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Professional Identity and the 'native speaker': An Investigation of Essentializing Discourses in TESOL

by

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Dedication

For my Parents
Alvin and Evelyn Todd
who taught me the importance of an education
and
that happiness is success.

And my family,
Andrew and Malcolm Breckenridge
who constantly make me feel successful.

Abstract

This study explores the ways that native speakers are represented in different discourses. It combines the personal with the empirical by starting with narratives of professional development, followed by a corpus analysis of how native speakers are defined, and ending with a critical discourse analysis of the roles allocated to native speakers in academic discourse. First, the use of narrative inquiry speaks to the lived experience of three native English speaking language teachers as they develop their professional identity and seek professional development. Their narratives uncover the tensions between their personal goals and external perceptions. In order to situate these narratives in the field, a corpus analysis identifies the difference between how native speakers are defined in general discourse and within academic literature. These different definitions demonstrate distinct patterns of usage that differentiate the concept of the native speaker, the native speaker of English, and the native speaker of English as a language teacher. Finally, a critical discourse analysis illuminates the dominant representations of native speakers in academic literature. An interpretation of six academic articles, drawing on van Leeuwen's network of role allocation, highlights: 1) how native speakers are differentiated from non-native speakers; 2) how native speaking language teachers are objectified or excluded from the discourse. The analysis reveals how representations of native speakers influence the participation of native English speaking language teachers in the field of TESOL. The implications indicate that the current representations of native

speakers detract from professional development by perpetuating static identities rather than encouraging professional development.

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CHAPTER 1: DEFINING THE PROBLEM

The English language teaching industry is fuelled by desire for the native speaker and the global economy feeds this desire. For example, in a document entitled *Regarding the Establishment of an Action Plan to Cultivate "Japanese with English Abilities"*, MEXT, the Japanese Ministry of Education, Sports, Culture and Technology, calls for the "utilization of native speakers of English", because "English abilities are important in terms of linking our country with the rest of the world, obtaining the world's understanding and trust, enhancing our international presence and further developing our nation" (MEXT, 2003, ¶ 4). As a result, educational ministries such as MEXT recruit native speakers as English instructors to expose students to English conversation and to compensate for local teachers' lack of English fluency.

Governments and agencies that hire native speakers are, literally and figuratively, banking on young graduates not realising their economic potential in their own countries. Teaching English overseas sounds adventurous, and governments and institutes campaign for native speakers to go abroad to teach. Many young adults in Canada are faced with unemployment and debt after graduating from post-secondary institutions. According to the *Canada Student Loans Program Annual Report* for 2003-2004, 41% of students enrolled in participating post-secondary institutions rely on these loans to fully or partially finance their education and the average annual loan amounted to $ 4,830 (HRSD, 2004). These statistics do not include provincial or private loans, but from this we can estimate that post-secondary graduates with a four year degree potentially

face approximately $20,000 of debt after graduation. Hence, the lure of travel and getting a financial head start, linked with the international demand for English, has led to increasing numbers of young native speakers *of English* seeking employment abroad as English teachers. The native speaker advantage gives young Canadians with a bachelor's degree, who are not necessarily certified teachers, opportunities to teach and travel. The benefit for the host country is that schools and institutes have an unending, transient supply of native speakers who, it is believed, need minimal teacher training and no language education.

However, this seemingly symbiotic relationship between host country and foreign teacher can result in resentment from local teachers and administration towards native speakers of English because of the pervasiveness of native speaker norms that encourage hiring native speakers as language teachers. The spread of English through colonial and global pressure to communicate in English has resulted in tolerance of native speakers in local contexts, rather than acceptance. Native speakers of English are subjected to poor working conditions, lack of recognition for their professional contribution in a foreign classroom environment, and lack of support in helping them to construct a professional identity.

A dynamic image of growing professionals is not the representation of native speakers of English that we often see either in the popular media or academic literature. The popular media focuses on the ease in which recent university graduates can utilize their privileged native speaker status to gain employment as English teachers overseas in order to pay student loans and

experience a new culture. For example, the television reality program, *English Teachers*[1], followed the lives of Canadians teaching English in Taiwan. The individuals the program chose to follow had no teaching experience, little or no formal qualifications or knowledge of the cultural background, and no long-term plans to stay in Taiwan or to develop as ELT (English language teaching) professionals. Academic literature also discusses the role of the native speaker in foreign contexts. As Vershueren (1989) notes, in the global spread of English, native English speaking teachers have become "the universal villain promoted for the sake of western or, more precisely, Anglo-American cultural – if not political – imperialism" (p. 52). Consequently, native English speaking teachers are perceived to be lacking in academic qualifications and/or knowledge of the local educational contexts.

An Overview of My Research

Although the image of the native speaking English teacher as opportunistic traveller or Eurocentric are not completely inaccurate, they are both static representations of the experience of native English speaking teachers because they do not take into account individuals' diverse experiences or their ability to engage in appropriate professional development. My research aims to examine the ways in which representations of native speakers influence the professional identity of native speakers who teach English. As such, this research

[1] This was a television show on The Life Network that chronicled the lives of Canadians who had traveled to Taiwan to teach English. The tag-line was "Six young Canadians take a journey of self-discovery."

provides an often neglected perspective on how the role of the native speaker has been formulated in conjunction with the global spread of English.

As noted by Deleuze (1994):

> Representation fails to capture the affirmed world of difference. Representation has only a single centre, a unique and receding perspective, and in consequences a false depth. It mediates everything, but mobilises and moves nothing. Movement, for its part, implies a plurality of centres, a superposition of perspectives, a tangle of points of view, a coexistence of moments which essentially distort representation. (pp. 55-56)

Accordingly, the representations of native English speakers in different texts are not separated from each other; they create different perspectives that support an idealized image. By looking at representations of native English speaking ELT professionals, we can see how these representations influence their ability to broaden others' perspectives about the role of native English speakers' in ELT.

To capture the multiple facets of representation, *bricolage*, rather than a single method, was used in this research. *Bricolage* calls upon the researcher to recognize the limitations of a single method in order to bring to light possibilities, rather than solutions. In order to gain insight into the professional development and professional identity of native English speaking teachers, the research begins with three narratives from ELT professionals. A corpus analysis of the term 'native speaker' identifies the definitions of 'native speaker' throughout both general and academic discourse. This analysis revealed the similarities and differences between how 'native speaker' is defined in general discourse and in ELT discourse in particular. In order to provide further interpretation of the context of these definitions, a critical discourse analysis focused on the roles allocated to 'native speaker'. The corpus analysis and critical discourse analysis

provide information about the representations of native English speaking teachers that influence the lived experiences described in the narratives.

Research as a Personal Journey

Research cannot be separated from personal history. Every researcher reflects on the decisions that brought him/her to a particular question. Opportunities they took, opportunities they missed, classes they found interesting, professors they found inspiring, conversations they had with peers and mentors - these are some of the factors that influence how we frame our research.. In researching my narrative I begin to articulate how my research is influenced by my personal history and how my research becomes a part of my personal history. Clandinin and Connelly (2000) remind us that the personal nature of the narrative "I" needs to be understood in conjunction within a social context of "us". My journey is not a linear progression, but the continual interplay of who I am, who I was, and the educator whom I hope to become. I realize that I am not alone on this journey and that my story is another voice added to the struggle for professional development and identity.

A Shared Journey

We are a group of individuals who have never met, sitting around a mutual friend's basement, but we have one link that bonds us together - we are all native speakers of English who have taught English overseas. This is to be an action research group on reverse culture shock – reintegrating into Canadian society

after teaching overseas (Cheung[2], 2003). Over the next few months, we will get to know each other, share our life experiences and discuss common issues. The researcher's hope is that, through sharing our narratives, we will find some common issues that we can explore – and we do. Each of us represents different experiences: we are from different ethnic and educational backgrounds, pursue different goals, taught in different countries, and have had different amounts of overseas experience. But what we share is the tension of being 'the native speaker of English' in a foreign context, who, on the one hand, represents a language that dominates the global landscape and, on the other, is a minority in a foreign country.

While teaching overseas our individual identities were overshadowed by the mythical image of the native speaker promoted in linguistic literature as one who has an innate sense of all facets of the English language. Additionally, native speakers of English represent the cultural stereotypes of a Western middle-class that English language learners have become familiar with through textbooks and popular culture. We were also considered, in some instances, an unwelcome but necessary minority presence. From the perspective of our employers and students, the native speaker of English did not teach overseas to be acculturated; the native speaker was there to provide a service. Our job was to spread North American values and language that opposed the local culture, but which were seen as

[2] Although Chueng's thesis focuses on the re-adjustment of women returning to Canada, the research group consisted of males and females and discussed issues that emerged when teaching overseas as well as challenges faced when coming back to Canada.

offering opportunities for bolstering international business relations, and hence, the local economy.

It was a relief to find out that I was not the only one who was troubled by the representation of native English speaking teachers, not only in foreign contexts, but also in Canada. As the research participants discussed the challenges we had faced as native speakers of English, we realized that specific commonalties cut across differences in the details of our experiences. Each of us at one point in our teaching experience overseas, had felt isolated, objectified, ashamed, and helpless. As TESL professionals in Canada, we had felt that our overseas experience had been disregarded by our colleagues and we had begun to question our own legitimacy. It was also gratifying to see the deep impact that this earlier experience of teaching overseas had on our development as English language teaching professionals. Personally, we had grown to understand the complexity of the spread of English into the language and culture of the contexts that we lived and worked in. Professionally, all of us had pursued graduate degrees in education. Despite the challenges that we faced, all of us considered our experience overseas enriching and influential in developing our current beliefs about language education.

Being a Native Speaker

My interest in this research reaches back further than this discussion group: it is linked to my history as a native speaker of English, an educator, a language teacher, and a Jamaican-Filipina woman. By reflecting on my history, I

have come to realize how I am positioned as a native speaker. Reflexivity "… is about others as well as the self. It is about the cultural forms we live by, the structured experience…It is about how relations of power and inequality are negotiated, represented and changed in the living" (Johnson, Chambers, Raghuram, & Tincknell, 2004, p. 53). I am a first-generation Canadian who grew up listening to the accented English of my parents not realizing that linguistically there was a border between us because I am a native speaker of English and they are not. As I interacted more with my classmates and teachers, I became aware that, from their perspective, there was a very real and significant difference between the English I spoke and the English my parents spoke; a difference that supposedly gave me academic and social advantages. I also realized that the differences between my father's use of English and my mother's use of English were not perceived as equal. Since my father's Jamaican cultural heritage held more cachet than my mother's Filipino roots, his English was deemed more acceptable and even desirable, while my mother's was seen as deficient .

