh right that's why…

C: That's why you couldn't, could you saw him carrying his little thing…

P: Right.

D: Uh-ah.

C: ….for the mike.

P: Somehow it should have been positioned hung above the room or something I think really because for example the bit when he was getting them to use sentences, words in sentences, I couldn't work out if they were just trying to use the word in a sentence or build a story as they were going around the group.

C: There was one at the beginning where they were supposed to be building a story as far as I understood it…

D: Mm.

C: …when he said "We're going to read this text" I think right at the beginning and he puts a list of words up.

P: It's not the beginning, it's the second list of words he puts up.

C: The second list, you're right yeah. There is a list of words where they're supposed to be building a story from it.

D: Yeah I remember that.

P: Yeah. But I couldn't tell if they were, because they couldn't hear what they were saying well enough, so I wasn't sure if they were doing it.

D: Yeah.

P: But even there, he didn't give them any time to prepare it first. He didn't say "In threes work out what the story is and then we'll go around the class and…"

D: I mean this er, the lists of vocabulary he put up, are these supposed to be completely new or are they recycled items?…or are you not sure?

P: It must have been a mixture…

C: I'm not sure.

P: 'Steal, stole, stolen' can't have been new to them.

D: But if it was…but if it was something, I mean there are some new bits, I mean it was expecting the impossible for them to come back that quick.

P: It must have been recycled because they got them all right…and, I mean I got the impression that he was testing dictionary skills by reading out a definition, can you match a dictionary, he obviously got his definitions directly out of a dictionary, which I thought presented in a different way wasn't a bad thing you know I mean students have so much trouble understanding the definition in a dictionary sometimes, they do it the other way round that can be a good…

D: Sure but that'd probably mean to ask about their actual level…the level. I mean what do you think the level of the students or that class was? What was it pitched at?

P: Kind of good upper-intermediate I'd have thought although you couldn't see the students' faces or hear what was going, none of them seemed to be having problems with what he was, the speed he was going at.

D: But then he was sk-, yeah but then he was skating over a lot of stuff. I mean I could not assess their ability whatsoever by what I saw there…

P: Right.

D: …maybe his but not theirs.

P: No as I say he didn't, I mean, they seemed to know those words he called out. They'd probably knew them before he even started that reading-out exercise. In fact the dictionary bit didn't help at all. None of them matched them but when he asked for the words in Hungarian, they seemed to know all the words. I didn't hear when he did that bit of putting the words into context, I didn't hear him go to anyone to say "I don't know, I can't do it."

D: Do you think they would've if they knew they were being filmed and stuff?

P: Well if they couldn't do it. I mean you can't put a word into a context in a sentence if you don't know what a word is. They obviously, you know what I'm saying, they…

D: Sure, but I couldn't hear much of what they were saying so I don't know if it was accurate what they were coming back with.

P: And I was wondering what he was doing with the homework correction at the beginning because from what I could make out, all the sentences they read out were wrong, or most of them, and I couldn't, didn't hear him actually correct any of them at all so…

D: So the homework was grammatical, grammar and this lesson is vocabulary. Was it straight vocabulary? I mean it can't be skills in this…

C: Erm this, the…the lesson's structuredness is not from me, this is from someone who was in Hungary who told me this, but the lesson, it's a very sort of standard series of textbooks that are used in secondary schools…

D: Mm.

C: The textbooks are based, as far as I know, as I've been told, it's based around a reading text which is followed by a series of well comprehension questions and then a series of grammar erm type exercises which are related to the text and the text, if you like, is an ongoing, an ongoing thing throughout the book. It's an ongoing story.

P: Yeah that was obviously, that became clear.

C: But it's, if you like, the lesson is structured around this text with reading comprehension and the vocabulary, and the grammar.

D: Ah all right so this poor man is tied to this syllabus if you like…

C: Mm.

P: Mm.

D: …which is restricted to begin with. When the camera sort of panned backwards, whatever it did, or zoomed back, I noticed the classroom itself, because, when, it's all very well saying about say dynamics breaking them into small groups and this that and the other when the furniture can't be moved and they're in rows. Having said which I remember doing, looking at something similar to do with Kenyan students and how they, you can still turn them around…

P: Mm.

D: …and they can do fours or they can still do pair work…

P: Yes.

D: …erm you can't avoid now and again them looking at the back of each others heads but erm…just looking, we had a brief, a brief opportunity to see the students and not just to hear them, and I mean…they did seem pretty erm bored, didn't they. I mean it wasn't what I would call a living language lesson…

P: But maybe that's what they expected from the class as well. I mean maybe that's absolutely their sort of, I mean I don't know if they were bored, they weren't, didn't look sort of…

D: But obviously they, the book or whatever…

P: …stimulated.

D: …is yeah is completely predictable. I mean if it's the same er set out again, again and again then er I think anybody would be bored but then he could have broken things up a little bit I mean er by jumping around the class. It seemed to me I mean, maybe he was I'm not sure, but it seems as if he was going erm that they would be able to predict who he was going to ask next.

P: Mm.

D: If you know what I mean. But I still think given the material that he perhaps had to deal with erm it would have been nice instead of such a dry start to see er some kind of, I mean I always like to…to give them something where they're not expecting, maybe even physically getting out of the seats or erm I don't know or like today we were doing the conditionals so we decided to have, to sing "If I Were A Rich Man."

P: Right, to whatever.

D: Dibble, dabble, diddle diddle whatever it was. Yeah I mean it was just something unpredictable, a nice unpredictable start…

P: Mm.

D: …even if it's nothing to do with, you know as long as it's language orientated. Something to get them on their toes mentally erm…see the, then the other question is so easy to judge others isn't it and it's like you think well the restraints he's working in, one…erm…the materials…

P: They're given as an adversity they've got, the environment isn't a good…

D: …yeah too, I don't know, this is set in Hungary is it?

C: Yes.

D: Okay so there's not going to be a lot of money, so there's also the resources erm. You think, what nationality do you think he is?

P: Hungarian.

D: You think he is Hungarian.

P: Yes.

D: I thought you said earlier…you thought he was, no all right no. Okay right where…

P: No I said he's teaching in a language not is own I said.

D: Oh all right then. But then it begs the question about maybe his er training or maybe it's time for some in-service training in Hungary or something because the approach just seemed about ten years old and I

don't know how much that is because of the materials erm he's dealing with or like I remember in Greece a lot of the teachers used to say to me that they couldn't be more dynamic or they couldn't do this that or the other because erm they were expected to reach page x by this week…

P: Mm.

D: …and then another page. Maybe that sort of thing goes on in Hungary too.

P: Well you have to plan ahead. But I don't know if we're talking really about the way that…education should be, you know going with something surprising. Well you know I would say teach any subject in that way whether it's geography or economics or whatever.

D: But sure I mean that's just methodology it's not erm…

P: But a lot of…

D: …confined to the language classroom.

P: That's right and if we look at it from a sort of a language point of view, I mean I've done…you know, English language teaching is, in the direction that's gone, miles ahead of almost any other language. You know I've gone to classes in Spain, Spanish classes in Spain, and you've got a photocopy and it's got twenty sentences in it, you've got to put them in the subjunctive and you just go round and round and round the class and one reading a sentence out and you go round and round. The next day you go in and it'll be another sheet of you know and that's it, that's they're idea of planning a lesson.

D: Sure whereas you cause trouble like I did in Greece and despite what the school owner wants, you get in there I mean exactly the same thing.

P: But you were teaching English you mean?

D: Yes sure, but erm I was the only native, the others were all Greek and they were teaching, there's very little, in Greece there's very little training as teachers erm. Until about two years ago, you were qualified to teach the language by having Cambridge Proficiency…

P: Right.

D: …and that was deemed good enough. So what did they do? They just, they just copied how they were…

P: Taught.

D: …taught etcetera so it's very erm two-dimensional as far as I could tell and erm even though this woman had like these erm speakers and microphones in all [unclear] the classroom to spy on us and what we did. I just couldn't teach like that and also you feel…

P: But like what, something like this is what they wanted [referring to video lesson].

D: Yeah…yeah. But then okay maybe it's different because erm one had the qualification, the experience, the confidence and also the language. That's something else. I noticed he made quite a few mistakes himself…

P: Mm.

D: …erm particularly when he was telling them, giving them instructions or directions like "Look on page…" such and such. I don't know whether I'm being pedantic.

P: No no no. So yeah that would limit his…his confidence a bit.

D: Yeah. He seemed as if, particularly at the beginning, I thought he was a bit insecure. Maybe that's because of the cameras.

P: I…personally I thought I was going to be watching a native-English teacher teaching….abroad or very, I don't know, it wouldn't have made any difference if it was a multinational kind of, but I don't feel if we're meant to be commenting on his methodology, I don't feel I'm…apart from the fact that he's using English throughout the entire class, I don't see that that man is doing the same job as what I'm doing or what we're doing. I don't really feel it's fair to compare…

D: What to judge him for what we would do and how we would approach it.

P: Yeah. Because…because I don't even know if that's…

D: Maybe judge is…

P: …is that a private academy? Is he in a state school?

C: No it's state.

P: So he's in a state school so they're probably preparing for exams erm…If I went abroad and was employed in a state school, I think I would change my methodology greatly and go for much more…traditional appr-, or traditional within whatever everyone else was doing there because you got syllabus things, because it's no point, it's no good at the end of the term saying well my students only got through the first two units because that was the pace they were going at. You've got people to answer to always. You always got well you know okay we got to the end of the book and stuff like that. But…you see the point is, I mean I sometimes wonder, all the methodology and all the things we talk about and all the new theories that come up in EFL and what I've seen in where other languages are taught including the way that Spanish has been taught to me here at the university…other languages aren't this concerned about the way they're teaching themselves and yet English, why do more people learn English? Not because it's better taught but because people they want to learn it. I mean are we kidding ourselves?

D: So you're saying that it's moto-, you're saying that motivation wins over approach in the end.

P: Well yeah. Are we kidding ourselves about the approach? Do we make more interesting for us really more than the students I mean…

D: Well having been both sides of the fence like yourself I mean when I was doing erm adult studies, I was going up to adult studies for German and the lady actually was just a very sweet woman was just about to retire and it was the classic chalk and talk and very similar to this [referring to video]. We were there, she was here, she was doing most of it and er particularly adults…er…you can tell by their feet whether they're going to be there or not and slowly the attendance fell and fell and fell and then of course it was difficult for me because knowing as being a teacher anyway, knowing about other approaches etcetera and I don't think I can quite agree with…certainly there's going to be restraints and syllabuses and this and this and this but having erm had a foot in both…

P: Mm.

D: …and having spent twelve years in Greece where there's a lot of limitations in every respect, if I was going to sort of conform to that, I'd saw it as a challenge and the most important thing was erm those

students being motivated particularly as these students, I mean okay I don't know about Spain but in Greece this is er the, they go to school twice so they've already done one lot of school and they go to school again in the evenings…

P: Mm.

D: …and this is where I pick them up or whoever else picks them up so they're half dead, so motivation is even more important if they're going to get anywhere.

P: Yeah, I think I might, I don't know, I'm not sort of just about…motivation…

D: Because I wasn't just judging him as erm…

P: I think I'm talking about, I think I'm picking up is your comment when you said…

D: Yeah.

P: …maybe it's time for, I've forgotten where we're looking at again, where is it? Hungary, to have some you know in- some…

D: In-service training.

P: …in-service training. I'm sort of thinking we're sometimes got this sort of you know within the closed world of TEFL, we've got this holier than thou idea. We can show everyone else how they should be learning English or any other language.

D: But it shouldn't be, it's not closed. Why should it be holier than thou unless one thinks it's like that way. Maybe coming from a different discipline say erm I was trained in art and drama and I taught those for a number of years and picking what the particularly in a secondary school erm you get a lot of students who are written off before they start but with subjects like that you can bring them back into some sort of kind of fold if you and trying to use some of those motivations across into EFL and then what else, something else, but erm…I think sometimes you have to share, you have to…

P: Yeah what I'm worried about is…I'm a bit worried again about this selection of material because I get the impression what we're ending up doing is not…

D: Selection of material.

P: …talking about this one teacher, we're talking about…the methods of teaching in Hungary. I don't think I'm in a position…

D: I wouldn't know anything about this.