"Does your dad have dreadlocks?"

"Does he listen to Bob Marley?"

"Does he smoke ganja?"

"Can you talk like him?"

I cringed at the thought. In my everyday world, being linked to the Jamaican community was not in sync with the cool, laidback representations of popular culture. My view of the Jamaican community was one of hard workers who went to church on Sundays, worked two jobs to support extended families 'back home',

played cricket on the weekends, and kept in touch with their heritage through outdated *Daily Gleaners* and Jamaican products shipped from Toronto. This was my first encounter with the boundaries of representation. Just like it is true that there are native English speaking teachers who are not familiar with the local context they teach in or lack the appropriate educational qualifications, it is true that there are Jamaicans who have dreadlocks, smoke ganja, and listen to Bob Marley. But these are very limited views of what it means to be a native speaker of English or a Jamaican.

On the Filipino side of my family, what shocked me most was how the media rationalized and reinforced class distinctions in Filipino society. It would be an understatement to say that I was dumbfounded when my cousin from the Philippines declared that the Western media was guilty of making poverty seem like an issue in the Philippines when everyone knew that *those* people seen rummaging through garbage dumps were incapable of keeping a job and liked being dirty. These experiences reinforced the political nature of representations and their power to mobilize some and immobilize others.

With my multicultural background and experience, I wanted to select a profession that would allow me to cross some of the boundaries that I had faced and make others aware of their own possibilities. The avenue I decided to pursue was education where I would take undergraduate courses in how to teach English as a second language. The most salient memories of my undergraduate courses surrounded discussions about Canadian identity and the extent to which citizens should be allowed to maintain their ethnic heritage. I found that the “you’re in

Canada now" attitude was disturbingly pervasive and I felt increasingly isolated from my peers. Unfortunately, my understanding of my future employment possibilities was influenced by my ethnic isolation, and the last ember of hope was extinguished when I was told by one of the teachers in the school where I did my practicum that I was 'too exotic' ever to become a teacher. The spirit of the comment was not malicious, but for someone who was trying to fit in it was an affirmation that I did not belong. Although my mentor teachers gave me good evaluations, their stamp of approval was overshadowed by my apprehension that regardless of my skills and desires as an educator, I would always be an outsider.

I graduated without pride or ceremony. I did not attend my convocation. In my undergraduate classes, among a sea of the blue eyes of my classmates I did not see myself as a welcome addition to the local educational context. The lack of ethnic diversity in the university and school population led me to believe that being a visible minority was a deficit. I had decided to go where I felt that I would be welcome for my education and upbringing: Seoul, South Korea. Like many recent Canadian university graduates before me, teaching English in Asia held the promise of economic stability, work experience, and life experience. I chose Seoul because I was told that it was less expensive than Japan and easier to find a job there.

When I arrived I found that the reality did not fit the advertisements. The lucrative nature of English teaching translated into a boom of private English language institutes which were not held accountable to the foreign teachers they hired in terms of fulfilling contract promises regarding health care, housing,

hours, and wages. Every Westerner that I met had a story to tell of being abused at one time or another by companies that recruit and hire English teachers. Each story made it clear that the Korean government had very little legislation to protect the rights of foreign workers, but the people I talked to stayed anyway. They were no longer lost in a crowd, they were finally exotic, and the instability of the workplace was overshadowed by the privileged position of the native speaker of English in Korean society. Wherever the white teachers went they were recognized as foreigners, and Koreans wanted to know what they were doing in Seoul and how foreigners were different from Koreans. For the white teachers the assumed differences, stares, and questions that accompanied their foreign status were novelties that added to their sense of uniqueness. While my colleagues had finally found a place to stand out in a crowd, I finally blended in.

A Position of Privilege

Rather than being considered exotic by Koreans, it seemed like I blurred the boundary between the perceptions of local and foreign because I looked more like a local, but sounded like a foreigner. I was supposed to fit the stereotype of the young Canadian woman, which according to my students, is the opposite of the qualities valued in Korean women. For example, Canadian women were considered lazy because they did not care about their appearance. My students would constantly tell me that I was different from other foreign female teachers they had encountered because I wore make-up and high heels. From their perspective, foreign female teachers fitted into three categories: 1) pale, pretty,

and perky; 2) earthy and overweight (by Asian standards); or 3) a Korean raised overseas (called a Gyopo in Korean) trying to get in touch with their roots. But each category shared one commonality: they were all considered unqualified teachers. It was assumed that their contribution to the classroom began and ended with their proficiency in English and their ability to expose students to English in an entertaining fashion. The treatment of native speakers was never questioned by the administration because it was assumed that as native speakers they were privileged and it was forgotten that as foreigners they were unprotected outsiders. Since it was assumed that we had no educational qualifications or cultural sensitivity, and that we were transient workers who took attractive teaching positions away from qualified local instructors, we were not entitled to the same recognition or benefits as other instructors. For example, any disagreements about behaviour or assessment between students and/or administration, on the one hand, and foreign teachers, on the other, were chalked up to cultural insensitivity or lack of qualifications. Additionally, health benefits, severance packages, annual bonuses, and the job security guaranteed to local instructors were not always extended to foreign workers.

The *gyopos* had a slight advantage because they were perceived as being culturally sensitive. Luckily, this was the category I was slotted into the most. I was often mistaken for Korean, which gave me a unique vantage point. My appearance and my teaching degree placed me on the margins of the exotic foreigner community and gave me access to the community of the all-knowing locals. This was my position of privilege. It was not because I looked like a native

speaker that I was hired. I was hired because of my qualifications and in spite of my appearance. Koreans were my friends because they had gotten to know me, not because my presence made them feel more metropolitan.

The Unqualified Native Speaker

Although many teachers I encountered had TESOL certificates or pursued independent forms of professional development, as a Canadian-certified teacher I was privileged. Since I had a teaching degree, I had access to teaching positions that were closed to other native speakers of English. I was also asked for my advice on curriculum, programming, and evaluation. But access does not mean full participation. I was not considered a colleague, and it was not considered necessary to integrate the theoretical components in the Korean teachers' classes with the practical component taught in my classes. Furthermore, I was expected to disclose my lessons to the Korean instructors, yet had no access to theirs. My evaluations of students could be changed by the local instructor, but I had no knowledge of the other marks my students received. While the local teachers received a budget for curriculum and resource development, I did not; and yet, I was expected to develop materials that could be used by my co-workers.

Other native English speaking teachers, on the other hand, were never given credit for the experience they had gained, and their suggestions for change were not deemed as viable in the local context. It did not take long for my native English speaking peers to see that English textbooks, when provided, did not offer students opportunities to engage in conversation. It also did not take long to see

that their students had a good understanding of English grammar and a solid vocabulary base, but were still hesitant to speak. Accordingly, native speaking English teachers designed interactive activities and revised textbook materials to draw on their students' background knowledge and give them a chance to practice speaking. Phillipson (1992), in his analysis of linguistic imperialism, critiques the role of foreign experts in language planning and educational policies because the local educational context and language needs are not considered. But what administrators, educators, and researchers forget is that native speakers with little or no qualifications have developed their identity and skills as language teachers *within* that local context.

The inexperienced native speaker was quickly educated in the demands of the English teaching market. Native speakers represented not only what it meant to speak English 'naturally', but also a way of language education that was entertaining, interactive, and educational. Since these instructors lacked formal training in Western linguistic and educational theory, the content and form of their lessons came from feedback from their students and peers. On the other hand, non-native speakers of English were expected to have expert knowledge of the structure of English, the demands of the local educational system, and a heavy hand when it came to evaluation and classroom discipline. This discrepancy in teaching responsibilities led to differential hiring policies whereby formal educational qualifications were not seen as necessary for native speakers, although this did not necessarily mean that *non*-native speakers who taught languages did have formal educational qualifications. When I was teaching

English at a Korean university, I found that many of my students, who did not major in English, education or linguistics found employment at private institutes and as private tutors, and were paid more than I was because they were simply good at English. Similarly, in Japan, I found Japanese English teachers in the public system who were not certified teachers. There seemed to be an inverse relationship between language proficiency and the expectation for formal qualifications that was not restricted to native speakers of English: the more proficient one's language skills were the less emphasis was put on formal qualifications.

Growing as a Professional

Part of being a minority is supporting other minorities. My community was not restricted to expatriate English teachers. It included teachers of other languages and teachers of English who were non-native speakers – all of us with individual experiences that led us to believe that we were better or worse off than our other colleagues. For all of us, one aspect of our situation was similar – it was difficult to access formalized professional development, and it was even more difficult to recognize or receive acknowledgement for the informal avenues of professional growth that we pursued. The opportunities for formal educational advancement in TESOL were few for native speakers and usually resulted in taking expensive distance learning courses that focused more on linguistics than pedagogy. The native English speakers whom I knew who enrolled in these courses found that the little feedback they received from their professors, the

absence of a support network formed with other students, and limited English resources added to the frustration of completing a program that did not seem to tap into the experiences they were currently having as English instructors. Informally, my colleagues and I read reference books on specific aspects of language development such as academic writing, reading, listening, and pronunciation. Based upon what we learned from these resources we developed materials for our personal use and for the use of our colleagues for the classes we taught in each area. We also shared other ideas and materials, engaged in team teaching, and collaborated on selecting resources from the bookstore. However, personal research, material development, and mentoring were never recognized as professional development by administration, which deepened the rift between administrators and native English speaking instructors.

Throughout my master's degree, I had colleagues who questioned what was to be gained by pursuing a graduate education. My classmates who were international students assumed that there were no restrictions on what teaching positions I could apply for because I was a native speaker, while many of my Canadian peers had heard urban myths about native speakers who went overseas and taught company executives for a $100.00 an hour without having a degree or teaching experience. But for native speaking English language teachers, a master's degree represented access to better teaching positions, or an opportunity to grapple with some of the sociocultural and ethical difficulties they had experienced. I was among the latter. I had felt limited by the educational context and my own knowledge when I decided to pursue a master's degree. My hope

was to be a better teacher in terms of what I could contribute to my students and colleagues. Although adding M.Ed to the end of my name did broaden my professional perspectives, it also raised more questions about my role in the field.