P: …to…to, but if this is a typical lesson in Hungary I don't feel in a position to comment on the way Hungarians teach languages. Do you know what I mean? I sort of…

D: I'm not making a judgement about how they teach per se. I was just saying perhaps by what we have seen erm and obviously one would have to know more before anyone makes a big dictum here, but erm I'm just saying I don't think it's his er…erm lack of imagination necessarily or er that there must be a, what I presume is a combination of factors and like…there should be, you see what goes on maybe say in the classes here EFL, okay I accept your point that things are a lot easier here for various reasons, but I'd just like to see erm a bridge. Why are so many erm teachers coming here? I mean we could also go over there. I mean that was my point with the British Council in Greece that er instead of expecting people to pay lots of

money to go to them that er they should go out in sticks and we should do some team teaching etcetera, and then for us to make comments we really need to be in that room…

P: Mm.

D: …so we can hear the students and…

P: Why is it that particular bit? Why is it? Is it chance that it's not a native speaker doing that lesson?

C: No this is erm…to give you a bit of background, this erm a series of videos taken by erm a Hungarian researcher and it's based, most of it's based on er, it's a Hungarian university BEd course…

P: Mm.

C: …trainee teachers doing teaching practice, and it's focussing on the teacher if you like more than anything because it's assessing them I suppose that's that. I assume…

P: I think this is the point where we really need to know what kind of reaction are you expecting. Are you expecting us to react to it as an EFL class or your expecting us to comment on…or are you doing something about English being taught abroad by non-native speakers or…

C: No no no, I'm, no no. I mean I've kept this completely open and you react to it how you do. By saying what you're saying is interesting. It's how you react to this.

P: Because what I presume is your, what I'm assuming your collecting data on different people's ideas about methodology, in which case I would have made sure I was in your position I'd got a film of a native speaker teaching.

C: Er no, no. Because…okay I mean I could go on to about the reasons for this, but the reasons for this, I mean I'll be open with you. I went through a lot of consultations and discussions with various people in the Education about how do this and the best thing is to show something that is different to the way that you normally teach…

D: Mm.

P: Right.

C: …as a way to get you to talk about teaching…

P: Mm.

C: …so that's the purpose.

D: And whatever we go down we…

C: Yeah it could have been a maths lesson.

P: Yeah. The point is however much we criticise that…

D: Mm.

P: …I don't think the students were having too much trouble following that lesson and…they've all got to that level. They've all got to a pretty good level.

D: You know what it reminded me of? It reminded me of when I learnt French at school which was one or two years ago, and how that I managed to get through all the way to 'O' level knowing very very little indeed because it was such a passive approach, and I always knew when she was going to come round to

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me so I'd get my little Tony Benn ready and I had a quite a problem with articulation and everything because we never spoke. You know we didn't speak that much…

P: Mm.

D: …particularly free practice…

P: Yeah I mean…

D: …where's the free practice there?

P: …what we're obviously not getting is any, they're all going to have, are a good passive knowledge of English. They're obviously getting no chance to speak, no free practice and not er making the most of the time that they've got in the classroom either but…

D: And for the language to become a part of, I'm mean okay it must be difficult when, sure it's different when you're not in the target language country…

P: Mm.

D: …but erm with er what I suppose teenagers really I mean they weren't adult adults, teenagers erm…something that is relevant to them in their lives you know…I don't know like whatever the set vocabulary or wherever the stage of the story had got maybe trying to find er some erm pop song that's really big, I don't know if Alanis Morrisette is big over there or The Beatles or who it is…is that something contemporary, something they can identify with that the lessons springboard, I suppose I'm back to motivation again…to bring them in rather than to put the lesson on them, to start with the students.

P: I do, it's making me wonder maybe now for the first time really. I used pop songs hundreds of times over the years and I'm wondering how much my students have ever actually got out of the pop song apart from being motivated for that class and me feeling I had a rewarding class…

D: Mm.

P: …and then maybe picking a couple of bits of vocabulary sort of slang and stuff they might never come across otherwise…

D: Did you, first of all, did you…

P: …I really wonder if…

D: …did, was it your selection or theirs?

P: It would vary er I've done both. I've selected stuff and allowed them to select stuff…

D: Mm, mm.

P: …but usually they'd select stuff by Roxette which is written by Dutch people and didn't make any sense…

D: [Laughs]

P: …lyrically whatsoever [laughing] and you couldn't, it was no good. I used to teach it and they used to be like…"So what does this mean?" and I'd say "Well it means nothing" and they'd just think, thought I was an idiot because I didn't understand my own language.

D: Well thankfully they don't all select Roxette.

P: No but I mean…

D: But I'm not saying every day that we come with you know sort of like er Radio 1 and other er…I'm just saying as using, bringing into the classroom some sort of stimulus whether it's something to do with the media, realia whatever…just going that little bit further isn't it with you have x materials, all any less-, any subject, any teacher has the choice, with have a lot of choice. Either we can, it's like here with the…the syllabus and the modules and the rest of it, the set books and we can just follow the book doody doody doody isn't it or you can take a bit of it and add a few other bits from outside that might have, that should have some relevance to them. It's so open isn't it.

P: It is. I mean, I don't know…

D: …to, depending how much you've got, how much motivation the teacher has, how erm…the character of the teacher erm whether, how they perceive teaching, is it a vocation, is it a means for a pay cheque at the end of the month…I could go on another area now [laughs].

P: No I'm just wondering, I don't know, I wonder when anyone last did an experiment getting a whole group of students who basically all kind of tested at the same level…

D: Mm.

P: …splitting them randomly into two groups saying to one teacher "You take these for a month and go through a book and go page 1 2 3 4 all the way through and do grammar drilling and stuff like that," and said to another "Right do your stuff, do your songs, your games, your pair work and all this" and actually tested them at the end and see who's actually progressed the most. I wonder if we've actually ever tested our own methodology to make sure actually…

D: But er…

P: I mean…

D: …shouldn't there be a combination? I mean…

P: …well maybe there should yeah.

D: …what seems to be, what seems to be but I…I mean okay we don't know one hundred percent…

P: My main criticism of his class was that it was too teacher-centred, that the students didn't get enough chance to…to interact amongst themselves, but is reading that story from that book, which sounded all a bit artificial and false, is that any worse than him taking in an article from The Guardian?…

D: No that's fine if it wasn't the whole lesson…

P: …because once they got, once they can read English, they can go and read The Guardian.

D: …if it wasn't the whole lesson, if it was, if that in itself was meant to be a springboard, fine.

P: But all kinds of things you study. I mean say okay this is a state school and they're going to go on, they going to go to university, no one's going to go in and give them texts on sociology or history or economic theory and make them exciting and give them songs and get them…

D: Depends who, depends who you've got. I remember studying psychology years ago and we'd got old Brian Ingram gave us erm Monty Python's bits and pieces and I still remember it today. It depends who the teacher is and how they're going to animate or not and make the er that particular lesson passive or active.

C: So in a sense erm when you say "active" and "passive" you see active not only in terms, this is what, I'm in a sense summarising what I think you're saying, active in the terms of erm being erm more student-centred in the sense that students are interacting and it's not just teacher-fronted, that being teacher-centred, but active also in the sense of not boring, of interesting?

D: Well mentally, I mean not just physically activating and active but er…erm mental participation, I mean and…

C: But interesting.

D: …yeah yes motivating, it is motivating and stimulating. I mean you can't get, you can't win everybody all the time. We all know that and that we're…and everybody the minute you walk through that door everybody has different lives, everybody has had different things that've happened to them blah blah blah blah and somehow we've got to be able to put that on ice and deal with what's going on in hand.

C: But you can separate active and passive with teacher-centred and student-centred. Is it or do they naturally fit together? You know active with student-centred, passive with teacher-centred on the part of the students.

D: No I don't think you can separate it erm…

C: So teacher-centred equals passive, student-centred equals active in terms of…

D: No…

C: …when we talk about the students.

D: …not necessarily because one can bounce off the other.

P: I'm just, I just, I'm aware of thing you know different cultures have different ideas of motivation in that as well. For example up at the university I always used to notice if I walked around the library late at night, the students who were sitting there reading away and you maybe see them there again at nine o'clock the next morning were almost always the overseas students, a lot of sort of Arabic students maybe Indian students, people who maybe come on scholarships, maybe people whose parents had sent them erm…worked hard to send them, and they could sit, and they would read for hours and hours and hours on end maybe because it was so absolutely important for them to study and I think sometimes you got students in some places that…you know maybe it's part of our culture that we think we've got change an activity in the class every five or ten minutes because we come from this sort of you know fast TV advert throw-it-at-you culture and maybe we're reflecting our culture in the classroom now. Let's change it, we've done that for five minutes ten minutes, let's change the activity now and maybe other people think "Look if I'm going to learn how to use the past part-…past perfect continuous, I've just got to sit down and put it into the next two hundred sentences and write two hundred sentences or chose if it's past perfect continuous or simple, and if I do it two hundred times, I'm going to get the hang of it."

D: That's why I think we've reached a stage where we are fortunate enough to have a plethora of different approaches and that you select among them according to the students you have in that class at that time so some students may need erm…fast changing…

P: Mm.

D: …pace of lesson, other students, back in the sixties the odd behaviourist structural…approach…

P: Yeah.

D: …and more teacher-orientated or er…

P: Okay so that, there I'll kind of agree with you because I think I think…

D: I'm not saying you can have one…one approach and that's it, which that's for me it seemed that went wrong in the past…

P: Mm.

D: …and certainly what you've observed is…

P: And I would, I would like to now argue that I think the guy in the video had…chosen his approach but in fact really what he was doing here was trying to choose from different approaches, his was trying to make that vocabulary bit fun by saying "Shout out bingo"…

D: Yeah.

P: …he was trying to stimulate it by saying "All right let's as a group create the story," but he didn't take it far enough, so I don't think he had actually chosen his approach and decided "A direct teacher-centred approach is better for this group of students," so I think he was…

D: I don't think he was…

P: …doing that out of lack of…

D: …perhaps confident enough to carry it through. I mean that was, that was, when he said that word bingo, I thought "Ooh we might get somewhere here, they might start to you know you might hear them coming in unprompted," but we never sort of got that far and I think that maybe had something to do with his confidence and perhaps he could have set it, I mean, he said it, it was almost like an aside instead of setting up as maybe an…

P: Mm.

D: …activity in itself…and maybe erm putting them into, dividing the class into two teams or something just to make it a bit more…

P: Which is fine but what we so often do you know so often our worse thing is when I'm setting up games of bingo or setting up pair work what you're trying to do is make your students forget that they are learning a language for a moment you know "Oh no this is a game of bingo, it's got nothing to do with learning new vocabulary" and hiding it from them. Well students have paid money, they've come here. I mean sometimes you know we all have had experiences where you're setting up a game of bingo and all the students are saying "Look, why are we playing bingo in a class?" You must've had that people usually say "Look, don't want to do a song"…

D: I've never played bingo.

P: …I can go, well whatever you know, but you must've had certain activities where you have students who clearly think it's a complete waste of time because they can't see the point. Sometimes you explain the point and sometimes they get it and go "All right yeah," other times they don't…

D: I think it also depends on what the lesson is billed as. If it's say a grammar lesson where the introduce the activity erm…call me old fashioned but I tend to start off with erm you know the classis presenting a point or whatever of the lesson and then controlled practice, free practice. I mean that free practice area, then if it was relevant and if I felt that the personalities of the students erm I mean there's so many things that we can choose from if you're talking about…

P: Mm.

D: …activities to expand things that often if I don't a class like these two-week thingy-bobs, if I don't know a class that well particularly in the first week, I'll have three or four activities up my sleeve. We're not going to be doing all of those. We might do one. We may not even get round to it or maybe they erm there are some characters that are a lot more serious than I had anticipated before, but er I mean I…I don't nece-, yeah I mean I agree with you, I certainly do agree that erm but I think you've got to be careful that not you not criticising in terms of saying that all teachers who are using erm activities and songs and all this are doing it just for the sake of the song or the activity rather than er being language orientated you know motivated and…

P: No I'm sure most people are doing it for language motivation but we tend not to sort of you know…something…

D: You see it as copout then?

P: …I became, no I don't see it as a copout, but I see it that perhaps…underestimating the ability of our students to be interested in something for it's own sake…in other words I'm mean I remember it's something I noticed quite early, maybe about a year ago that I would, I'd never present the song as "Look, the reason I've chosen this song is because it's dam good examples of the second conditional in it and I want you to hear them…

D: Mm.