The growth of an ELT market that has capitalized on a linguistic premise that favours native speakers of a language has led to inequalities for English language teachers who are non-native speakers of English (Braine, 1999; Llurda, 2005). However, that does not mean that there are no challenges for native English speakers or that the struggles of English language teachers do not cross the native speaker/non-native speaker divide. When examining the inequalities that native English speaking teachers face it is important to remember that the individual experiences of native speakers is also influenced by a history where the native English speaker is seen as the oppressor. However, this perspective is often obscured in academic research that focuses on quantifying difference between native and non-native teachers to evaluate who is perceived to be a better teacher (c.f. Medgyes, 1999). My dissertation research aims to reframe how the native speaker ideal creates tension and inequality between teachers and will do so by focussing on possible futures for ESL professionals that are not limited by categorization based on the characteristics and privileges of the ideal native speaker. More specifically, I focus on how the professional identity of native speakers of English teaching in a foreign context is influenced by being categorized as privileged. In other words, instead of focussing on who is the better teacher, what needs to be discussed is access to becoming a better teacher.

CHAPTER 2: WHO IS THE NATIVE SPEAKER?

My experience is part of the legacy of the native speaker ideal that greatly influences English language planning and policies around the world. In the following section I will examine the foundation of the linguistic concept of the native speaker and the implications for the role of native speakers in English language education. First, I will discuss the characteristics of the native speaker ideal in linguistics and how this sets a foundation for a distinction between native speakers and non-native speakers. Then I will show how the dominance of the native speaker concept in linguistics has led to both the privilege and distrust of native speakers as language teachers. Next, I will examine how the dominance of English as an international language functions through the lens of a native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy in the field of English language teaching (ELT).

The Native Speaker Ideal

The native speaker ideal is a concept that encompasses a number of linguistic characteristics of native speakers of a language that provide a common ground for the collection of empirical data in any language (Coulmas, 1981). For example, linguists rely on native speakers to describe language use. These descriptions then become the standard that educational resources are based on. Davies (2003), in his quest to add a theoretical dimension to the notion of the native speaker, concludes that there are six characteristics of the native speaker:

1) childhood acquisition of the language; 2) intuition about acceptability of language use 3) intuition about grammar 4) a wide range of communicative competence 5) creative use of the language and 6) the capacity to interpret and translate mother tongue (p. 210). Accordingly, the native speaker sets the norms for what is acceptable in the standard of a language.

However, Davies' (2003) argues that aside from the time when the language is acquired the other five characteristics of the native speaker can also be attributed to some non-native speakers. Exceptional learners, native users in a post-colonial setting, those educated in the target language, and those who have moved to the country of the target language are examples of real-life speakers who have acquired native speaker competency, but not as their first language (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001; Coulmas, 1981; Davies, 2003; Paikeday, 1985). Although such cases are well documented and not uncommon, attaining this sort of native speaker competence only yields near native status. This situation indicates that the distinction between native speaker and non-native speaker is founded more on power relations than linguistic differences. In other words, the linguistic concept that native speakers are born, not made, leads to a seemingly natural assumption that non-native speakers will always be lacking in the degree of language competence and language intuition.

Paikeday (1985) notes that the implications of this distinction are discriminatory social practices that assume native speakers will always have a higher level of language competence than non-native speakers. This assumption has moved the idealized native speaker from the realm of providing theoretical

common ground in linguistics to justifying discriminatory hiring practices in professions such as teaching. As English language skills become more strongly linked to national and individual economic prosperity the native speaker ideal perpetuates the inequalities between native and non-native speakers of English – inequalities that are, therefore, not only linguistic in nature but also socioeconomic and political. Braine (1999), in his introduction to *Non-native educators in English language teaching*, relays an anecdote from *The New Yorker* about an Indian-born doctor, Abraham Verghese, who thought that his superior medical abilities would secure an internship at a prestigious American medical school, only to be told by an international colleague:

> … these hospitals "have never taken a foreign medical graduate" and advised Verghese "not even to bother with that kind of place". Instead, he is told to apply to more humble "Ellis Island" hospitals, those situated in inner cities and rural areas, which U.S. doctors avoid. "We are" Verghese's compatriot continues, "like a transplanted organ – lifesaving and desperately needed, but rejected because we are foreign tissue." (p. xiii)

While this example holds true for foreigners coming to English speaking contexts, it is important to remember that it also holds true for English speakers in foreign contexts. Many English teachers abroad are in work situations that are undesirable to local English teachers. A recent article in the Guardian Weekly entitled *Westerners fall foul of 'sweatshop' jobs* (August 22, 2006) observes that there has been an increase in the number of complaints US embassies in China have received about breaches of contracts such as unpaid wages and substandard working conditions. Ang (2006) notes that 'It is a new twist on globalisation: for

decades Chinese made their way to the West, often illegally to end up doing dangerous, low-paying jobs, in sweatshop conditions. Now some foreigners, drawn by China's growth and hunger for English lessons, are landing in the schoolhouse version of the sweatshop" (p. 3).

Native Speakers as Language Teachers

To further contextualize the issues surrounding native English speaking teachers it is important to recognize the role of native speakers in linguistics and language education. As discussed above, the notion of the native speaker as the ideal linguistic informant is founded on assumptions about native speakers' mastery of their mother tongue. From these assumptions emerge characteristics of an "ideal native speaker" whose natural intuition and language competency are thought to have a high standard that always surpass those of non-native speakers.

The characteristics of the ideal native speaker influence the perception that native speakers make ideal language teachers. The foundation for this pedagogical assumption is based on the linguistic assumptions that the native speaker inherently possesses a superior command of the language and intimate knowledge of the culture. But while non-native speakers can also possess such qualities, the 'naturalness' by which native speakers acquire their language ability often overshadows the numerous other abilities possessed or needed by language teachers. This situation results in a privileging of native speakers in the hiring of language teachers.

The controversy over hiring foreigners who are native speakers of the target language is not new or limited to English. The practice dates back at least to ancient Rome where "Greek slaves and freedmen" (Kelly 1969, p. 275) were responsible for teaching the Greek language to Romans. Juvenal's[3] mention of Greeks in his third satire illuminates how Greeks and Greek teachers were not held in high regard: "Your empty bellied little Greek will try his hand at anything: elementary or senior teaching, geometry, painting, massage, augury, rope-dancing, medicine, magic…" (Juvenal in Kelly, p. 275). Greeks were hired as language teachers, a job that was not considered a profession that needed any skills. All that was necessary to become a Greek language teacher was the desire to find employment and the status of being a Greek native speaker. Similarly, teachers of French and English in Europe throughout the 18th and 19th century were seen as foreigners who lacked the ability to secure any other type of employment and therefore had no choice but to become language teachers (Kelly, 1969). Consequently, the opinion that language teachers who are native speakers rely more on opportunity than professional development has become a stereotype that does not prevent them from being hired.

With regard to English language teaching, the preference for native speaking English teachers can be traced back to the 1961 Commonwealth Conference on the Teaching of English as a Second Language, in Makarere, Uganda. With regard to language education, the participants established that "the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker" (Phillipson, 1992, p. 185). The

[3] Juvenal was a Roman poet from the late 1st to 2nd century A.D who was famous for his satires that commented on Roman morals.

rationale was that a lack of qualified local teachers required native speakers of English to temporarily fill the gap: a gap that was never filled by local teachers because of a preference for foreign native speakers. The counter-argument would be that someone who has learned the language can anticipate the challenges that their students will face, and consequently, be able to empathize with them (Medgyes, 1999; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). Additionally, knowledge of Western culture has become less relevant when considering who is a competent user of the language as the use of English spreads (Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Siedlhofer, 2001). As a result of the spread of English, communication in English is not focussed on understanding Western cultures that use English as a mother tongue, but information sharing between people, businesses, and cultures. Two of the reasons that this debate continues are: first being changes in attitudes and methods of teacher training and secondly, the linguistic emphasis on the native speaker ideal.

Initially, the characteristics of an ideal teacher were linked more to personal attributes than to formal training. Kelly (1969) argues that “Few societies have taken the teacher seriously enough to ask more from him than the ability to talk, walk, and punish” (p. 275). Britzman (2003) points to three cultural myths prevalent in North American secondary education: “…everything depends upon the teacher, teachers are self made, and teachers are experts” (p. 7). With regard to language teaching, this has meant that language teachers were assumed to already have an expert knowledge of the language and its literature. It was also assumed that teachers would learn how to teach the more they taught. As the field of language teaching developed, so too did theories about how language is learned

and different teaching methodologies. These methodologies provided teachers with what was thought to be a fail-safe formula that could be learned through practice. This reliance on methodology not only seemed to lessen the need for qualified native speakers, but also meant that non-native speakers who lacked a high degree of language proficiency could be effective language teachers. All that was needed to be an effective teacher was to have knowledge of the language up to the level one was teaching and to adhere to the method.

Although employing native speakers as language teachers has been seen as problematic throughout history and among different languages, the debate continues regarding whether they are more effective teachers than non-native speakers of a language. However, there is growing recognition that the variation across educational contexts regarding what is considered to constitute legitimate professional qualifications and teaching experience needs consideration when defining the characteristics of good language teachers. For example, Derwing & Munro (2005) emphasize that the 'best' teacher is defined by the pedagogical needs of the students in a given context rather than formal qualifications of the teacher. Their study found that all teachers in TESL training programs needed to have a similar knowledge base, regardless of linguistic background. Similarly, Gatbonton (1999) argues that pedagogical knowledge is accumulated through years of practice and consequently selected and identified participants for her research based on experience, rather than native or non-native speaker status. However, the body of research that perpetuates universal characteristics of native and non-native English speaking teachers seems to override the multitude of

conditions that can create individual differences within and between the two categories (Braine, 1999; Lasagabaster & Seirra. 2002; Medgyes, 1999).

English as an International Language

To understand the possible tension native speakers of English in ELT face, the status of English as a global language needs to be added to the discussion of the native speaker ideal. First, I will discuss the global spread of English through colonialism. Then, I will examine how it has been appropriated by non-native speakers of English through the acknowledgement of language change. Lastly, I will discuss the implications for native English speaking teachers.

Underlying the debate about the prominence of English is its role in colonization that has led to English being an instrument in globalization. Initially, the global spread of English occurred as one of the initiatives of the British colonial project. English education was seen not only as providing a common language, but also as a way of promoting the cultural values of the empire as illustrated by this often cited quote by Thomas Macaulay, who served as Supreme Council for India between 1834 and 1838:

> …it is impossible for us with our limited means to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern – a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect.
>
> (Macaulay's Minute of 2nd February 1835)

In the most positive terms, English was seen as a means of helping the colonies to 'develop' (Pennycook, 1994). Throughout the British Empire, English education was distributed unequally to the upper classes in the hopes that they would protect and proliferate the economic interests of the Empire.