P: …or the reason we're doing this pair work activity is because hopefully you'll naturally use the present perfect." I would sort of try and tell them afterwards. It's that kind of I suppose that's test-teach method in a sense. You do it, see if they use it or not. But sometimes I think we should give the responsibility back to the students and say you look "You have a right to know what I'm trying to get out of you here, what I'm trying to give you" and I think we underestimate the ability of students to concentrate, just to work hard, just to say right well you know "If I've got to…er…

D: But I think if you, if we had maybe erm one of the general course teachers here who say Simon…

P: Mm.

D: …or Nigel who teach on you know full time that it's completely, there's a completely different approach and atmosphere from term time to the short summer courses.

P: Okay yeah, I've…

D: …and I don't know, I mean you've been in haven't you on and off during the…

P: Yeah yeah.

D: …and it is different isn't it.

P: It is.

D: Because they're working as we've pointed out before to exams…

P: Towards exams.

D: …and etcetera so this and other things lardy lardy dah. I mean it's like erm this week with particularly the Spanish etcetera, they're all going to parties…

P: Mm.

D: …and going to bed two three in the morning and okay we were, we were ooh semi-religious with the book and then just realised that it was a dead loss. Now create this project and getting them physically because mentally they're half dead because they haven't had much sleep…

P: Mm.

D: …and there's a load of alcohol up there still too…

P: Yeah but that's why it's completely…

D: …but…

P: …unfair as well to compare what we're doing now with what the guy's doing there…

D: No…

P: …when he probably sees it so…

D: …no I'm not comparing what we're doing now…

P: Yeah.

D: …with that. What I'm talking about I mean er I was trying to think about how the situation was in Greece…

P: Mm.

D: …which is not like summer school in England, no way Hosé, so erm but I'm just for now I'm just saying to you how that one has to sometimes backtrack and change and to be able to do that you need to have all sorts of methodology, metho- , experience and activities and stuff and knowing how many, what sort of erm the restraints and what you can break of the syllabus, how you can depart de de de dee and all the local problems. When you know all of that then…then to try to be as imaginative as possible.

P: Mm [in a way to suggest thinking and that this is complex].

C: [Laughs].

P: Shall we wind it up?

C: Yeah we can wind it up then, that's perfect, wow.

4.7.3 Post-Recorded Discussion

After I had stopped the tape recorder, the participants started to continue the discussion in the classroom and the following points were made[61]. Dominique asked Peter if he thought that there were two types of teacher: a serious, traditional type and a modern one who used such things as games. Peter thought that

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[61] The participants were aware that I took notes on this and agreed to it.

there was not, but that there were different types of students not teachers, and the teachers use a variety of approaches. This then developed into a discussion on education in general. Dominique talked about the problems of the national curriculum which meant that subjects like art and drama were not being taught. Peter then went on to say "I wonder if our methodology reflects our culture." By this he meant English-American culture and he gave the example of people in this culture having a twenty-minute attention span. After that he said that he could not say whether Hungary needed in-service teacher training from the evidence of the video especially because he had not seen the students.

In discussion 5, Peter kind of acts in my role a bit: asking questions, being an agent provocateur. In this discussion, there was a bit more of a dispute between the participants. However, it centred around agreed criticisms of the video with Peter being a bit more questioning of the TEFL culture.

Appendix 5

5   Document Meetings

Meetings done to gain information on certain gaps in the documents gathered and on profiling the criteria used for employing 'EFL' teachers for the Department.

5.1   Jaclyn 19th November 1999

I e-mailed Jaclyn and arranged the meeting which took place in her office. Her responses were noted down by hand because I was just wanted to know a few facts rather than her opinions and how she expressed them, as was the case with the teacher meetings. I wanted to know the following things:

- I wanted a copy of the academic year syllabus and the notes that went with it. I wanted to know how this was affected by the demands of BASELT.
- I wanted copies of any documents given to students at the start of academic terms such as course outlines/introductions, timetables, student needs questionnaires.
- I wanted a copy of the end-of-academic-term questionnaire for students.
- I wanted a copy of the course prospectus for the academic year.
- I wanted to get teacher profiles based on the qualifications and work experience required of teachers who are employed by the institution. This would be in terms of what the college demands and what BASELT demands. I also wanted to know how non-ELT qualifications and work experience is taken into consideration by the college and BASELT.

I got a copy of the academic year syllabus, which combined both the syllabus and the notes unlike the summer school syllabus. I discovered that the handouts given to teachers at the beginning of academic terms were the same as those given at the beginning of the summer school. The course prospectus was also the same. The end-of-term questionnaire on accommodation was the same. Jaclyn gave me a copy of the course evaluation questionnaire which was slightly different as well as the timetable template. Jaclyn said that not as much information was given to the students at the beginning of the academic terms because their level was often lower. Jaclyn said that there was a BASELT 'blue book' which was a detailed document prescribing how the department should teach and manage ELT courses and thus judged in inspection. This was kept by the head of the Department (and later given to Luke when he took over the department) and had not been seen by Jaclyn. She was given photocopies of the relevant pages of the document in terms of her job when the department was preparing for external inspection. In the present 'blue book' there was no guidelines on how to construct syllabi, although she believed that the new one (1999-2000?) would be different with possible changes in this area.

In terms of getting information on teachers, it appeared that it would be politically very difficult to get hold of CVs or profiles of the teachers in the department [again a problem of me being an insider] and it was not something I pushed as my supervisor had warned me of this. Thus I decided that a general overall profile would be enough, just to get a good idea of the criteria used in employing teachers. Jaclyn said that there was details in the 'blue book' on the criteria for employing teachers and I would need to see Luke to find out this information. As far as she knew the criteria came from BASELT.

5.2 Luke 3rd February 2000

I e-mailed Luke with details of what I wanted to know and the meeting was arranged for the 3rd of February. In the meeting a clearer picture of the relationship between the 'blue book', criteria for employing teachers and how inspections relate to it. The 'blue book', as far as Luke was concerned did not exist. The detailed document prescribing how courses were taught and managed he had was orange and was published by the British Council. He assumed that Jaclyn had confused BASELT with the British Council, and that the previous copy of the document that the Head of Department had had was blue. He went on to describe how there seemed to be confusion between the functioning of BASELT and the British Council amongst some members and that Jaclyn often mentioned the inspections that take place every three years (?) as being a BASELT inspection, while in fact it was a British Council inspection. Luke then clarified the differences between the two organisations. BASELT was an organisation for state providers of ELT and in order to become a member of it, it was necessary to be inspected and get accreditation by the British Council. So in addition to paying annual fees to BASELT, an additional fee had to be paid to the British Council for each inspection. Thus it is the British Council that set out all the criteria for the inspection which are outlined in the document. The same document and procedure also works for schools working in the private sector via their organisation of professional recognition ARELS. Consequently, the criteria for passing the inspection is the same for both the private and public sectors. Indeed at the bottom of the front cover of the 'document' which Luke showed to me was printed BASELT and ARELS in their standard typography (brand name?).

In terms of employing teachers, Luke said that the department had their own standards which exceeded the minimum requirements of the British Council accreditation scheme which demands percentages of teachers to meet certain qualification requirements. The British Council have two main categories of qualification: TEFL initiating (TEFLI) and TEFL qualifying (TEFLQ)[62]. TEFLI is the category for teachers with Cambridge/RSA CELTA or equivalent, while TEFLQ is for teachers with the Cambridge/RSA DELTA or equivalent. In the latter category, other qualifications are also taken into consideration as being equivalent, e.g. an MA or Diploma with BATQI status or an MA plus ten hours of observation. The British Council

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[62] This is all described in more detail in the "Academic staff profile" document in documents file.

also has a category of Teacher Qualified (TQ) which recognises state Qualified Teaching Status (e.g. a PGCE or BEd), however teachers with such qualifications and no TEFL qualifications would be only considered in the scheme if they taught "juniors." The British Council bottom line is that fifty percent of permanent teachers must be TEFLQ, any others must be TEFLI or above.

For the Department according to Luke, any staff employed on a one year contract or for a longer period than that, and any long-term sessional staff (hourly paid like Mike) have to have TEFLQ status. If in addition to this, they have state QTS this could help their application for a post because a broader view of education would help on some courses. QTS would be taken into consideration but would not be considered essential. In fact two thirds of the permanent staff had TEFLQ and QTS with the other third just TEFLQ. In terms of considering teaching experience, applicants were judged on an individual basis but normally a minimum of two years was expected, which was what having a TEFLQ qualification demands anyway. Staff employed for block periods such as the summer school and short courses (e.g. 4, 6 or 8 weeks) and staff who were used for cover (often being the same people e.g. myself) are a mixture of TEFLI and TEFLQ. In the summer school of 1999, ten out of the seventeen (eighteen?) teachers employed were TEFLQ, three of these were TEFLQ plus QTS, six of the seventeen were TEFLI, while two were just QTS.

I asked Luke how other non-ELT qualifications were taken into account. He said that a first degree was not considered essential but would be taken into consideration. He drew my attention to some official CELTA documentation which described the requirements for doing the certificate. It said that CELTA candidates would normally have a degree or teaching qualification but could be taken on if they were qualified for entering higher education (e.g. 'A' levels or equivalent).

In terms of the type of teaching experience required, Luke said he had the perception that the Head of Department thought it was essential that candidates had experience of teaching multinational classes (e.g. in an English-speaking country). If they had this plus experience teaching abroad (i.e. to monolingual classes) "all well and good." However, if they only had experience in this country with multinational classes, that would be fine. It was also noted that it was essential to have experience of teaching young adults as opposed to children.

Appendix 6

6   Documents

NOTE: Anything in the documents which could reveal their sources such as headings, titles, symbols and names have been either omitted in the scanning process or blacked out in order to maintain anonymity.

6.1 Example of the Pre-Course Questionnaire Jan – March 1998

Pre-course questionnaire

A. Personal information

A1. Name: _____

A2. Nationality: _____

A3. Date of birth: _____

A4. Occupation (if student please specify field):_____

B Staying in the UK

B1. Is this your first visit to the UK?   Yes   No

B2. How long have you been in the UK?   _____

B3. How long are you staying in the UK?   _____

B4. Where are you staying? (please tick the appropriate answer)

    with a host family

    in university halls of residence

    with relatives (please give nationality)   _____

    with friends (please give nationality)   _____

    other (please specify)   _____

C. Languages spoken

C1. What is your first language?

C2. Did you study a foreign or second language(s) at school (not including English) ?

    If yes, please specify language(s) and duration of study

    _____

    _____

    _____

C3. Do you speak another language(s)?

    If yes, please specify the language(s) and how you learnt it (them) (e.g. self-taught,

    lived in a country where the language is spoken, mother-tongue partner)

    _____

    _____

    _____

D. Studying English

D1. Did you study English at school? If yes, for how many years? _____

D2. Have you attended any other English language courses?

      If yes, please specify type and duration.

      _____

      _____

D3. Why are you studying English?

      _____

      _____

D4. What do you feel are the most important things for you to learn during this course?

      _____

      _____

E. Choosing a course

E1. Why did you choose to follow an intensive course in the UK?

      _____

      _____

E2. Why did you choose this particular course?

      _____

      _____

      _____

F. Use of English

F1. What will you use English for during your stay in ▮▮▮▮?

      _____

      _____

F2. What will you use English for in the future?

      _____

      _____

Thank you for taking the time to fill in this questionnaire.

6.2 Example of a Student Profile

STUDENT PROFILE

NQT score...................
Oral..................

First name .... Family name...

Nationality.......................... Course Dates...

Reason for learning English..

Exams passed...

Course books used before..

COMMUNICATIVE ABILITY: Elementary/Pre-Intermediate/Intermediate/
Upper-Intermediate/Advanced

....

COMMENTS: Attitude, motivation, confidence, re-enrolment, special
requests

....

....

....

....

6.3 Summer Course Syllabus

<u>SUMMER GENERAL EFL COURSE - MORNING CLASS SYLLABUS</u>

A.   <u>Overall General Structure</u>

Summer General EFL Courses are organised in 2 week modules, with students enrolling for one or more modules.

Modules are organised on the following way:
>   A.M. - 2 x 1½ hour sessions
>   P.M. - Options and Self-Access sessions:

In each module there are nine mornings of classwork and on the first morning of each module there is entry testing, interviewing, placement and induction of newly-arrived course participants. There is also progress testing, interviewing and (re)placement of students who are staying on for a new module having completed a previous one.