The second phase of the spread of English came with the rising power of the United States in the post World War II era, when countries saw English education as a means to advance in the global market. According to Phillipson (2001):

> English is integral to the globalisation processes that characterise the contemporary post-cold-war phase of aggressive casino capitalism, economic restructuring, McDonaldisation and militarization on all continents. (p. 187)

As such, the native speaker was revered, not for his language skills, but for the power he possessed and the power he could spread. But while the language spread, the power was not spread equally. Kachru's (1992) Concentric Circle Model describes the spread of English using the terms Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circle. The Inner Circle consists of Canada, the UK, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand, where English is primarily the mother tongue. The Outer Circle consists of countries such as Kenya, India, and Singapore, whose use of English in an official capacity is connected to colonialism. The Expanding Circle refers to countries such as South Korea, Japan, and China that use English as a foreign language primarily for international communication. The Inner Circle's influence over the spread of English is an example of what Phillipson (1992) refers to as *linguistic imperialism:*

> …the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages." (p. 47)

The dominance of the Inner Circle is maintained in the Outer and Expanding Circles through continually marketing resources and pedagogy from the center to the periphery.

The competitive nature of the global marketing of English is illustrated by Graddol's (1997) report on *The Future of English*. In his report he highlights the changing face of English use and a need to reconsider how Britain can maintain its hold on informing English norms and English language pedagogy. He sees Britain's dominant role in the ELT market as being challenged because non-native speakers will outnumber native speakers and also because of increasing competition from other Inner Circle countries.

Furthermore, English is being appropriated through a new perspective of English as a lingua franca and the legitimacy given to World Englishes. While Phillipson (1992) argues that the term lingua franca is a euphemism for dominant colonial languages, Seidlhofer (2001) asserts that English as a lingua franca differs from the Englishes used in Inner Circle countries because they have developed in a bilingual context for different purposes. The use of the term 'World Englishes' intends to capture the pluralisation, change, and spread of English by advocating the legitimacy of the varieties of Englishes that have developed throughout the globe (Kachru, 1992). Similarly, Brutt-Griffler (2002) contends that for English to be considered World English the language change which accompanies the spread of English has to be legitimized and national ownership of English by the Inner Circle has to be relinquished.

As the colonial hold on English slips away, so does advocating native speaker norms as the foundation for English language education. However, recognition of the legitimacy of variations of English in academic literature does not directly translate to educational practices. Previously, a focus on methodology

perpetuated a myth that the appropriate method for second language teaching was one that was transferable to any context, but as the field of TEFL (Teaching English as a Foreign Language) grew so did the awareness of the socio-political context of where English is taught and the ethical responsibilities of English language educators. According to Seidlhofer (2001) there has been a pedagogical shift from "exclusive native speaker norms to global inclusiveness and egalitarian license to speak in ways that meet diverse local needs" (p. 135). Furthermore, Pennycook (1994) argues that a critical ELT pedagogy entails "helping students find, develop and create voices in English" (p. 319) where "a teacher needs to know both how to understand those voices and how to make those voices pedagogically accessible" (p. 320). This shift illustrates a change in the power dynamics between native speakers and non-native speakers from hierarchical to discursive, not only in the classroom, but as part of the global context.

Researching the Native Speaker/Non-Native Speaker Dichotomy

The native speaker ideal, coupled with the consequences of the dominance of English as an international language, emphasizes the inequality stemming from the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy in ELT. Critiques of the native speaker ideal acknowledge that the dominance of native speaker norms in ELT needs to be challenged (Cook, 1999; Davies, 2003; Paikeday 1985). However, most of the research that counteracts the native speaker ideal represents the struggles faced by non-native speakers and provides much less representation of the consequences for native speakers. In the following section, I will give a brief

overview of the research that has been done to champion the non-native speaker and discuss how even though these studies critique the native speaker ideal, they support the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy.

The first set of studies was conducted by Medgyes (1999) to substantiate his four hypotheses about the differences between what he refers to as NESTs (native English speaking teachers) and non-NESTs, (non-native English speaking teachers). The four hypotheses are that:

1) they differ in terms of their language proficiency;
2) they differ in terms of their teaching behaviour;
3) the discrepancy in language proficiency accounts for most of the differences; found in their teaching behaviour
4) they can be equally good teachers in their own terms.

(Medgyes, 1999, p. 25)

Although the fourth hypotheses state that regardless of differences both NESTs and non-NESTs can be good teachers, an additional dimension of the findings from these studies makes it seem like these differences are static characteristics of each category of teacher. Furthermore, these characteristics have been quoted as a basis for other surveys in order to validate the assumption that there is a qualitative difference between NESTs and non-NESTs.

In his book, *The non-native teacher*, Medgyes (1999) refers to three studies he conducted between 1989 and 1992 to substantiate his hypotheses. The first study involved a 17-item questionnaire administered in 1989 in the United States to 28 instructors at the American language Institute who were primarily

NESTs. The second study was conducted between 1990 and 1992 by Reves and Medgyes (1994), who administered a 23-item questionnaire to 216 respondents from ten different countries. The third study involved an 8-item questionnaire conducted in Hungary in 1992 with 81 Hungarian non-NESTs. Although the questionnaires asked primarily about background experience, education, and collaboration, the most significant findings focused on differences between native and non-native teachers. The results indicate a series of differences in: 1) general attitude, 2) attitude to teaching the language, and 3) attitude to teaching the culture.

According to the questionnaire results, NESTs' use of English was reported to be better and more real, and they were found to be more confident users than their non-native counterparts (Medgyes, 1999). On the positive side, their attitude was more flexible, and innovative. On the negative side they were perceived to be less empathetic, more casual, less committed, to have "far-fetched expectations" (p. 55), and to attend to "perceived" (p.55) needs. Non-NESTs, on the other hand, were found to take a more guided approach, to be more cautious, more empathetic, stricter, more committed, to have realistic expectations, and to respond to real needs. The dichotomy between native and non-native teachers is further emphasized by the following table which polarizes their attitudes:

Table 1

Perceptions about the Differences between NESTs and Non-NESTs

NEST's	Non-NESTS
attitude to teaching the language	
are less insightful focus on: fluency meaning language in use oral skills colloquial registers teach items in context prefer free activities favour groupwork/pairwork use a variety of materials tolerate errors set fewer tests use no/less L1 resort to no/less translation assign less homework	are more insightful focus on: accuracy form grammar rules printed word formal registers teach items in isolation prefer controlled activities favour frontal work use a single textbook correct/punish for errors set more tests use more L1 resort to more translation assign more homework
attitude to teaching culture	
supply more cultural information	supply less cultural information

(Medgyes, 1994, p. 56)

These characteristics are reiterated in the findings of similar studies involving TESOL graduate students in the United States (Samimy & Brutt-Griffler, 1999a), undergraduate students in Spain (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2002), and ESL students in Hungary and China (Barratt & Kontra, 2000).

In a study by Samimy & Brutt-Griffler (1999a), 17 TESOL non-native speaking graduate students were given a questionnaire regarding their perceptions about the differences between themselves and their native speaking colleagues. The interviews gave insight into what they felt were their strengths and the issues for non-native English speaking teachers. The rationale for the study was to

empower non-NESTs by allowing them to voice their concerns about the use of the native ideal in the field of ELT. With regard to differences between NESTs and non-NESTs the findings are similar to those of Medgyes (1999): NESTs were reported to be better users of the language, while non-NESTs were considered more empathetic and pedagogically prepared. Yet, when the students were asked which group was more successful as EFL teachers, 58% of the respondents answered both. The issue of language proficiency, which is one of the foundations of the dichotomy, did not appear to be as significant to the students as issues surrounding professional development and curriculum.

In a study by Lasagabaster and Sierra (2002), 76 undergraduate students were given a questionnaire to gain insight into their experiences with and preference between native speaking and non-native speaking teachers. The researchers' intent was to focus on the students' opinions to balance the recent research focus on teachers' opinions of the NEST/non-NEST debate. The results reiterated the findings from the previously mentioned studies that NESTs were considered "…more confident English users" (p. 133), while non-NESTs were considered to have "…more awareness of students' needs" (p. 133). In contrast to teachers' opinions, the students demonstrated a clear preference for having a native speaker as a teacher. The implication is that the pervasiveness of the native speaker ideal takes precedence over negative experiences that students have with NESTs, and positive experiences they have with non-NESTs.

Barratt and Kontra (2000) surveyed 116 EFL students and 58 teachers in Hungary and 100 students and 54 teachers in China to look at the positive and

negative experiences they had had with native English speaking teachers. Their research objective was to "…get a consumer's view of what works and what does not for a visiting teacher in a strange land, and to provide guidance for NS teachers who plan to work overseas…" (p. 19). The results showed that although NS were valued for their authenticity, they lacked preparation in terms of pedagogy and contextual awareness. Accordingly, the implications were that more attention has to be paid to professional development and cultural sensitivity at the pre-service and in-service level.

Although the studies outlined above had slightly different aims, the characteristics of NESTs and non-NESTs recurred in the responses from both student and teacher populations. Consequently, research intended to empower non-NESTs may have the effect of maintaining the native speaker ideal by a constant reinforcement of the differences between NESTs and non-NESTs. While these studies demonstrate how the authority given to the native speaker ideal affects the way teachers construct their identities as well as student perceptions, they also provide suggestions for overcoming the dichotomy. Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (1999b) argue that non-NESTs "…need to develop an identity of their own construction that neither prescribes a limited role for them in the profession nor specifies definite boundaries to their capacities therein." (p. 418). Additionally Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (1999a, 1999b) assert that a construct of *expertise* allows for on-going development that is not solely based on language proficiency or nativeness.

In contrast, Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) makes a plea for equal opportunity in language education in order to maintain linguistic diversity in the face of English language dominance. English language teachers play an important role in educating students about the value of language to counteract the threat of the global dominance of English which looms over minority languages. Although this is an admirable goal for ELT, her plea is exclusively aimed at non-native speakers. The role of non-native speakers is to utilise their empathetic nature, insight into the differences between languages and cultures, as well as the firsthand experience of learning the target language. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) is also explicit about the efficacy of native speaking teachers of English:

> Clearly, then SLS/FL ESL teachers, second or foreign language speakers of English, have more of the capacities/proficiencies which learners need than most native speakers of English, provided, of course that their competence in the target language is high. (p. 39)

From this quote we can see that Skutnabb-Kangas' plea for equal opportunity does not apply to all English language educators. She demonstrates a clear preference for non-native speakers as English teachers by implying that given the same level of language competence, non-native speakers will be better language teachers.