B.   <u>Levels and Modules</u>

There are 5 general levels in the syllabus: Elementary, Pre-Intermediate, Intermediate, Upper Intermediate and Advanced. Each of the 5 levels consists of 3 or more modules, which means that a learner who enrols for two or three 2-week courses, rather than jumping a level after only 2 weeks, will progress to the next module. This can best be expressed in diagrammatic form:

Elementary			Pre-Intermediate			Intermediate			Upper-Intermediate			Advanced		
Mod 1	Mod 2	Mod 3	Mod 1	Mod 2	Mod 3	Mod 1	Mod 2	Mod 3	Mod 1	Mod 2	Mod 3	Mod 1	Mod 2	Mod 3

C.   <u>Coursebooks</u>
Coursebooks were selected with several criteria in mind:
a)   the need for a learner-focussed 'bottom-up' approach with an emphasis on discovery learning and interaction.
b)   the absence of a 'lockstep' approach which restricts choice and flexibility
c)   the need for continuity within and between modules
d)   a division between 'Focus' and 'Skills' so that they could be adapted to the structure of the course.
e)   an emphasis on language <u>use</u> rather than on language <u>usage</u>
f)   possibilities for work on integrated skills with an emphasis on oral and aural skills

D.   Morning Sessions
     The morning is divided into 2 sessions with the first session (9.00-10.30 a.m.) entitled
     'Language Focus' and the second (11.00-12.30 p.m.) 'Language Skills'.

     i)   'Language Focus'
           The emphasis of the 'Language Focus' sessions is on the <u>active use</u> rather than
           the passive knowledge of language form, function, lexis and features of the
           sound system of English.   Many students on summer courses will want to
           activate what may have been learnt rather passively in their previous experience
           of learning English.
           Coursebooks are recommended for each module in order to give summer course
           learners and teachers a sense of structure and continuity but are <u>not</u> intended to
           be followed slavishly.   They are intended rather to act as a framework upon
           which teachers are encouraged to build, paying particular attention to providing
           clear opportunities for practice and production. This is not to say that students
           should not have a clear understanding of the language presented in each lesson,
           but this understanding should come through an analysis of how a language item
           is used rather than an analysis of its formal properties. In the coursebooks
           included in the syllabus generally such an inductive approach will be found with
           an emphasis on discovery learning activities and on students using the new
           forms, functions and lexis in realistic communicative activities (but see Section
           D - 'Cultural Background and the Classroom').
           It would not generally be appropriate to concentrate heavily in 'Language
           Focus' lessons on activities which are basically exercises on language. For this
           reason teachers are expected to give less prominence in the syllabus
           coursebooks, and workbooks which may accompany such coursebooks, to the
           more mechanical and uncommunicative exercises on language form, function
           and lexis in the 9 o'clock classes ; such activities can be given for homework
           and students can also be encouraged to use the grammar exercise sheets and
           other materials in the self-access centre.

           Teachers may wish to use supplementary materials to stimulate creative
           language use of the language item(s) in any one unit of the syllabus. This is
           encouraged as long as teachers stick to the language focus specified in the
           coursebook for any particular lesson for the class. Teachers should also check
           that they do not use materials used in the Grammar, Pronunciation and
           Vocabulary afternoon options (see the sheet on 'Option Descriptions') or from
           coursebooks in other modules and at other levels specified in the summer
           syllabus.
           These materials may be self-produced or from the library's stock of teaching
           aids and resource books in the library in ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ Particularly
           recommended is the use of visual aids and authentic materials.

ii)   'Language Skills'
           The main emphasis in 11 o'clock classes is on oral/aural skills. Thus, while
           skills should be integrated, in classroom-based lessons reading and writing
           activities should be used chiefly as a means of supporting speaking and listening
           activities. (More extensive writing activities can be set for homework and
           students should be encouraged to use the self-access centre and the library

outside class time to improve reading skills; more emphasis on reading and writing skills can also be provided in sessions on project work and in the computer rooms - see below). The aim is for students to have as much opportunity as possible to communicate in English through communicative tasks and activities. It is expected that many of the tasks and activities used will require students to work in pairs and groups so that students will interact with each other and the teacher's role will be that of facilitator and monitor. There may be new lexis that needs to be introduced connected to themes in any particular coursebook unit specified in the syllabus; apart from this the emphasis in 11 o'clock classes is not to provide input of new language items or to concentrate on the language system.

As in the 9 o'clock classes, the published materials specified in each module are recommended as a basis for the sessions but as in D i) are not intended to be slavishly adhered to. Indeed, teachers may decide either to supplement such materials or introduce different activities on the themes specified. It is important, however, to stick to the theme/focus of the unit in the coursebook for any particular lesson. Particularly encouraged is the use of authentic materials and realia. Examples are: extracts from newspapers are magazines; brochures (e.g. holiday brochures); leaflets (e.g.leaflets containing tourist information or general public information such as tips on personal safety and fire prevention , leaflets from supermarkets containing 'healthy eating' tips, and from estate agents with details of houses for sale); bus and train timetables; menus; maps; magazine pictures; pop songs and video-taped material .

As far is video-taped material is concerned, the college has excellent audio-visual facilities and support and each classroom has a t.v. and video player. Requests can be made for an audio-visual technician to record programmes as well as making audio recordings of radio programmes ███████████. It is expected that when video-taped material is used tasks will be designed to exploit the material with the aim of using it as a springboard for creative language use. A resource book which is particularly recommended is <u>Video in Action</u> by Tomalin and Stempelski (Prentice Hall) ; this has excellent ideas for exploiting authentic video-taped material whether it be a t.v. commercial or a scene from a film. This book is available in ████████████.

Teachers may also wish to use a video camera in 11 o'clock classes. A video camera can be borrowed from ████ and a blank video tape signed out. If given notice a technician will also set up a video camera for you to use in the classroom; advance booking is essential ███████.

A video camera may be useful for project work. The emphasis in the 11 o'clock classes is on project work <u>in</u> rather than outside the classroom (students may choose to follow the afternoon options 'Project Work' or 'Making your own Video' where the emphasis is on getting out of the classroom into the local environment). If project work is done in 11 o'clock sessions it should be linked to one or more of the themes due to be focussed on in the coursebook for that particular module.

The following books are recommended to teachers interested in project work and are available in ███████████

a) Macmillan Short Course Programme: <u>Impressions</u> (Elementary)
<u>Observations</u> (Intermediate), <u>Reflections</u> (Advanced).
b) <u>Project Work</u> - Diane Fried-Booth (OUP)

c) Hotpoint Pre-Intermediate and Intermediate (OUP) (although designed for teenage learners some of the projects are suitable for adults)

d) Projects for the EFL Classroom - S. Haines (Nelson)

Project work as well as work which focusses more on reading and writing skills can also be done in sessions in which the computing facilities are used. Teachers may wish to book a computing room for a class (perhaps one 11 o'clock session per week) and students can access the internet to develop reading skills, use e-mail to correspond with each other and use word processing facilities to write up projects.

D.   Taking Account of Students' Backgrounds and Needs

There is obviously not as much opportunity on a short summer course to carry out as detailed an analysis of students' backgrounds, needs and progress as there is on a longer course.(including their previous experience of learning English, their learning styles and preferred modes of learning, the relative effectiveness of their learning strategies and specific objectives they would like to achieve in the course).

This is not to say, however, that due account should not be taken of such factors. Entry tests and the information provided by students in interviews on the first morning is useful; the test provides valuable data for the class teachers concerning students' strengths and weaknesses in terms of their knowledge of structure and lexis, while valuable data concerning students' oral and aural skills, as well as their learning background and experience and preferences in learning English, can be gained from the interview.

Included in the majority of the coursebooks in the syllabus are also sections designed to stimulate discussion and introspection on effective learning strategies and maximising the learning experience. It is appropriate to spend a little time focussing on such in the first lesson even if the coursebook used does not.

During the 2-week module teachers can help students develop effective strategies and maximise the learning experience by setting homework tasks, recommending students to make full use of the self-access centre, the library and the computing facilities, and encouraging students to use English as much as possible in their free time. Teachers are expected to monitor students' progress and take account of their needs and wishes over the module. This means that within the prescribed syllabus a degree of flexibility and adaptability is needed on the part of the teacher. As previously stated, as long as each lesson is based on the specific coursebook unit and has its broad general aim the active use rather than the passive knowledge of English,, there is considerable scope for selecting activities which match the preferred learning styles and learning modes of students in a particular class.

Cultural Background and the Classroom

The typical class on a summer course will contain students from very different sociocultural and educational backgrounds, with a mix of students predominantly from Europe and Asia.

For many students attending a summer course at the college it will be their first experience of learning English in England. Most Asian students, of whom the majority are from Japan, Taiwan and Korea, will have been used to a very different approach to teaching and learning to that which underlies contemporary coursebooks on the syllabus. Many will also be unused to many of the activity and task types in the coursebooks and in supplementary resource books. In particular many are likely to be used to a very teacher-fronted classroom, a deductive approach to teaching new language items, to translation and to the mother tongue being used as the language of instruction. When the new language items have been practised it has tended to have been through rather mechanical exercises done either individually or in whole-class mode. These exercises have generally been at the level of usage rather than use. Skills work has usually concentrated on reading and writing and on 'product', and again this has tended to be done rather mechanically with little or no group or pairwork.

As a result the emphasis in the summer syllabus on discovery learning, an inductive approach to the presentation of new language, oral and aural skills 'process', creative use of language, the completion of tasks <u>through</u> language (rather than exercises <u>on</u> language) by students working in pairs or groups, is likely to mean that considerable adjustment will need to be made by many Asian students.

Measures teachers can take to help students adjust include the following:

a)in 'Language Focus' sessions, rather than adopt a 'strong' communicative approach to the learning and teaching of new language items with less structured discovery learning tasks, adopt a 'weak' approach, so that sessions, particularly at the beginning of a module, follow more of a Presentation-Practice-Production pattern with 'pre-communicative' activities preceding more creative 'communicative' activities and tasks.

b) adopt techniques where students are not generally nominated individually to speak spontaneously in front of the rest of the class. Instead allow students to work in pairs/groups on tasks; whole class oral work can then come out of the pair/groupwork

c) when making up pairs and groups put students from different sociocultural backgrounds together

d) in pair and groupwork concentrate on information gap tasks which require each student to participate fully in order for the tasks to be successfully completed

e) in 'Language Skills' sessions encourage students to relate topics to their own cultural contexts so that they make cross-cultural comparisons and contrasts.

f) allow students 'space' and time to speak.

g) while there is not time for extensive 'learner' or 'learning training' in a short summer course, give tips on how best to approach particular tasks (e.g. 'When you hear people speaking in English, is it always necessary to understand everything they say ? ....Do you think you will need to understand everything in what you are going to hear ?'; ' Do you think the best way to learn new vocabulary is to write it down in a notebook with the word in English on one side of the page and a translation in your own language on the other ?')

h) establish and maintain good classroom dynamics. A book which provides many good ideas for doing so is <u>Classroom Dynamics</u> by Jill Hadfield (OUP)

i) use project work

j) discourage the use of dictionaries when inappropriate

k) when setting homework give tasks of a more communicative nature

NOTE: This is an example of one of the modules from the second part of the syllabus.

Summer syllabus   Level: Intermediate
                                         Module: 1

Language focus component 9:00 - 10:30

DAY	FOCUS	RECOMMENDED MATERIALS
2	GRAMMAR REVIEW DIRECT AND LESS DIRECT QUESTIONS PRONUNCIATION - WORD STRESS	"INTERMEDIATE MATTERS" (I.M. UNIT 1
3	PRESENT TENSES - REVIEW PRONUNCIATION - SIMPLE PRESENT ENDINGS	I.M. UNIT 2
4	PAST TENSES - REVIEW PRONUNCIATION - PAST SIMPLE ENDINGS 'WAS'/ 'WERE' WEAK FORMS	I.M. UNIT 3
5	SIMPLE PAST/PRESENT PERFECT PRONUNCIATION -INTONATION IN QUESTIONS -CONTRACTIONS	I.M. UNIT 4
6	PREDICTIONS/DECISIONS	I.M. UNIT 6
7	DEFINING RELATIVE CLAUSES CLAUSES OF PURPOSES PRONUNCIATION	I.M. UNIT 6
8	MAKING COMPARISONS	I.M. UNIT 8
9	1ST CONDITIONAL	I.M. UNIT 9
10	TIME CONJUNCTIONS FUTURE PASSIVE	I.M. UNIT 10

Summer syllalbus

Level: Intermediate
Module: 1

Language Skills component 11:00 - 12:30

DAY	THEME	RECOMMENDED MATERIALS
2	LANGUAGE/LANGUAGE LEARNING	"COMPACT 2" (COM.2) UNIT 1
3	FOOD/EATING OUT	COM.2 UNIT2
4	MYSTERIOUS EVENTS/SUPERSTITIONS	COM.2 UNIT 3
5	HOMES/ACCOMMODATION	COM.2 UNIT 5
6	ENTERTAINMENT/GOING OUT	COM. 2 UNIT 4
7	BAD HABITS	COM.2 UNIT 11
8	WOMEN/MEN	COM.2 UNIT 6
9	PERSONAL SAFETY/LAWS	COM.2 UNIT 14
10	COURSE REVIEW	

6.4 Extract from a Temporary FE Contract

TEMPORARY SUMMER EFL TEACHERS

These written particulars set out the terms and conditions under which ▆▆▆▆▆▆▆▆ ▆▆▆▆▆ employs Christopher Anderson

1. Appointment - Duration of Contract

1.1 Your employment commences on 6 July 1998 and will terminate on 28 August 1998. Your date of continuous service with the College is 6 July 1998.

2. Duties

2.1 You are employed as a temporary EFL Teacher in the ▆▆▆▆▆▆▆▆▆▆▆▆▆ Your duties will include formal scheduled teaching, preparation, assessment, marking of internal course work, tests and examinations, completion of registers, provision of data and related course administration. You will also be required to attend staff meetings as directed by your Head of Department, to supervise an afternoon's listening Centre Session per week, and participate in one afternoon/evening social programme activity per week.

Teaching staff are also required to:

i. lead one Saturday or Sunday excursion each month
ii. attend staff development sessions
iii. attend an induction session on a day prior to the commencement of the course, which will be notified to them in advance.

2.2 You may be required in pursuance of your duties to perform services not only for the ▆▆▆ but also for any subsidiary.

2.3 You are expected to work flexibly and efficiently, to maintain the highest professional standards and to promote and implement the policies of the ▆▆▆.

2.4 You are expected to comply with any rules and regulations which the ▆▆▆ may from time to time issue to ensure the efficient operation of its business, and the welfare and interests of its students and employees.

3. Hours of Work

You will be required to teach up to 22 hours per week and to undertake administrative duties as required by the Course Director or Head of Department.

4. Place of Work

You may be required to work at any premises where the College provides services.

6.5 Extracts from the British Council English in Britain Accreditation Scheme Handbook: Teacher Qualifications

TEFL qualifications

TEFL initiating (TEFLI)
The following will normally be considered to be TEFL initiating:

- RSA/Cambridge Certificate in Teaching English as a Foreign Language to Adults (CTEFLA) (*this has now been redesignated for all courses starting after 1/11/96*)

- Cambridge/RSA Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults (CELTA) (*from 1/11/96*)

- Trinity College London Certificate in TESOL.

TEFLI young learners
Teachers holding the RSA/Cambridge CELTYL qualification or the Trinity College London Certificate (TEYL) will be considered to be TEFL (Young Learners) initiated.

TEFLI specialist qualifications
The following will normally be considered to be TEFL specialist qualifications:

- a specialist qualification in TEFL which has been externally validated by a reputable body and includes assessment of teaching (e.g. the ARELS Certificate in Teaching One-to-One). However, please note that TEFLI status will only apply where the teacher is teaching the specialist area covered by the qualification (e.g. a teacher with only a specialist qualification in teaching one-to-one will not be considered TEFLI if teaching groups).

TEFL qualifying (TEFLQ)
The following will normally be considered to be TEFL qualifying:

- RSA/Cambridge Diploma in Teaching English as a Foreign Language to Adults (DTEFLA)

- Cambridge/RSA Diploma in English Language Teaching to Adults (DELTA)

- Trinity College London Licentiate Diploma in TESOL

- Postgraduate Certificate in Education (TEFL/TESOL)

- An MA or equivalent in ELT/TESOL subject matter, together with (when the MA does not have at least ten hours supervised teaching practice) evidence of at least ten hours of systematic observation of lessons by a fully qualified academic manager or teacher trainer at an accredited organization.

Teacher qualifications
Teachers will be considered to be Teacher Qualified (TQ) if they have a qualification recognized by the DfEE as conferring qualified teacher status (QTS) or an equivalent qualification.
Note: where a teacher is teacher qualified only (and not TEFLI or TEFLQ), this will be taken into account by the Scheme only where the teacher is teaching courses for juniors, as specified under Section 8.4.10.

Other qualifications
Other TEFL qualifications at either level which are accredited by the British Association
of TESOL Qualifying Institutions (BATQI) are acceptable alternatives to those listed.
Information on BATQI accredited TEFL courses is available on:

Academic staff qualifications

*Please note: Valid TEFL qualifications will be classified as either
TEFL initiating (TEFLI) or TEFL qualifying (TEFLQ). Please see
Appendix A for definitions of these terms.*

8.3.1   All academic staff will have a general level of
               education normally represented by a first degree or
               equivalent.

8.3.2   Qualifications claimed by academic staff will be
               verified, and a copy of the certificate kept on file.

6.6 EFL Course Outline (for Students)

EFL COURSE OUTLINE

CLASS TEACHER...

ROOM...

LANGUAGE FOCUS

9.00 am - 10.30 am Class Teacher

In these classes you will be extending and consolidating your knowledge of English grammar and vocabulary to enable you to use English more accurately and confidently.

Improve your grammar	e.g.	*verb tenses
		*articles
Expand your vocabulary		*phrasal verbs
		*the sound system of English
Improve your pronunciation		*the stress and intonation

SKILLS FOCUS

11.00 am - 12.30 pm

The emphasis of these classes will be on understanding and using English by listening to, reading about and discussing a wide range of topics and everyday situations. There will also be some written work.

Improve your language skills - listening; speaking; reading; writing;

Increase your	e.g.	*listening for information
understanding of spoken		*reading for pleasure and interest
and written English.		*understanding the media
		*expressing your opinions
Extend your ability to		*writing notes, letters and essays
speak and write English		

AFTERNOON CLASSES

2.00 pm - 3.30 pm

You will be given a choice of classes which take place on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday afternoons. You will be asked to select a first and second choice for each afternoon.

On Wednesday afternoon you are free to study in the Language Laboratory or library, play sport, go shopping, join and ██████████████████ or just relax.

6.7 EFL Course Information (for Students)

EFL COURSE INFORMATION

We hope that you will find your course and stay in ██████ both rewarding and enjoyable. May we draw your attention to the following important points.

ATTENDANCE

Students are expected to attend all classes punctually. If you are ill and cannot attend classes, you should notify the ████████████. At the end of your course you will receive a ███████████████████████ Certificate if you have fulfilled the course requirements of regular and punctual attendance.

HOMEWORK

Each week, you will be set work which you are expected to do after class. This is intended to give further practice in the work covered in the morning classes and to allow you and your teachers to monitor your progress. If you would like to do extra homework, please ask your teachers.

AFTERNOON CLASSES

The afternoon programme is designed to give you the opportunity to choose areas of study that you are interested in or that are important to you.

BOOKS

All books needed for your course will be loaned to you either for the whole course or for particular lessons. Please do not write in pen or pencil in these books - all books must be returned at the end of your course and paid for if lost or damaged.

The ██████ shop has a selection of dictionaries and grammar books on sale.

THE LANGUAGE LABORATORY

The Language Laboratory is open most afternoons for private study. Opening times and full information will be displayed on the notice boards. A teacher will be in the Language Laboratory to give you help and advice on suitable materials.

The equipment in the Language Laboratory is very sensitive. Please do not smoke, eat or drink in the room and do not put bags, coats or heavy objects on the tables.

LIBRARY

You may use the library for private study. Opening hours are displayed on the library doors. If you wish to borrow books, please ask for a library ticket. Your teachers will be able to help you with this.

SMOKING IS NOT ALLOWED IN CLASSROOMS AND CORRIDORS

6.8 Information for General Course Teachers Employed on a Temporary Basis

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EFL COURSES: INFORMATION FOR GENERAL COURSE TEACHERS EMPLOYED ON A TEMPORARY BASIS

Teaching duties: Working on the summer courses, you will teach a class at 9.00 am each day; this session is expected to focus on grammar. You will then take a combination of skills-focused sessions (at 11.00 am) with a different class, and afternoon options (2.00-3.30 pm) focusing on special interest or language skill, e.g. video, writing skills. Language Laboratory: You will be included on a language laboratory rota once or twice a week.

The Language Laboratory: is open for students to study at the following times;

          Mon-Fri   3.45 - 4.45 pm and 4.45 - 5.45 pm
          Wed   2.00 - 3.00 pm

Please remember to report any laboratory faults in the book, and remind students not to eat or drink or place bags or coats on the equipment. Also make sure all tapes, books and worksheets are returned to the correct place at the end of the session.

Staff meeting: usually every Wednesday at 2.00 pm in ▇▇. Attendance is very important! The Course Director will notify you if the time is changed.

Social programme: In the summer we have welcome and farewell parties for each group intake which you are expected to attend.

Arrival: Please arrive in good time, preferably at least 15 minutes before the 9.00 am lesson, and report to the DoS to receive any messages. If by any chance you are ill and cannot work, telephone ▇▇ at home ▇▇▇▇▇▇. A list of staff telephone numbers is distributed on summer course.

Coffee/lunch breaks: It would be most useful if you could see ▇▇ during one of the breaks. There are often important messages to give you and other teachers may need to liaise with you.

Lunch: Sandwiches are available in the ▇▇, or cooked lunch upstairs in the ▇▇.

Teachers' Room: ▇▇ is available during the summer courses. Please ask ▇▇ or ▇▇ for any stationery.

Teachers' Offices: Most of the offices of the ▇▇▇▇ staff are situated in ▇▇▇ ▇▇▇▇ and the ▇▇ building.

Classrooms: It is worth making an effort to get to know the layout, as classrooms in several different blocks are used. These include: ███████████████████████████ ██████████ and the ████████ building. For ████ there is a security code for the back door.

Coursebooks: are normally issued to students on loan to allow for possible changes. Students must be told books are on loan, and writing in books is strictly forbidden. In the last week of term, arrange a day for the collection of books and return books to the Teachers' Room. Students can buy course books from the ██████ Shop.

Cassette players: Teachers can borrow cassette players from ██████. Please do not leave them unattended, and make sure to return them to the resources room after use. In ██████ the cassette players remain in the classrooms.

Video playback: All classes have video-playback machines.

Video recording: Equipment available for recording lessons or for use in video option, from ██████. Off-air recordings should be booked on a yellow form, copies of which are available from ██████

Video: Commercial videos can be rented from ██████████. Please see one of the regular team for the card. Please see ██████

Photocopying: There is a photocopier in ██████. There is also a copier in the ██████████ ██████ office, operated by a code. Please see ██████ if you need this.

Library: Borrower's cards will be issued to staff.

Mail: A tray will be made available in the ██████████ office.

Staff development sessions: are held periodically.

Student attendance: If students are over 10 minutes late without a reasonable excuse, you may decide not to allow them to enter. If students are absent for 3 or more lessons, the class teacher should speak to them first, then refer them to ██████. If unexplained absences persist, please see ██████

Student accommodation and welfare: If students have problems here, refer them to the ██████ office.

Queries: If students have any queries you cannot answer re: classes, changing levels, exams etc., please refer them to ██████ who is available in her office at breaks. Queries re: social activities, travel, leisure time or minor medical problems should be directed to the ██████ office during break, lunch or after class.

Medical facilities: There is a sick bay located in the main block, near the ██████ (up the steps behind the ██████). Students can be referred there for immediate attention. To make an appointment to see the doctor please see the ██████

There are **First Aid** personnel on duty. (Please see noticeboard outside ████'s office and the student noticeboard in ██████)

████████████

It is important that the front door is not used, except in emergencies.

The code number for the back door is ████ Students are not allowed to take any drinks (except water) into the classroom.

The last person leaving ████ at the end of the day should check all windows are closed, and the language laboratory and photocopier are turned off. Then phone the porters ████ or the switchboard ██. The porters will lock up.

6.9 *Class Teacher Responsibilities*

CLASS TEACHER RESPONSIBILITIES

1. Regular keeping of registers and work records.

2. Negotiating syllabus with class - making sure class are aware of programme. (Mondays)

3. Afternoon option programme liaising with teachers.

4. Writing student assessments when students leave.

5. Passing on information re class to teacher taking over following course.

6. Particular note of ███████ (long term) and ██████ students. (They should all report to the Course Director once a fortnight - please check that they do this.)