More direct with their disdain for native speakers are authors who use various pejorative terms to describe native speakers of English who are involved in teaching English as a Foreign Language (EFL). These include: "professional egotism" (Barrat & Kontra, 2000, p. 21), "native non-teacher" (de Almeida Mattos 1997, p. 38), "potentially a menace" (Phillipson, 1992), and "too critical of the learners" (Bahloul, 1994, p.4). These pejorative terms stem out of the

dichotomous distinction between native English speaking teachers and non-native English speaking teachers and illustrate further how such a distinction can have a real and significant impact on EFL education and those who teach it. The previous ELT research exposes a power struggle where the native speaker is present, but voiceless in deciding how native English speaking teachers are signified as teachers. The result is a general attitude about the inadequacy and intrusion of English speaking teachers, which indicates that little has changed since the Greeks taught the Romans given that native speakers as language teachers are still seen as privileged and unqualified. For example, Arva & Medgyes (2000) argue that "Poorly qualified NESTs can do a decent job as long as they are commissioned to do what they can do best: converse" (p. 369). Furthermore, a long history of colonial and global English language domination has led to the notion that privileging of the native speaker ideal translates to privileges for native speakers of English that are detrimental to English language learners. Bahloul (1994), in reference to native English speaking teachers, stated: "What they should and can do is simply to support the host country until its nationals become English teachers themselves…They should never be made to feel that they are there to change and uplift the lives of host country nationals" (p. 6). This quote exemplifies how, in an EFL context, the native speaker is often situated as an outsider, rather than a colleague, by non-native English speaking teachers, students, and administration.

Unraveling the Native Speaker Ideal

Although the previous literature highlights the need to reconsider using the native speaker as normative with regard to language education, it also maintains the distinction between native speakers and non-native speakers as language educators. While the border has changed, the territory remains the same; teachers are still framed in terms of the native speaker/ non-native speaker dichotomy. In other words, the boundaries for who is considered a native speaker have become broader and recognition of the benefits of being a non-native speaker has increased. Accordingly, being a native speaker no longer implies that one is an ideal English teacher, and there is an increasing awareness of the advantages of employing English teachers who are non-native speakers. Examining the interactions that individuals have because of how they are categorized reveals how the distinction between native speaker and non-native speaker obscures other issues in ELT. In this next section I will explore how examining individual experiences can expose inequalities faced by both native and non-native speaking English teachers.

A significant part of problematizing the idealised image of the native speaker has involved exposing the inequalities that non-native speakers of English face in the West. In addition to the restructuring of English across national boundaries towards English as an international language, there has been an increase in qualitative research that focuses on illuminating the struggles and legitimizing the contribution of teachers who are classified as non-native speakers. Braine (1999) provides a forum for English teachers who have

successfully met the challenges of being situated as non-native speakers by demonstrating their competence as teachers and English speakers. As Braine (1999) notes:

> The playing field will not be level for NNS English teachers. They will have to struggle twice as hard to achieve what often comes as a birthright to their NS counterparts: recognition of their teaching ability and respect for their scholarship. … As I did, they will meet courageous administrators who will see beyond their accents and pronunciation, mentors who will promote their careers, and colleagues who will support their research and publication efforts. (p. 23)

There are common threads that run through Braine's (1999) collection of research done by non-native English speaking teachers that emphasize the personal and professional struggles they face. One recurring barrier that these teachers face is having their credibility as teachers questioned by administration and students since native speaker status is seen as a qualification (Lui, 1999; Thomas, 1999). The second barrier deals with the struggle of finding their identity between two languages in a field that disregards their bilingualism in favour of the native speaker ideal (Kramsch, 1999; Li, 1999). Finally, there is the challenge of being in teacher education programs that focus on the native speaker model which do not acknowledge the backgrounds or assets of non-native speakers (Canagarajah, 1999; Kahmi-Stein, 1999).

In addition to ELT research that seeks to change the power dynamic of the dichotomy there is a growing body of research which argues that focussing on the native speaker/non native speaker dichotomy overlooks other issues such as race and gender. ELT research that focuses on race and gender serves as a reminder

that the struggle against discrimination is not solely the territory of the non-native speaker.

Amin (1999) focused her research on the discrimination that visible minority women face from their peers and students for not fitting the image of the white native speaker. In interviews she conducted with five visible minority women she found that their students assume that "…only white people can be native speakers of English….and only native speakers know "real", "proper", "Canadian" English" (Amin, 1999, p. 94). Gender was found to be another source of discrimination as minority women are given less authority compared to their male counterparts. Amin (1999) notes that male teachers can use their gender to exert power regardless of their minority status. This research shows that issues around the gender and race of teachers need more attention in ELT research.

Similarly, Lui (1999) brings attention to how the stereotype of the white native speaker influences students' perception of their teachers. Lui's (1999) study involved seven ESL teachers with different countries of origin, different background experiences learning English, and who immigrated to the U.S. at different times in their lives. Like Amin's findings (1999), this study found that whiteness seemed to equate to nativeness in the minds of students, regardless of country of origin. There was a discrepancy between how teachers self-identified as native or non-native speakers of English and their students' categorisation based on appearance rather than language proficiency and accent. Students were more likely to categorize someone with Asian heritage as a non-native than a teacher of European heritage. For example, two of the teachers were from Korea

and the Philippines and self-identified as native speakers of English, while their students categorized them as non-native speakers even though they had American accents. Nevertheless, a non-native speaker characterization did not have a negative impact on their relationship with their students. Lui (1999) argues that "...rather than being defined as native or non-native it is teachers' competence and professional growth that will define their professionalism" (p. 175).

It would seem logical, in light of the discriminatory experiences of non-native educators, that teachers who are accepted as the ideal English native speaker would not face any problems. However, there is evidence that there are also challenges that accompany being the white, native speaker and that these challenges revolve around professional development, age discrimination, and racial discrimination. For example, studies about assistant language teachers (ALTs) hired through the Japanese exchange and teaching (JET) programme reveal the difference between national policies that elevate the native speaker and local practices that alienate them. According to the Council of Local Authorities for International Relations (CLAIR),

> The JET Programme was started with the purpose of increasing mutual understanding between the people of Japan and the people of other nations. It aims to promote internationalisation in Japan's local communities by helping to improve foreign language education and developing international exchange at the community level. (The history of the JET program, ¶2)

Since its beginnings in 1987, 90% of the JET program participants have been hired as assistant language teachers (ALTs) who are responsible for assisting Japanese language teachers at the junior and senior high school level. The English portion of the program interviews and hires university graduates from 10

countries to participate in team teaching of English students in the hopes that the English language experience of the ALTs coupled with the professional competence of the Japanese teachers of English (JTEs) would benefit the development of Japanese students' English. Accordingly, ALTs should be guided by a Language Teacher Consultant or a Japanese teacher of English (JTE).

However, the vision has played out differently than the reality. The plan was that ALTs would provide classroom assistance for JTEs and those ALTs would be mentored by JTEs. An outcome of this interaction would be a mutual cultural exchange between ALTs and members of the school community. A study by McConnell (2000), in contrast, found that JTEs regard the ALTs' classroom presence as a disruption, not an enhancement. Other studies have revealed that JTEs also felt that they did not have the time or the resources to build relationships with JTEs that would foster mentorship (Crooks, 2000; Kachi & Lee, 2001). Although ALTs felt that they were learning about Japanese culture, school administration and JTEs often found ALTs to be culturally insensitive (McConnell, 2000). These feelings are not one-sided – interviews with ALTs found that they felt, at times, that they were used to reinforce rather than breakdown stereotypes about Westerners (Ellis, 2005a; McConnell, 2000).

The experiences of these ALTs represent the difficulties faced by native speakers entering the ELT context. A native speaker of English may be desirable in the classroom, but at the institutional level, s/he is a foreigner. In Japan, there are few tenure track positions for qualified foreign professors. More typically foreigners are hired at a higher salary as compensation for giving up professorial

titles, job security, and participation in faculty meetings. There are also policies that perpetuate age discrimination of foreign professors, whereby new hires have to be below age 35 and professors over age 50 do not have their contracts renewed (Hall, 1994).

In an article aptly titled *The Slavery of Teaching English*, which appeared in the London Telegraph, Cresswell-Turner (2004) provides a glimpse of ELT in Europe where low wages, and low morale are the norm. As he puts it:

> All over Europe - in Paris, Madrid, Prague and Athens - it is the same. In London the constant flow of foreign students provides work throughout the year - but who can survive on the £12,000-odd a year that TEFL teachers earn there? Indeed, since British graduates now leave university with debts that rule out dead-end jobs with microscopic salaries, English schools everywhere are finding it harder to attract staff.
> Increasingly, they take on the dregs. If the work were in any way rewarding, the pay might be tolerable. But unlike a job in a proper school, there is no pastoral side involved in being a TEFL teacher, and no variety, no career structure, no sense of progression. You spend your day rushing from one lesson to another, endlessly drumming in the essentials and explaining the difference between, say, "I grovel" and "I am grovelling".

While this excerpt presents a darkly comedic snapshot of TEFL, it also reveals that the native speaker / non-native speaker dichotomy in ELT is not simply a matter of native speakers being privileged at the expense of non-native speakers. Thus, my research aims to bring further complexity to this issue in English language teaching by analyzing individual teachers' experiences as well as representations of native speaking teachers of English in both academic literature and popular media.

CHAPTER 3: NARRATIVE OF A STUDY

Do current representations of native English speaking language teachers impede the legitimacy of their professional identity or access to professional development? At issue in the field of ELT is the privileging of native speakers of English: an issue that, as noted in chapter two, indicates that being classified as a native speaker of English means benefiting from discriminatory hiring practices that perpetuate a history of linguistic imperialism (Braine, 1999; Medgyes, 1999; Phillipson, 1992; Willinsky, 1998). A brief overview of the spread of English indicates that when it comes to allocating power across the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy, the native speaker is at the receiving end of the continuum. In the words of John Willinsky (1998),

> English's cultural value as a universal language is unequally distributed between those who inherit this wealth through possession of it as a mother tongue, and those who can only aspire to it, forever assigned to the purgatory of the nonnative speaker. (p. 207)

From this perspective the English native speaker is considered to have an inheritance of privilege, and in the field of ELT the narratives of non-native speaking teachers of English have been instrumental in illuminating the personal and professional implications of discriminatory hiring practices and policies whose foundation rests on the supposed superiority of native speakers. Thus, research involving non-native speakers urges ELT professionals to eliminate the native speaker ideal from English language planning and pedagogy (Cook, 1999; Davies, 2003; Phillipson, 1992; Rampton, 1990). Educators and language planners have undergone the task of deconstructing the native speaker/non-native

speaker dichotomy, which involves decentering assumptions about the naturalness of a hierarchy that places native speakers first, in order to come to new understandings that use different reference points so as not to perpetuate the existing power structure.