7. Inducting students in language laboratory - please book lab with the Course Director for a lesson or part of a lesson during the first week.

8. Making sure students who wish to use the computers have got an e-mail address from the ████████. (Mondays)

9. Make sure students know how to use the Library if needed. (Mondays)

10. Making sure that all COURSEBOOKS are returned.

OPTION PROGRAMME

The 9.00 am class teacher is responsible for the class afternoon programme 2-3.30 pm. Please negotiate with the students on Monday afternoons and select a choice of lessons including language based and content based classes. We must include CALL at all levels and English for Commerce at the higher levels, i.e Upper Intermediate upwards. Some options could be held twice a week, for example literature.

You will be paired with a class of similar level and the teachers should liaise so that similar options are offered and so avoiding comparisons. However, if an option is being offered that only enrols small numbers, then we could hold a joint class - no class to exceed 15 students, unless arranged with the Course Director. For example 5 students of each class could want to do drama. Other than this we could take up to 20 students in CALL, but both teachers would have to teach.

The Course Director will need a list of options and students on TUESDAY MORNING. The afternoon classes will be held in the same classrooms as the mornings - except CALL and language laboratory based options.

6.10 Option Descriptions

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OPTION DESCRIPTIONS

Make Your Own Video

Have you ever seen yourself on T.V.? Have you ever operated a video camera? Have you ever made a film? You could be a star (!*!) in this option, and you will certainly have a lot of fun while improving your spoken English.

Teachers
Borrow the department camcorder from ██. Please ensure it is locked away in an office when not in use and returned to ██ at end of course. A book with a lot of useful ideas for using a video camera in ELT is that by Rinvolucri - _Video_ (Resource Series - OUP).

Extend your Vocabulary (at all levels)
This option will help you to increase your English vocabulary.

Teachers
You will be given a syllabus and material for the level of your class. Please keep within the subjects suggested.

Britain Today
In this option you will find out about British life, customs and people. Students will be able to choose the areas they are interested in.

Teachers
This is taught at 2 levels: Low Intermediate/High Intermediate-Advanced.

Possible topics at the higher level include the following:
The British Press
Moral and Ethical Values of British People
Class in British Society
The British Political System and Current Political Issues
Multiracial Britain
Environmental Issues
Taboos in British Society
Northern Ireland
Social Welfare in Britain
Housing and the Homeless
Attitudes, Views and Public Opinion of British People
Women and Men in Britain
The Legal system and Crime and Punishment in Britain.

Recommended materials for this level are _Britain Explored_ by P. Harvey and R. Jones (Longman) as well as off-air videos and newspaper articles

Possible Topics at Lower Level include:
Some of the topics recommended for the higher level but obviously in less detail
The British Character - how British people see themselves and how others see them

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Social Behaviour in Britain today
Family Life
Leisure Pursuits
The Health of the Nation - Diet/Lifestyle
Festivals and Traditions - what and how people really celebrate/common superstitions, etc.
Key personalities and famous people in British society today
Pleasures of Life in Britain - what people think are the good things about Britain
The negative aspects of British Life
Britain for the tourist - famous sights and less famous attractions

Recommended materials for this level include the video <u>About Britain</u> with accompanying student books (available in█████), the book <u>Focus on Britain Today</u> by C. Lavery (Macmillan), as well as off-air videos and newspaper articles.

<u>Computer-assisted language learning (CALL)</u>
You work with a computer using the language learning software that you choose. Your teacher will be present to help and advise you on the most appropriate software to improve your vocabulary, grammar and reading skills.

<u>Teachers</u>
You will be allocated a networked computer room on campus. Please check with ███re access to Internet and the log on numbers/passwords. Students can use the language learning programmes and also write a MAGAZINE if staying for more than 2 weeks.

<u>Current Affairs (Upper Intermediate and Advanced</u>
This option provides the opportunity to find out more about current news topics through looking and discussing newspaper and video extracts.

<u>Teachers</u>
You can ask ███ in ███ to record the news or any radio programme. If you need to buy newspapers, keep the receipt and see ███. Two particularly useful books available in the department is <u>Newspapers</u> by Peter Grundy (OUP), which provides many practical ideas for exploiting newspaper articles and <u>Video in Action</u> by Tomalin and Stempelski (Prentice Hall) in which there are excellent suggestions about how to use videotaped news stories.

<u>Making the most of the Language Lab</u>
Develop your listening and speaking skills with problem-solving activities and tasks with other students in the lab.

<u>Teachers</u>
We have a very good book and cassette on ideas for lessons using the lab. As it is out of print ███ keeps the copy in office.

<u>Conversation - at all levels</u>
Improve your vocabulary and fluency by taking part in language games, simulations, discussions and songs.

<u>Teachers</u>
Material and guide-lines are provided.

Grammar Workshop - (elem/pre int levels)

This option gives you further practice on the points of English grammar that you would like to revise. You will have the opportunity to discuss individual problems with the teachers and other students.

Teachers

Material and guide-lines are provided.

Business Communications (upper int - advanced levels)

Students will be introduced to basic commercial letter + writing and reading material.

Teachers

A syllabus and material are provided.

Pronunciation (at all levels)

This option gives you an opportunity to work at all aspects of your pronunciation - not just the individual sounds, but stress, rhythm, intonation and the way English speakers use their voices.

Teachers

A syllabus and materials are provided.

Magazine

In this option your will produce a magazine and learn word processing techniques as well. You improve your English by writing articles about your stay in Britain, your own countries, jobs, hobbies, etc.

Cultures in Contrast - (int -> adv)

How similar or how different are we all? When you meet a friend, do you shake hands? Kiss them on the cheek? Bow? This option gives you the opportunity to talk and find out about cultural differences.

Teachers

You may organise this by asking students to give talks themselves or by asking someone from outside. Should involve discussion. A particularly useful book available in ███ is Cultural Awareness by Tomalin and Stempelski (OUP).

Video

This is a video specially made for the learners of English with an exciting story in a series of short episodes. There is an accompanying workbook with a variety of exercises.

(Investigate possibilities - Grapevine Level 2 (Pre/Low Inter) and 3 (Mid Inter)? Video £141.75. Face the Music? 2 videos @ £45 each - InterS. Book £5.10 TB $5.80

Local Studies (open)

This course offers you a chance, weather permitting, to get out of the classroom and into the historic city of ███████. It will include visits to places of interest in ███████.

<u>Teachers</u>
There is information available in ████and in ███ and detailed walks are provided. You may also like to visit the Tourist Information Centre.

Possible places to visit are:

<u>Note:</u> Students will be expected to pay entrance charges.

<u>Writing Skills (at all levels)</u>
This option is designed to help you improve your writing skills. You will be able to practise the areas which are important for you - letters, reports, essays, or general skills.

<u>Teachers</u>
A syllabus and material are provided.

<u>English Literature (int -> adv)</u>
There are materials at all levels available in ████. Suitable published books are <u>Past into Present</u> - R.Gower (Longman); <u>Headway Literature</u> (Advanced) (OUP); <u>Openings</u> by Brian Tomlinson (Penguin); <u>Short and Sweet 1&2</u> by Alan Maley (Penguin); <u>Literature</u> by Adrian Duff and Alan Maley (OUP). Material is available at all levels in ████. There are also videos on authors' works and lives in the college library. Please negotiate with students.

<u>Teachers</u>
Material is available at all levels in ████. There are also videos on authors' works and lives in the ████ library. Please negotiate with students.

<u>Film Studies (open)</u>
A chance to watch recent videos mainly of Hollywood films. You will choose the films yourselves from a list and description of available videos. This option will offer you extra practice in listening comprehension.

<u>Teachers</u>
Video can be hired from ████████or borrowed from the college library. Students should have worksheets.

<u>'Finding Out' (open)</u>
Improve your reading, writing, listening and speaking skills by finding out information on a topic which interests you, e.g. fashion, food, shops, pubs, schools in Britain. Do this by research in the Library, talking to English people, reading the newspapers, watching television and making videos. This will at times involve travelling outside ██████

<u>Teachers</u>
This project based option needs careful planning and needs 2 lessons per week. Students should be encouraged to use the resources in the library including the internet.

The following books provide useful ideas for project work outside the classroom and are available in ████████████:

    (a)   Macmillan Short Course Programme: Impressions (Elementary)
           Observations (Intermediate), Reflections (Advanced)
    (b)   Project Work - Diane Fried-Booth (OUP)
    (c)   Projects for the EFL Classroom - S. Haines (Nelson)

The book by Rinvolucri - Video (OUP) provides some useful ideas for using a video camera in project work.

Songs (open)
Practise your English by listening to, discussing and singing a wide selection of British and American songs.

Teachers
We have some songs on cassette in ████ but teachers usually prefer to bring their own - students usually have worksheets. Videos of such programmes as 'Top of the Pops' and 'The Chart Show' can be recorded on request by ████ as can weekly recordings of the Top 40 on the radio. Useful books for ideas on exploiting pop songs on audio and video tape are Music and Song by T. Murphey (OUP) and Songs in Action by D. Grifee (Prentice Hall).

Study Skills (upp int -> adv)
If you need English for academic purposes, this option will be useful. You will practise different reading techniques, appropriate writing styles and seminar techniques

Teachers
A syllabus and material are provided.

Photography (open)
You will need to bring your own camera! This option will involve going out into ████████ and, with advice, finding interesting places to add to your photographic record of your stay in ████.

Teachers
Teach basic vocabulary - take students out. Try to set-up a competition - with small prizes - see ████.

Drama/Sketches

Quizzes

IELTS & TOEFL - make sure there is plenty of self-access material and information for students. Refer them to study skills/writing/listening activities.

CALL

1.. CALL is a software package designed for all students of English

2.. It is designed to improve areas such as vocabulary, grammar and word order.

3.. Some programmes on CALL are Word Gap (fill in suitable words), Storyboard (Complete the story by guessing the word (lengthy but interesting for high level students)) or a range of grammar exercises for all levels

4... There are disks for all levels but **absolute beginners** may not find suitable materials

5.. All students need a password and log in to get into CALL

6.. For students who may think they will get stuck, tell them that the teacher will help them out

7..There is a maximum number of students per class. Usually 20 or 21.

6.11 Academic Year Syllabus

<u>**SYLLABUS RATIONALE**</u>

<u>**THE COMMUNICATIVE APPROACH AND SYLLABUS DESIGN**</u>

The question of syllabus design has provoked considerable discussion and division in the era of The Communicative Approach. For some (e.g. Breen (1984) and Candlin (1984) the very idea of having a narrow 'a priori' taxonomy of what is to be covered in a particular course means that little account can be taken of individual learners' (and teachers'!) needs and aspirations and that neither learner nor teacher have the opportunity to play any part in the construction and ongoing negotiation of syllabus.

Without some kind of framework, though, there can be no sense of direction nor any notion of what is to be attempted and, hopefully, achieved. A danger is that once we start talking about what is to be "achieved", we fall into the trap of seeing the various components of language merely as "product", as items to be "mastered", rather than focusing on what is involved in getting to the point where we can "produce"; in other words the "processes" of L2 learning. Such as overemphasis on "product" can, in turn, all too often lead to the view that all L2 learning can be reduced to the crossing off of discrete items arranged in linear fashion, and disregard the fact that the ultimate goal of language learning is to communicate. One of the reasons, and a very significant one, why the former view still predominates in many an ELT classroom is because too many examinations (in particular the FCE and CPE) still place too much emphasis on the completion of decomtextualised exercises <u>on</u> language rather than achieving communication <u>through</u> language.

<u>**HOW HAS THIS SYLLABUS TRIED TO RECONCILE SUCH QUESTIONS?**</u>

1. It attempts to provide a <u>broad</u> framework of objectives in each module against which learner performance can be measured.

2. It attempts to be broad by not dictating how or in what sequence different components in each module are to be learnt/taught, allowing the individual teacher considerable latitude for selecting learning/teaching activities and for combining elements (e.g. structures and functions, functions and themes/topics) to form learning/teaching units.

3. It is cyclical rather than linear with recycling and extension key features in each module.

4. In attempting to avoid the viewing of individual language items (of structure, lexis, etc.) as separate entities but rather as components of communicative language use it measures the success of learning in terms of <u>performance</u> in speaking, listening, reading and writing activities.

5. It places considerable emphasis on L2 learning "process" by focusing on the processes involved in developing the skills of speaking, listening, reading and writing (e.g.

cohesion, discourse and conversational strategies, awareness of context and register, vocabulary learning strategies).

6.   It relates each module to the general requirements of external examinations (CCSE Levels 1-4, FCE, CAE and CPE) which a considerable number of learners work towards.

GENERAL SPEAKING GUIDELINES

Over the 5 modules speaking activities would be integrated with work on the other skills. There would be an emphasis on active oral manipulation of structural, phonological, lexical and functional elements in each module as well as the active discussion of those topics/themes outlined in each module. Learners should be helped to develop those features which distinguish spoken from written language such as rephrasing, signposting, repetition, simplification, ellipsis, substitution, contraction, hesitation and the use of colloquialisms and slang. Learners would also be encouraged to progress towards native-speaker norms of discourse and conversation through focusing on speaking strategies.

GENERAL LISTENING GUIDELINES

Over the 5 modules listening activities would be integrated with work on the other skills. Emphasis should be given to the learning and teaching of listening skills rather than the testing of listening ability in order for the learner to gradually develop the skills of a) extracting key lexis and information; b) segmenting the stream of speech into meaningful words, phrases, clauses and sentences; c) interpreting rhythm, stress and intonation to identify information focus and emotional/attitudinal tone; d) identifying the rhetorical and functional intent of an utterance or part of an aural text; e) extracting essential information without necessarily understanding every part of a text; f) 'chunking' (i.e. processing and retaining 'chunks' of input); g) interpreting paralinguistic clues when speaker(s) is/are visible.

At lower levels listening tasks would generally require fixed, alternate or structured responses while as the learner progresses he/she would be helped to develop the skills to make increasingly open-ended responses.

GENERAL READING GUIDELINES

Over the 5 modules reading activities would be integrated with work on the other skills and there would be a particularly close link with text types in the writing section of each module. In each module reading activities would be connected to themes/topics and functions listed and over the 5 modules there would be development of reading skills including: a) skimming; b) scanning; c) predicting; d) deducing meaning and use of unfamiliar lexical items; e) recognition of grammatical and lexical cohesion, devices; f) awareness of content organisation; g) making appropriate responses (e.g. non-verbal, written, completion, reordering, spoken, interactive); h) inferring writer's purpose and attitude.

A variety of text types and task types would be used to develop the above skills with increasing levels of complexity the higher the level.

GENERAL WRITING GUIDELINES

Over the 5 modules writing activities would be integrated with work on the other skills. In each module writing activities would be connected to themes/topics and functions listed but the production of written texts should be seen as the successful culmination of work on writing skills (which would often also involve reading tasks). At each level attention should be given to strategies (e.g. pre-writing, drafting, redrafting, planning and improvement strategies) as well as to improving cohesion, (through progressively more sophisticated use of devices such as reference, connectors and modifiers, substitution, ellipsis and manipulation of lexis), extending structural and lexical range, improving accuracy and developing content organisation and lay-out.

NOTE: This is an example of one of the modules from the second part of the syllabus.

MODULE 2 - INTERMEDIATE

STRUCTURES

1.   Recycling and extension of Structures in Module 1

2.   Extended uses in particular of the following structures introduced in Module 1:
   a)   Simple Present   - extended uses in narratives/commentaries
                            - extended uses after time conjunctions 'when'/'as so as' etc.

   b)   Simple Future   - extended uses in threats/strong intentions

   c)   Simple Past   - extended uses with time expressions/contrasts with Present Perfect Simple and Past Continuous

   d)   Present Perfect Simple - extended uses with 'just'/'already'/'ever'/'never'/ 'recently'/'yet'/'for'/'since'/'still' etc.
         - extended uses to refer to actions at unspecified time in the past

         - extended work on contrast with Simple Past
         - extended uses after time conjunctions 'when'/'as soon as' etc.

   e)   Contrasts between Future Forms

   f)   Zero, definite and indefinite article

   g)   Gerund + Infinitive - extended use with common verbs followed by Gerund or 'to' + Infinitive

         - extended use of Gerund after verb + preposition (e.g.'I accused him of lying')

         - extended use of Gerund as verbal noun (e.g. 'swimming is good for you')

         - adjectives 'to' + Infinitive (e.g. 'it's nice to see you')

   h)   Modal Verbs - extended uses:
         'could'/'was able to'/'couldn't'/'wasn't able to'
         'could'
         /'may'
         /'might'
         'had to'
         /'didn't   (have to'
                         (need to'
         'must'
         /'can't'
         'had better'

i) Simple Adverbial Clauses of manner, reason and purpose

3. Causative 'Have'/'Get' in basic tenses introduced in Modules 1/2

4. Passive in basic tenses introduced in Modules 1/2

5. 2nd Conditional (and contrasted with 1st. Conditional)

6. Simple Reported Statements, Commands and Questions
(e.g. 'He (told me (not) to .....'
(asked me (not) to.......

7. 'Wish' + 'could'/subjunctive

8. Common reflexive verbs e.g. 'help yourself'

9. Stative/dynamic verbs - e.g. 'think', 'feel', 'look', 'smell', 'taste', 'understand'

10. Differences in clause/sentence structure with:

a) Common transitive verbs - e.g. 'enjoy', 'take', 'use'

b) Common Intransitive verbs - e.g. 'arrive', 'sleep', 'sit'

c) Common ergative verbs - e.g. 'finish', 'stop', 'open'

d) Common transitive verbs with 2 objects - e.g. 'give', 'bring', 'lend'

11. Direct/Indirect questions - e.g. "When does the train arrive?"
"Could you tell me when the train arrives?"

12. 'Used to' for Past Habits

13. Present Perfect Continuous (contrasted with Past Continuous + Pres. Perfect Simple)

14. Reported Speech (without tense changing and using a reporting verb in the Present)

15. Word order in phrasal/prepositional verb phrases - transitive/intransitive

MODULE 2

PHONOLOGY

As in Module 1, as well as work on phonology in units on structures/functions/lexis and speaking/listening activities linked to topics and themes in Module 2, work should be done on the following areas:

1. Recycling and extension of phonology in Module 1, in particular:

   a) Word stress and changes (linked to word formation and affixation)

   b) Weak and strong forms (including those in Passive/2nd. Conditional/Causative 'Have'/'Get' constructions)

   c) Sentence stress (including Prepositional/Phrasal Verb/Reported Speech/Passive constructions)

   d) Word linking + elision (including word linking with extra sounds - e.g./j/ /r/ /w/ + sound changes in word linking)

   e) Intonation

   f) Homophones

   g) Contractions

2. Basic phonemic transcription + stress marking of words

3. Attitudinal Function of intonation to express interest/lack of interest/surprise/politeness/refusal/agreement/disagreement/shock/excitement/enthusiasm/disbelief.

4. Increasing focus on prosodic features above word/sentence level in discourse.

MODULE 2

LEXIS

As well as topic/theme-related lexis in the sections on topics/themes and key lexis necessary for the Structures/Functions in Module 2, particular attention needs to be given to the following:

1. Recycling of lexis in Module 1

2. Extended work on lexical areas introduced in Module 1, in particular:

   a) Word Formation: Noun - Verb - Adjectives - Adverb

   b) Prefixes and Suffixes:in particular:

   > i) Suffixes to Form nouns: - -'age', '-tion', '-sion', '-ment',
   > '-ence', '-y', '-al', '-ility', '-ness', '-ism', '-ance'

   > ii) Suffixes to form adjectives: '-itive', '-ative', '-ive', '-ent', '-y',
   > '-ant', '-ous', '-ic', '-able', '-ible'

   > iii) Suffixes to form verbs - e.g. '-en'

   c) Phrasal/Verbs (approx. 50 most common after those introduced in Module 1)

   d) Synonyms/Antonyms of new lexis introduced in other sections of Module 2

   e) 'Social Sight' lexis

   f) Homonyms

   g) Compound Nouns

   h) Noun/Verb collocations

   i) Verb/Noun collocations

   j) Adjective/Noun collocations

   h) Adjective/Preposition collocations

   i) Verb/Preposition collocations

   j) Preposition/Noun combinations

   k) Idioms in context

1)   Words commonly confused.
    (e.g. 'borrow'/'lend', 'match/'suit' 'bring'/'take' /'fetch')

3.   Common Collective Nouns - e.g. 'a bunch of flowers'

4.   Mathematical Symbols and Verbal Equivalents

5.   Shapes

6.   Partitives to make uncountable nouns countable - e.g. 'a slice of bread'

7.   Extended dictionary work with elementary English - English dictionaries and work on developing strategies for vocabulary learning.

MODULE 2

FUNCTIONS

1.   Recycling/Extension of Functions in Module 1 (extension in terms of increased attention to register/increased ability to signal attitude/mood/extended manipulation of structure, lexis + phonological features)

2.   Asking for/Giving Advice

3.   Complaining

4.   Attracting someone's attention

5.   Asking someone to say something again

6.   Asking for/Giving examples

7.   Reminding

8.   Warning

9.   Asking for/Giving reasons

10.   Saying you are willing/unwilling to do something

11.   Agreeing/Refusing to do something

12.   Threatening

13.   Expressing preference

14.   Making excuses

15.	Beginning a conversation
16.	Ending a conversation
17.	Talking about the Past
18.	Speculating about the Future
19.	Expressing Future possibility
20.	Expressing past obligation
21.	Making deductions about the present
22.	Expressing past ability
23.	Asking For/Giving definitions
24.	Expressing regrets about the present
25.	Expressing interest/boredom/surprise/excitement/enthusiasm/relief

MODULE 2

Themes/Topics (including Related Lexis)

1.	Recycling/Extension of Themes/Topics introduced in Module 1
2.	Jobs + Work
3.	Feelings
4.	Relationships
5.	Fashion
6.	Sport
7.	Holidays
8.	Festivals/Customs
9.	Superstitions
10.	Horoscopes
11.	Animals (as pets)

12.   Cities + Countries

13.   T.V.

14.   Mysterious events

15.   Incidents + Personal Experiences

16.   Famous People

MODULE 2

SPEAKING (see "General Speaking Guidelines")

By the end of Module 2 (and to be able to pass CCSE Level 1 comfortably and attempt CCSE Level 2, although a good pass would not be expected), the aim is for the learner to demonstrate the ability to take greater initiative in interaction and to adapt to changes in direction when dealing with the themes/topics and functions introduced in Module 2 and recycling those from Module 1. Turns should be longer than in Module 1 (i.e. more than a short string of simple sentences) and growing awareness should be shown of stress and intonation patterns. Communiction should be unhindered although mispronunciation and marked non-native phonological features may still be marked. Range of vocabulary is broad enough to deal with key lexis in sections on lexis, functions and themes/topics in Modules 1 and 2.

LISTENING (see "General Listening Guidelines")

By the end of Module 2 (and to be able to pass CCSE Level 1 comfortably and attempt CCSE Level 2, although a good pass would not be expected), the aim is for the learner to be able to follow most of the significant points including some detail, of a text connected to the themes/topics or functions in Modules 1 and 2. The learner should be able to handle short sequences of different text types and be able to undertake tasks with less support than 2 Module 1 and requiring more open-ended responses. There should also be growing awareness of clues to the emotional/attitudinal tones of the speaker(s).

READING (see "General Reading Guidelines")

By the end of Module 2 (and to be able to pass CCSE Level 1 comfortably and attempt CCSE Level 2, although a good pass would not be expected), the aim is for the learner to have progressed to the stage where he/she is able to pick out basic detail as well as main points in texts of a straightforward nature based on the themes/topics or functions in Modules 1 and 2. Tasks in Module 2 though still giving the learner considerable support would be more open-ended with learners being encouraged to develop the ability to deduce meaning from context and to infer attitude and opinion.

<u>Reading Aloud:</u>

The learner should, by the end of Module 2, be able to read aloud a text appropriate to what has been covered in Modules 1 and 2. Texts should be more than a collection of simple sentences with the reader being expected to show some basic awareness of register and attitude/opinion. There should be few problems with the pronunciation of individual sounds and work in phonology in Module 2 should result in an attempt at natural speed and rhythm and at highlighting key parts of words, phrases and sentences.

<u>WRITING</u> (see "General Writing Guidelines")

By the end of Module 2 (and to be able to pass CCSE Level 1 and attempt CCSE Level 2, although a good pass would not be expected), the aim is for the learner to be able to write texts which display basic organisation with themes/topics linked in a simple, but accurate, way with increasing account taken of context and approciacy and the ability to use basic cohesion devices to create a degree of coherence so that texts are more than a string of short unlinked sentences.