Although this line of deconstruction has made researchers and educators reframe the roles of non-native speakers and native speakers in language education, what it fails to do is to remove boundaries that will allow a more open dialogue that works towards removing the binary. To understand the complexity of the native speaker experience entails a re-examination of the taken-for-granted privileges that accompany native speaker status. One such privilege is power. It is assumed that native speaker status gives native English speaking educators an all access passes to language teaching. However, researchers like Amin (1999) reveal how that status is complicated by other factors such as gender and whiteness. Amin (1999) argued that "…critical theory, which addresses the inequalities that are perpetuated in the ESL classroom, is written from the perspective of White teachers" (p. 93). Consequently, the power struggle that is represented in academic literature is based on an assumption that an ESL classroom is one where the white teacher is a member of a white majority that holds power over minority students. While this may be true in some instances, the variety of contexts in which English is taught and spoken creates a variety of power dynamics that are not often discussed.

The English Teacher as a Commodity

My research aims to further challenge the power of teachers, especially native speaking English teachers, by investigating how commodification of the 'native speaker' affects access to and/or recognition of prior professional development. Commodification occurs when an attribute that usually has no economic value is assigned an economic value (Derrida, 1994). As a result, the use value is measured by its ability to create economic gain, which overshadows any other possible value. In terms of ELT, commodification creates a system of homogenization that focuses on education for economic gain. As a commodity, the use-value of native speakers is related to how closely they represent the image of the native speaker in terms of youth, socio-economic status, and race. In the case of native speakers of English, English fluency is regarded as privilege and/or power, which allows them the freedom to teach in a variety of countries. However, the treatment they receive once they are in a foreign educational context can range from advantaged to exploited. At the positive end of the spectrum, native speakers of English are at an advantage because they have access to English language teaching positions where they can sometimes make a decent wage, even if they lack educational accreditation. At the negative end, native speakers are exploited when they are dehumanized as language resources and are required to work and live in substandard conditions. Thus, the native speaker ideal does not belong to native speakers of English themselves, but to a language market that has been influenced by the history of the global spread of English, which informs language pedagogy and practice.

Desire, Representation, and Identity

Discussions of inequality cannot be fully discussed if they are limited to geopolitical arguments. Among the challenges that have emerged from the globalization of English is the use of native speakers of English for marketing purposes. Consequently, issues of nationality and linguistic background are not the only factors that need consideration when critiquing the status of the native speaker ideal. Pennycook (1999) observes that in addition to class, race, and gender, critical approaches now include investigations of "…sexuality, ethnicity, and representations of Otherness" (p. 331).

The native speaking English teacher becomes a representative for native English speakers. However the representations they are expected to portray are not necessarily representative of the teachers themselves. Derrida notes that:

> There is a mirror, and the commodity form is also this mirror, but since all of a sudden it no longer plays its role, since it does not reflect back the expected image, those who are looking for themselves can not find themselves in it. Men [sic] no longer recognise in it the social character of their *own* labor. (1994, p. 155)

In other words, native speakers are aware of their worth in terms of marketing and delivering the English language as a consumer product. A part of the global marketing of English is the expectation that native English speaking teachers reflect the native speaker ideal; an ideal that does not necessarily reflect who they are as individuals or professionals.

The way native English speakers are represented in the global market by textbooks naturalizes the desire to become the ideal. This ideal influences the way that English teachers are expected to act in and out of the classroom. It also

influences how students and other members of the community interact with English teachers. As Mackie (2003) notes:

> In Japan an entire English-language industry fosters a desirous world of wealth, travel, romance, work, beauty, and knowledge where white foreigners are sought out for their image. Glossy ESL textbooks picture white teachers and students having fun around the world. A fun and adventurous curriculum sells. (p.33)

The experiences Mackie (2003) uses to describe briefly the times she taught English in China and Japan illustrate how she moves from being part of the white majority in Canada to becoming a visible minority with expectations from the majority that are linked to her position as white native speaker.

More specifically, Piller & Takahashi (2006) examined how the desire for English is linked to Japanese women's motivation to learn English. Although the focus was on the Japanese participants, a large part of their motivation was the way that male native speakers of English, including male English teachers, were represented as objects of desire. Although they argue that this type of representation inevitably harms the language learners, they tend to disregard the possibility that native English speaking teachers with whom students come into contact are also harmed by these misrepresentations.

A common thread through both of these articles is that the native English speakers' attempts to learn about a different language and culture are met with disdain. Mackie (2006) admits that she tried to learn the host language and behave the way that she thought local females would, but instead of being praised for her efforts, she was rebuked for lacking appropriate linguistic and cultural knowledge. The Japanese participants in Piller & Takashi's study admit that they regarded

male native speakers of English who spoke Japanese as “sleazy Japanese speakers” (p. 75), whether they were in Japan or Australia. Although both these articles focus on how the native speaker of English is represented as desirable, the research also indicates how this desire for English negatively influences the interactions native speakers have with English language learners who hold on to a native speaker ideal.

Accordingly, my interest in researching how representations of native speakers of English influence professional identity is informed by a guiding principle that language not only exposes the power relationships in social interactions, but also influences them. Therefore I draw from critical theory to provide a theoretical framework that investigates the native speaker as concept, individual, and educator. Pennycook (1999) argues that critical theory should aim to be “a problematizing practice that questions the role of language or discourse in social life, that asks hard questions about social and cultural categories (e.g. race, gender, ethnicity) and the way they may relate to language learning, and that constantly problematizes the givens of TESOL” (p. 343). I contend that what is taken for granted is the essentializing nature of current critiques of the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy that reinforces static representations of English language teachers. In this section, I will situate myself in the current critical approaches in TESOL. I also rely on hermeneutics to remain mindful of the postmodern origins of critical theory in order to avoid modernist rationalizations. From there I will discuss how I frame the native speaker and how this informs my research project.

Concord and Conflict with Critical Approaches in TESOL

Critical theory has become a dominant discourse in TESOL that focuses on transformative pedagogical practices. In general, the aims are to recognize: the relationship between educational contexts and their broader social contexts; the transformative potential of education; and the need to remain "self-reflexive" (Pennycook, 1999). Canagarajah (2006), in his overview, "TESOL at 40", reminds us that while the professional organization is only forty years old, it is situated within the political history of English language teaching which spans over 600 years. From a critical perspective the global spread of English is neither neutral nor positive (see Phillipson, 1992; Pennycook, 1994). Accordingly, the work of educators is to remain aware of how power is distributed and identities are negotiated due to the dominance of English in the global market.

The inclusion of critical approaches in TESOL highlights the diverse interpretations of critical theories and how they are integrated into pedagogical contexts. Giroux (2009) notes that the Frankfurt school emphasized the role of critique in exposing the influence of history and social context on human experience and problematizing what is considered common sense. From their perspective, domination was no longer maintained through physical force, but from establishing consent through cultural institutions (Giroux, 2009). From this political foundation emerges a variety of interpretations of critical theory that have been interpreted and integrated in different fields. Sim and van Loon (2001) advocate a "synthetic or magpie approach" that calls for individualizing how critical theories are applied in specific contexts. Consequently, my research uses a

synthesis of critical pedagogy, critical thinking, and critical applied linguistics informed by a hermeneutic mindfulness which results in an understanding of the partiality of any interpretation and a goal of proceeding together: not in search of absolute truths, but in respect for different truths.

Reframing Critical Pedagogy

Key concepts in critical pedagogy such as ideology, hegemony, cultural capital, discourse, and the social construction of knowledge also inform English language teaching. McLaren (2009) defines ideology as "the production and representation of ideas, values, and beliefs and the manner in which they are expressed and lived out by both individuals and groups" (p. 69). Ideologies are what influence the social construction of knowledge; how we experience and construct reality is filtered through the dominant beliefs that emerge from historical and social relationships. One such ideology that dominates second language teaching is the native speaker as a model for language learning. This ideology not only influences the social construction of knowledge, but also the distribution of power by shaping discursive practices. Foucault (1972) defines discursive practices as "…a body of anonymous, historical rules, always determined in the time and space that have defined a given period, and for a given social, economic, geographical, or linguistic area…" (p. 117). These factors complicate the hegemony of the native speaker ideal because of their interplay with competing dominant values in specific educational contexts. Therefore it can not be taken for granted that the values upheld in social institutions, and the

cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991) that is bestowed on those who exemplify the dominant values always favor the native speaker.

In TESOL, the English language is critically constructed as having a hegemonic hold on the global market because of the cultural capital that it provides its speakers. The power of English is tied to the discursive practices that determine "the rules by which discourses are formed, rules that govern what can be said and what must remain unsaid, who can speak with authority, and who must listen" (McLaren, 2009, p. 72). However, there are other factors at play in English language education that diminish both the authority of the native speaker as an ideal and the rules that govern educators' actions. Changing views of how authority and racism are constructed in educational contexts complicate discussions of the inequities caused by the native speaker ideal.

Although critical pedagogy aims to eliminate inequality in the teacher/student relationship, critics argue that this is not realistic. Ellsworth (1989), in her seminal critique of critical pedagogy, argues that the notion that the teacher can or should orchestrate an empowering dialogue which reveals the extent of student oppression does not consider the limitations of the teacher's own knowing and experience. Furthermore, she argues that the desire for a democratic classroom does not make it so and actually conceals the complexity of the social relationships and identities that students and educators inhabit. Johnston (1999) reiterates these views when critiquing critical practices in the ESL classroom. He, like Ellsworth, also problematizes the language of critical pedagogy that seeks "empowerment", because it implies a teleological view of education rather than

the postmodern and poststructuralist orientation that it claims. This does not mean that critical pedagogy should be abandoned, but should always be "restively problematizing the given" (Pennycook, 1999, p. 346). In this sense, critical pedagogy requires educators to be aware of their limitations in knowing, and acknowledge their personal investment in the transformation of their students. Educators should not position themselves as being able to assume, understand, or reveal the ultimate truth of their students' oppression. The value of critical pedagogy is providing students with possibilities and the skills to analyze the consequences of access or resistance to dominant discourses. The equality comes through providing space for students to make these choices, rather than dictating what is or is not empowering.

Critical pedagogy also provides insight into how racist ideologies influence interactions in educational contexts that complicate simplified us/them binaries. The utilization of *imagined communities* to create a national identity (Anderson, 1991) in social institutions can serve to motivate or alienate individuals. Rizmi (1993) illustrates how promoting national unity alienates minorities and how cultural unity functions through common sense notions of "stick to your own kind" among majority and minority groups in an Australian elementary school. His study demonstrates the pervasiveness of racist representations and how students perpetuate and resist divisive ideologies that are communicated through family, the media, and education. Most importantly, he shows how majority and minority groups begin to recognize their racist beliefs as socially constructed, yet private, and how this is demonstrated in their language.

His critical interpretation of Wittgenstein highlights how children become initiated in the discursive practices of racism through unreflective statements. Once these values are internalized, any conflicts with these ideologies are neutralized by conditional statements that locate their individual behavior within the societal racial discourse. It can separate them from social practices by differentiating their individual behavior from dominant discursive practices. This differentiation between public opinion and private experience entails a critical recognition of the implications of dominant discourses.

The field of TESOL also uses the lens of imagined communities **(**Anderson, 1991) to discuss the inherent problems of essentialized identities. Pavlenko (2001) discusses the limitations of the imagined and the reality of being "unimagined". She focuses her discussion of how autobiographical text written by L2 users is not only a form of negotiation, but also a negation of current perceptions of the native speaker. Pavlenko and Norton's (2007) discussion of imagined communities is more explicit regarding implications for language learners. They argue that language teachers facilitate belonging into the community of English language speakers by acknowledging and broadening students' imagined communities. However, while teachers are encouraged to think about the imagined communities of their students, there is little discussion of how imagined communities influence teacher identity.

Critical Thinking is not only for Students

As the previous argument demonstrates, one of the ways to problematize and present alternatives to the dominant discourse is through engaging students in critical thinking. There is a general agreement that critical thinking is not a skill, but a political social practice (Atkinson, 1997; Gieves, 1998; Benesch, 1999). Accordingly, promoting critical thinking in the classroom is a discursive practice that has the potential to limit or liberate students. On the one hand, it can be interpreted as a social practice centered in Western ideology of what it means to be critical, thus restricting what is considered legitimate classroom participation (Atkinson, 1997). On the other hand, critical thinking can also be seen as an opportunity for students to examine and share their own views, as well as raise their awareness of other points of view (Benesch, 1999). The latter has been defined as dialogic critical thinking: "a form of dialogical discourse in which the taken-for-granted assumptions and presuppositions that lie behind argumentation are uncovered, examined, and debated" (Gieves, 1998, p. 125).

While I agree with a dialogic perspective to critical thinking because it seeks to avoid essentializing discourses, I think that the former conception is more common, especially when it comes to discussion of the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy with students and among educators. Discursive practices emerge from positioning the non-native speaker as oppressed that dictate the relationships students have to the language, their teachers, and the identities they construct as language learners. Inviting students and teachers to share their narratives includes recognition of the multiple and competing identities that we

inhabit. In classroom practice, Ellsworth (1989) notes that this caused participants "…pain, confusion, and difficulty in speaking, because of the ways in which discussions called up their multiple and contradictory social positionings" (p. 312). Although this work has been taken up with regard to student identity in ELT contexts, especially in the work of Bonny Norton (1995, 2000) the multiple subjectivities of the teacher remain largely uninvestigated, and are thus seen as unproblematic.

Therefore, educators need to engage in critical thinking about the discursive practices inherent in teaching English to incorporate the dialogic critical thinking that they expect students to engage in. Pennycook (2001) warns against critical approaches that seek to eliminate inequality by focusing on what he refers to as *inclusivity,* the struggle to incorporate diverse representations in classrooms and materials. Broadening the scope of representation does not naturally lead to a greater understanding of difference or transform inequalities. Ellsworth (1989) adds that we also need to recognize the partial nature of our narratives, in order to identify "…implications for other social movements and their struggles for self-definition" (p. 305-6). To be critical thinkers requires educators to investigate their subjectivities, partial understandings, and pedagogical practices that oversimplify their positions of power and privilege.

Critical Applied Linguistics

Pennycook (2001) argues that it is not a given that access to a language is automatically empowering. Although he was referring to the perspective of

language learners, I assert that his statement is also applicable to language teachers. As Derrida (1994) reminds us, “If the readability of a legacy were given, natural, transparent, univocal, if it did not call for and at the same time defy interpretation, we would never have anything to inherit from it” (p. 16). Accordingly, the assumption that native speakers of English are consistently in positions of power can place limitations on the representations and interactions of native speakers. From my research perspective, the task is to re-examine possibilities for restructuring, not only how we see the native speaker ideal, but also the role of native speaking English teachers. Just as images and text can perpetuate the ideal, they can also work to change it.

While descriptions of hegemony may reflect the reality of language teaching, they fail to acknowledge that as the global economy has changed so too has the perception of native speakers in the workforce. The literature from the field indicates that the tensions in TESOL reach beyond inequalities caused by a native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy. In this context, the tensions are also linked to the inequalities that accompany the global spread of English. Accordingly, being a native speaker of English cannot be understood if it is regarded as an isolated concept from the context in which it operates. Critical applied linguistics allows for problematizing how the native speaker ideal affects the experiences of native speakers of English who are teaching in foreign countries. Currently, what is considered a critical perspective of the native speaker is a post-colonial perspective that attributes the pressure that non-native English speaking teachers, administration and language learners feel towards the

English language to the presence of native English speaking teachers in foreign countries. However, what has not been fully taken into account is the impact of these experiences on individual native speakers, in terms of access to professional development and resistance to the native speaker ideal. Pennycook (2001) states that:

> A central element of critical applied linguistics, therefore, is a way of exploring language in social contexts that goes beyond mere correlations between language and society and instead raises more critical questions to do with access, power, disparity, desire, difference, and resistance. It also insists on an historical understanding of how social relations came to be the way they are. (p. 6)

He goes on to outline a framework of *engaged research* used in critical applied linguistics and which consists of four elements: difference, participation, power, and change. Using these elements of engaged research, I aim to deconstruct the essentialized image of the native speaker. In the following section, I will define these four elements while further developing them in relation to the work of Deleuze and his ideas about difference, as well as Foucault's view of power. I will point out how these ideas have influenced my vision of participation and change with regard to the experiences of native English speaking teachers.

Difference

Difference as a means of avoiding essentialism is the first element of engaged research (Pennycook, 2001). From this perspective, applied linguistics has a tendency to focus on cultural differences, which denies that "…identities

and differences are multiple, diverse, and interrelated" (p. 146). To research the experiences of native speakers within this framework means aiming to avoid the essentialism inherent in perpetuating a native speaker ideal, seeking instead to uncover power relations within specific contexts, rather than a general global context. In this sense, Deleuze's (1994) view of difference as 'difference in itself', rather than difference as deviation from a univocal representation, is useful. Viewing difference as an affirming experience rather than a negative comparison means that native speakers are not relegated to being lacklustre imitations of the native speaker ideal. Hence, researching difference does not rely on negatively comparing individuals, whether they are considered native or non-native speakers, to an ideal native speaker. As Deleuze (1994) asserts, "…every time we find ourselves confronted or bound by a limitation or an opposition, we should ask what such a situation presupposes" (p. 50). Educators should realize that both non-native speakers and native speakers are measured in relation to an ideal. For the non-native speaker, the ideal creates a sense that once labelled a 'non-native speaker' they can never match the intuitive sense of an imaginary native speaker. For the native speaker, the ideal creates the illusion of hegemony of linguistic and cultural capital which may not fit the reality of their lived experience or teaching practice.

Power

The second element of engaged research examines the power relations of a given context (Pennycook, 2001). Pennycook (2001) relies heavily on Foucault in

defining power as socially constructed with the potential to be repressive and productive. In this research context it is the domination of the native speaker ideal in society that necessitates an examination of the taken-for-granted privilege of individuals labeled as native speakers of English. Bourdieu (1991) argues:

> …it is perhaps useful to remember that, without turning power into a 'circle whose center is everywhere and nowhere', which could be to dissolve it in yet another way, we have to be able to discover it in places where it is least visible, where it is most completely misrecognized – and thus, in fact recognized. For symbolic power is that invisible power which can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it. (pp. 163-4)

This view of power complicates the examination of power relationships across the boundaries of the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy. Issues of power need to be examined from other subject positions, in order to problematize the notion that native speakers have an unambiguous authority over non-native speakers, or that non-native speakers of English have no power.

Participation

Participation is the third element of engaged research and it entails "…the inclusion of participants' interests, desires, and lives" (Pennycook, 2001, p. 161). In this sense, research conducted about native speakers must be conducted *with* native speakers. While the questionnaires administered by Medgyes (1999), Samimy and Brutt-Griffler (1999), Barratt and Kontra (2000), and Lasagabaster and Sierra (2002) provided opportunities for NESTs (native English speaking teachers) to give background information about themselves, and opportunities for students to criticize them, the studies did not provide an outlet for NESTs to

discuss factors that influenced such criticisms. Additionally, ethnographic research or critiques of NESTs focus on the experiences of neophytes and educational contexts that allow for inexperienced native speakers to be considered for employment. In researching how the native speaker ideal influences native speakers' experiences there is a need to examine not only their initial access to employment, but also their reasons for seeking it, as well as their professional development during and after they have taught overseas. Having a fuller sense of their experiences may reveal power relationships that have previously remained largely unexamined. Additionally, it may lead to a new perspective of difference that does not measure difference against idealized representations of either native speakers or language teachers.

Change

The fourth element of engaged research is change, whereby a goal is for the research to be socially transformative (Pennycook, 2001). Lather (1991) refers to this as *catalytic validity* in that the validity of the research is measured by "…the degree to which the research process re-orients, focuses and energizes participants toward knowing reality in order to transform it…" (p. 68). The narrative inquiry will allow participants to speak for themselves rather than being represented by the native speaker ideal. It also will provide them with an opportunity to see how native speakers of English have been represented in different texts and demonstrate how these various representations reveal diverse power relations that relate to their own experience. More broadly, I consider the

reader a participant who will gain a new perspective from reading about the research.