In particular, in addition to writing tasks connected with themes/topics and functions in Module 2 (and recycling/extension of those in Module 1) the following text types should be produced:

1. Description of processes

2. Formal letters
   - requesting information
   e.g - complaining
   - requesting/giving advice
   - ordering goods

3. Comparisons + Contrasts - between different lifestyles/habits/customs

4. Descriptions of jobs

5. Notices/posters

6. Informal letters - e.g. narrating events/experiences

7. Simple descriptions of books, films and plays.

6.12 Summer Course Orientation Meeting Memo and Programme

MEMORANDUM

To: all staff teaching during the summer

cc: ████████████████   Ref: ██████

From: ██████████████   Date: 10 June 1998

Orientation meeting - 5 July

This year the range of summer courses is probably greater than ever and we feel that it would be valuable for everybody involved to have an overview of the whole operation as well as their particular part of it.

The orientation is an opportunity to learn what the whole summer operation consists of, as well as to meet colleagues and take part in course team meetings.

There will also be an opportunity to see where the work of the ████████████████████████ fits in, in particular concerning the social programme, excursions, etc. It will be an opportunity to meet the team of social assistants who will be working with our students throughout the summer.

There will be hands-on familiarisation sessions with the language laboratory and IT/Call resources for anybody who needs an induction to them or who just wants to refresh their knowledge. The programme for the afternoon is attached, and I very much hope that your will attend.

Orientation meeting for staff teaching summer courses

Sunday 5 July 1998

PROGRAMME

2.30   Welcome and Introduction

2.40   General administrative matters

3.10   Role of ███████████████████

3.40   REFRESHMENTS

4.00   Individual meetings for course teams

4.40   Familiarisation with IT resources and Language Lab

6.00   Close

Rooms to be announced

6.13 Summer Course First Day Programme (for Teachers)

SUMMER COURSES 1998

FIRST DAY PROGRAMME - TEACHERS

8.45 a.m.	Meet in ███
9.00 a.m.	Meet students at Main Entrance. Take to Main Hall for introductions.
9.30 a.m.	To classrooms for testing. Nelson Quickcheck - 45 mins Orals in pairs - 5 mins Essay: My journey here or Why English is important for me.

TEACHER   ROOM

1. ███ to ███ ⎫ TEACHER
                        ⎬ ███ to help with orals
2. ███ to ███ ⎭

3. ███ to ███ ⎫
                        ⎬ ███ to help with orals
4. ███ to ███ ⎭

homework: little 9·00am (handwritten)

PLEASE TAKE ALL TESTS TO ███

11.00 am.	Take students to ███████ for ███ introduction and registration and coffee.
11.30 am.	MARKING AND PLACEMENT IN ███
2.30 pm. to 3.30 pm	Meet students in ███████ with class lists and take to classrooms. *card .* (handwritten) Icebreakers email Coursebooks Library Hand out timetables, etc. *— + explanation sheet — go through* (handwritten) Organise afternoon options. *— option programme.* (handwritten) PLEASE TELL STUDENTS TO RETURN TO SAME CLASSROOMS 9.00 am. TUESDAY. Welcome Party.

6.14 Summer Course Last Day of Module Programme (for Teachers)

<u>Friday 16th July</u>

ALL BOOKS TO BE RETURNED

9.0 am   Hand out evaluations - course, social and accommodation.
                Please return to me.

2.0 pm   Hand out certificates and assessments. (Copies of assessments to me
                please).

     Certificates and evaluation forms in my office.

3.30 pm   Please return all completed registers to me.

6.15 Academic Year Course Timetable (for Teachers)

TIMETABLE

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
9.00am to 10.30am	X				
COFFEE	COFEE				
11.00am to 12.30pm	X				
LUNCH	COFEE				
1.30pm to 2.30pm	COFEE				
2.35pm to 3.35pm	COFEE				

6.16 Summer Course Module Timetable (for Teachers)

SUMMER COURSES 1998

SUMMER 1 TIMETABLE

TEACHERS' NAMES

CLASSROOMS

Advanced	9.00	■	
	11.00	■	■
Upper Int.	9.00	■	■
	11.00	■	
Intermediate.	9.00	■	
	11.00	■	
Int.	9.00	■	■
	11.00	■	
Pre-Int.	9.00	■	
	11.00	■	
Elem.	9.00	■	■
	11.00	■	

6.17 Summer Course First Day Programme (for Students)

Note: The academic year programme had exactly the same format and similar content.

INSTITUTION'S CREST ↓

██████████████████

Summer Courses - Summer 3

Monday 3rd August - First Day Programme

9.00 a.m.
- Meet Staff in Main Entrance ████ (number █ on the map).

9.15 a.m.
- Welcome and introduction to the Teaching Staff in Main Hall (number █ on the map) by ████████ the Course Director.

9.30 a.m.
- You will be taken to a classroom for a placement test.

11.00 a.m.
- Teachers will take you to ████████████ upstairs in The Student Union Building (number █ on the map) for refreshments with staff and students.

- Introduction to ██████████████████ staff and your student social assistants.

- Registration, payment of fees if necessary.

- Orientation talks about your programme, social activities, life in ████████, facilities at ████████ accommodation and much, much more.

12.30 p.m.
- The Student Support Officer, ████████ and your social assistants will take you to the ████████ (number █ on the map) for lunch.

1.30 p.m.
- Campus Tour with ████████ and social assistants.

2.30 p.m.
- First Lesson.

3.30 p.m.
- Free Time or Study Centre at ████████████ or sports or the chance to be taken into town to buy essentials

8.00 p.m.
- WELCOME EVENING in the ████████ of the Student Union Building. An opportunity to meet the staff and other overseas students on courses at the ████████. There will be drinks available and a disco will follow.

Tuesday 4th August

9.00 a.m.
- You should go to the room where you had your first class on Monday afternoon.

6.18 Summer Social Program (for students)

Note: The academic year programme had exactly the same format but slightly fewer activities.

Summer Social Program

Summer Groups and ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

DATE	ACTIVITY	TIME?	MEET AT?	COST
Monday 5th July	Welcome Disco *Come and meet new students in a social atmosphere*	2000 - 2300	Student Union Building	Free!
Tuesday 6th July	Choice of: Quiz (featuring prizes) **or** A trip to the local cinema **or** A pub tour of ▮▮▮▮	2000 - 2300	Student Union Building	Free! (Pay on arrival for cinema)
Wednesday 7th July	Afternoon trip - Choice of: A tour of the ▮▮ countryside and a visit to the ▮▮ Farm Country Park **or** A visit to the ▮▮▮▮▮	1400 - 1830	Main Entrance	£10 £5
Thursday 8th July	Choice of: Ice Skating at ▮▮▮▮ ▮▮ **or** An evening in with a popular video and friends	1930 - 2200	Main Entrance ▮▮	£7 Free!
Friday 9th July	Students' Disco *Dance the night away to the sounds of the disco beat!!*	2000 - 2300	Student Union Building	Free!
Saturday 10th July	Day Trip to ▮▮▮by Coach *Includes entry to the ▮▮▮ ▮▮▮!*	0800 - 1830	Main Entrance	Free!
Sunday 11th July	Day Trip to ▮▮▮▮by Coach *Includes a walking, talking tour of the city!*	0800 - 1830	Main Entrance	£13
Monday 12th July	Choice of: An evening in with video and friends **or** An evening of physical and mental challenges at ▮▮ ▮▮	1930 - 2200	▮▮ Student Union Building	Free! Pay on Arrival
Tuesday 13th July	Compete with friends at a night of ▮▮▮▮▮	1930 - 2200	Student Union Building	£8 for 2 games.
Wednesday 14th July	An afternoon trip to the largest shopping centre in Europe **or** A trip back in time to ▮▮ ▮▮ - "...▮▮▮▮ ▮▮▮▮"	1400 - 1830	Main Entrance	£7 £9

650

Thursday 15th July	BBQ At ▮▮▮▮ in ▮▮▮▮ *Enjoy the taste and smell of an English barbecue at a local pub!!*	1930 - 2300	Student Union Building	£3
Friday 16th July	Students' Disco *Dance the night away to the sounds of the disco beat!!*	2000 - 2300	Student Union Building	Free!
Saturday 17th July	Cheerio to ▮▮▮▮ ▮▮▮ Trip to ▮▮▮ by coach *Enjoy a trip to the seaside resort of ▮▮▮▮*	0800 - 1830	Main Entrance	£9
Sunday 18th July	Trip to ▮▮▮▮ by coach *Enjoy a nautical adventure at the ▮▮▮▮ ▮▮▮*	0800 - 1830	Main Entrance	£13

6.19 Certificates Form

CERTIFICATES

+ hours 88

Please write your name in CAPITAL LETTERS as you wish it to appear.in the certificate.

LEVEL _____ *INTERMEDIATE* _____

CLASS _____ ██ , _____ Christopher ██

NAME: DATES:

██████████ ✓   from 20/07 to 14/08/98 X

██████████ ✓   from 20/07 to 14/08/98 ✓

██████████ ✓   from 20/07 to 14/08/98 ✓

██████████ ✓   from 20/07 to 14/08/'98 ✓

██████████ ✓   from 20/07 to 14/08/98

_____   from _____ to _____

_____   from _____ to _____

_____   from _____ to _____

_____   from _____ to _____

_____   from _____ to _____

_____   from _____ to _____

_____   from _____ to _____

_____   from _____ to _____

_____   from _____ to _____

_____   from _____ to _____

6.20 Academic Year Timetable (for Students)

TIMETABLE

	MONDAY	TUEDSAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
9.00 am to 10.30 am					
COFFEE					
11.00 am to 12.30 pm					
LUNCH					
1.30 pm to 2.30 pm			2.00 pm to 3.00 pm Language Laboratory		
2.35 pm to 3.35 pm					
3.45 pm to 4.45 pm	Language Laboratory			Language Laboratory	

6.21 Summer Course Timetable (for Students)

SUMMER TIMETABLE

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
9.00 am to 10.30am					
COFFEE					
11.00am to 12.30pm					
LUNCH					
2.00 pm to 3.30 pm			2.00 pm to 3.00 pm Language Laboratory		
3.45 pm to 4.45 pm	Language Laboratory	Language Laboratory		Language Laboratory	Language Laboratory
4.45 pm to 5.45 pm	Language Laboratory	Language Laboratory		Language Laboratory	Language Laboratory

6.22 Academic Year Course Report

STUDENT ASSESSMENT

NAME: ██████████   ATTENDANCE: Very Good

COURSE DATES: ████████████████

Written

Report

here.

CLASS TEACHERS: ████████████████
████████

DATE: █████████

CERTIFICATE LEVEL: Upper Intermediate

6.23 Summer Course Report

<div style="border:1px solid black; padding:1em;">

STUDENT ASSESSMENTS   **Summer Courses**

Date   ████████████

NAME   ████████████

Course Dates █████████████

Level on Leaving   Intermediate

	Excellent	Good	Satisfactory	Needs Improvement
Communicative ability			✔	
Reading & Writing		✔		

Teachers' Comments

Class Teachers

Certificate Level   Intermediate

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6.24 Academic Year Student Evaluation Questionnaire

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EFL Course
General Course

STUDENT EVALUATION QUESTIONNAIRE

Please complete the questionnaire by putting a tick ( ) in the boxes.

		Excellent	V.Good	Good	Satisfactory	Poor
		5	4	3	2	1
1.	The 9.00 morning classes were	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
2.	The coursebook was	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
3.	The 11.00 morning classes were	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
4.	The materials were	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

5. I would have liked more: speaking/

reading/listening/writing in the morning

classes.   [ ]   [ ] [ ]   [ ] [ ]

6. The afternoon classes I attended were

    1. _____   2. _____   3. _____

    4. _____   5. _____   6. _____

7.	The afternoon classes were	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
8.	The materials were	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
9.	The attitude of the teachers was	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
10.	The atmosphere in the classes was	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

11. The study facilities after class were

    (e.g. library, language laboratory)   [ ]   [ ] [ ]   [ ] [ ]

12. Please add any other comments you would like to make on the

teaching/classrooms/books and materials/college in general.

....

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6.25 Summer Course Student Evaluation

COURSE EVALUATION

	Excellent	Very Good	Good	Satis-factory	Poor
The 9.00 am classes were.....					
The 11.00 am classes were.....					
Please write which afternoon classes you had:					
The afternoon classes were.....					
The materials used were.....					
I would like more:	speaking / reading / listening / writing				
The standard of teaching was.....					
The study facilities were.....					

COMMENTS:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____