Hermeneutic Mindfulness

One limitation of critical theory is that the focus on political inequality requires locating origins of power in order to resist them. The danger is that an unintentional reduction of human experience due to being categorized as oppressed or oppressor limits possibilities rather than creating them. Although critical linguists highlight that transformation requires openness to the experience of the Other, a hermeneutic mindfulness reminds me that from the search for power can emerge a desire for power that overshadows engaging in a greater understanding of human experience. Critical theorists run the risk of creating discursive practices that solidify what it means to be victim and oppressor with few alternatives for other subject positions. The interpretation of human experience provides a way of journeying together, rather than maintaining difference and distance. Smith (1999) reminds us that:

> …the hermeneutic imagination works from a commitment to generativity and rejuvenation and to the question of how we can go on together in the midst of constraints and difficulties that constantly threaten to foreclose on the future. The aim of interpretation it could be said, is not just another interpretation but human freedom, which finds its light, identity, and dignity in those few brief moments when one's lived burdens can be shown to have their source in too limited a view of things. (p. 29)

To find these moments requires mindfulness, a "momentary stillness" (Solloway, 2001) where dominant discourses are neutralized to reveal what was formerly overlooked in the frenetic pace of critical projects that seek hasty reparation.

Mindfulness creates “interstices, tiny paths, and “spaces of slippage” that make room for creative understanding by providing moments of instability that not only heighten one’s awareness of his/her surroundings, but call forth a new relationship to them.

The Power of Narrative in Deconstructing the Dichotomy

Smith (1999) asserts that *logocentrism* or the metaphysics of pressure can only be deconstructed because deconstruction itself is an interpretive hermeneutical activity. Therefore, an essential part of investigating the tensions between the native speaker ideal, the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy and lived experience is to make meaning from individual experience. As Lingis (2007) reminds us, hearing another’s story is a sign of respect and necessary when resolving disputes. However, Bourdieu (1991) reminds us that for a story to be told and considered valid, the narrator has to have the authority to speak. To tell my story as a native speaker has no authority unless it follows the dominant discourse of how native speakers take advantage of their position. To listen is to acknowledge that critical theorists’ need to contest the privilege of the native speaker, and to acknowledge the post-colonial history of English and its role in globalization. To tell is to question the native/non-native binary by separating the ideal from the individual, to differentiate individuals from institutions, and not repeat the past.

Final Thoughts on a Theoretical Framework

Among these fractured and seemingly disjointed fragments of theory lie opportunities rather than solutions. The purpose of remaining critical is to remain aware of the history of discourses that seek to dominate and divide. Therefore, an ethical investigation of the native speaker requires acknowledgement of the role of the English language and English language teachers in colonialism and globalization. More specifically, critical pedagogy raises awareness of the tensions created by grafting discursive practices onto individual experience. The overview presented in this section takes critical pedagogy beyond emancipating victims from oppression by showing a variety of responses to maintaining or resisting dominant discourses. Critical applied linguistics provides a method for engaged research that looks to facilitate pedagogy that includes critical thinking, while hermeneutics seeks to keep the conversation going. The influence of the native speaker ideal on language policy, curriculum, and educational materials needs to include consideration of the negative effects of perpetuating the ideal on all members of the educational context. To proceed critically provides a way of problematizing these practices and presenting ways for all individuals to act and interact.

Answering the Questions: An Overview of the Research Methods

This research aims to understand how native speaker privilege unfolds in relation to native speaking English teachers by focusing on their professional identity, rather than their native speaker status. While the discrimination faced by

non-native speakers of English is not overlooked, it is not the central focus of this investigation. The central focus is on gaining a broader understanding of the place of native English speaking language educators within the field of English language teaching. In keeping with the theoretical framework of this study, I have woven together three methods which move my analysis from personal experiences to the broader context of academic discourse in order to bring to light different perspectives of the native speaker.

My main research question was: In what ways do representations of native speakers of English influence the professional identity of native English speaking teachers? The response to this question from colleagues, mentors, and peers revealed a tension between the grand narrative of native speaker privilege and the lived experience of native English speaking teachers. In order to prevent native English speaking teachers' narratives from being lost in the margins of a grand narrative of privilege I saw a need to articulate how representations of native speakers translate into lived experience. Therefore, to answer my main question I found it necessary to examine the following sub-questions:

1. What is the experience of becoming a native speaking English teacher?

2. How is the concept of the native speaker understood in different texts?

3. How are native speaking English teachers represented in different texts?

While the first question can be answered using narrative inquiry, the latter two questions required analysis of the discourse in the field of English language teaching. The second question was answered using a corpus analysis to identify

the different definitions of ‘native speaker’ that colour lived experience. The last question is a critical discourse analysis of academic literature that indicates how these definitions function in the discourse of TESOL.

What follows is a brief overview of how the research was conducted. The first question explores the development of professional identity using narrative inquiry. The intent is to understand how divergent representations of language teachers influence their participation in a community of English language teachers. The narratives of three native speaking English teachers illuminate how being categorized as a native speaker can influence construction of a professional identity and, thus, approaches to professional development. The threads that connect these three narratives are how these ELT professionals negotiate where representations of native speakers converge and conflict with their professional goals and personal experience. Clandinin and Connelly (1999) use the narrative frames of *sacred stories, secret lived stories,* and *cover stories* to highlight how teachers negotiate between what they are told, what they experience, and what they tell in order to protect their “stories to live by” and shape a professional identity that is accepted by a given community. The focus on the personal experiences of the participants serves as a reminder that the dominant discourse does not represent all lived experiences.

The aim of asking the second question is to explore multiple understandings of the term “native speaker” to see if the way the term is used varies across genres, languages, and social contexts. Three corpora were used to determine how ‘native speaker’ is defined in a general corpus and two corpora

that represent the academic discourse in TESOL. Corpus analysis allows for *all* definitions to be uncovered, rather than trying to be definitive. This analysis not only highlights the difference between general and academic use, but also emphasizes the dilemmas inherent to definitions.

Lastly, the legitimacy of any narrative is also determined by its authority, in other words, how closely it follows the dominant discourse. The privileged status of native speakers in academic discourse diminishes the legitimacy of lived experiences where special status has negative consequences. In order to better understand how sacred stories (the dominant discourse) represent native speakers as language educators, six academic articles from *TESOL Quarterly* and *The ELT Journal* were analyzed using critical discourse analysis to highlight the dominant representations of native speakers of English in the field of ELT. The critical discourse analysis focused on the roles allocated to native speakers in academic discourse by authors who are researchers, administrators, and peers. As tension between the sacred story of privilege and the secret story of isolation is revealed the restrictions placed on professional identity and legitimate participation can be better understood. The remainder of this chapter discusses in more detail the different methodologies that I employed, followed by a description of data collection and how the three methods work together.

Narrative Inquiry

The first method of data collection that I draw upon in my research is narrative inquiry. Narratives are used throughout my research, as seen in chapter one in my personal narrative of coming to the research, and in chapter four where

I add my professional narrative to the narratives of Eric and Liz, the research participants. A common thread in discussions about narratives is how these stories bring forth the complexities and continuities of lived experience (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Ellis & Bochner, 2000; Lingis, 2007; Polkinghorne, 1988). As such these narratives provide a link between the narratives of individual native English speaking teachers and the social, political and economic impact of the global spread of English.

Narrative inquiry requires collaboration between researcher and participants in recalling past events and arranging them into a coherent whole. Polkinghorne (1988) uses the term *emplotment* to describe how events from narratives are constructed around a theme to create a focal point that still allows for fluidity of interpretation. Similarly, Clandinin & Connelly (2000) describe a 'three-dimensional inquiry space' that calls upon participants to be constantly cognizant of how events are interpreted through the personal and social, as well as, time and space. The goal is not to come to an absolute truth, but a narrative one. Bochner (2000) describes the narrative truth as seeking to "… keep the past alive in the present. Stories show us that the meanings and significance of the past are incomplete, tentative, and revisable according to contingencies of our present life circumstances, the present from which we narrate" (p. 745). Eric, Liz, and I present our narratives as a means of negotiating our own roles as English language teachers through reflecting on what brought us to become the professionals we are today.

Accordingly, narrative inquiry leads to questions about voice in terms of power and authority. Lingis (2007) reminds us that “Individuals speak a common language, but the common language exists only in engendering individual voices.” (p. 111). The power of voice in narrative is the invitation it extends to the research participants, reader, and researcher to actively participate in interpreting participants’ stories (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Ellis & Bochner, 2000). By openly addressing the subjectivity in each participant’s lived experience the uncertainties of established categories are revealed, presenting opportunities to critique and transform current perceptions of native speakers of English. However, for this particular research to have voice in terms of authority, the reader has to recognize that the privilege assigned to native speakers of English is different from being a native speaker of English. Thus, the lack of narrative experience from native English speaking teachers and the lack of narrative inquiry in the field of ELT necessitate the use of empirical methods to give the participants’ voices more authority.

Corpus Analysis

Both corpus analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) adhere to the same theory of language where language not only describes, but influences experience. However, critics of CDA argue that researchers’ claims of intertextuality are not realized in the data set because of the small amount of text being analysed (Widdowson, 2004, Stubbs, 1996). In response to these critiques I use corpus analysis to analyze a larger amount of text and to discern multiple

usages of ‘native speaker’. The central tenet of corpus linguistics is that “abstractions are not acceptable if they are not capable of extraction directly from, and corroborated by, linguistic facts.” (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001, p. 160). Data such as collocation, semantic prosody, and mutual information scores provide empirical rather than intuitive evidence of how a word or phrase is commonly understood. The concept of collocation put forward by Firth (1932, 1957) is a major tenet of corpus analysis. Collocation is analyzed by examining co-occurrences of words in close proximity to the key word. One use of collocation is to determine the semantic prosody which indicates if the key word is used positively or negatively. By investigating the positive or negative connotations of collocates we gain a deeper understanding of the common usage of the key word. The mutual information score is also derived from collocation where a mathematical equation is used to measure how unique the relationship is between two words. For example, prepositions are usually among the most frequent collocations for any noun, but other nouns may co-occur with less frequency, but are more likely to have a stronger relationship. The strength of relationships between words that are revealed through empirical measures, such as mutual information scores is not in opposition to the qualitative data from the narratives. On the contrary, the use of these measurements provides additional evidence of different discourses about the native speaker.

However, since the research is not about finding the dominant discourse, but alternative discourses, it is necessary to further focus the analysis. Corpus linguistics can be classified into two main streams: corpus based analysis and

corpus driven analysis. The goal of corpus based analysis is to derive a general rule while corpus driven analysis is aimed at describing language without exclusion. This type of analysis "allows generalisations to be made without obscuring for a moment the instances that for one reason or another do not follow the generalisation" (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001, p. 162). This coincides with Sinclair's (2003) analysis of corpora and provides the context for critical discourse analysis. Since corpus linguists would argue that the more abstract an analysis becomes the less it can be classified as corpus analysis there is a need to move from the large amount of decontextualized material that is analyzed in the corpora to a deeper analysis of more specific examples.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

In conceiving an early model of CDA, Fairclough (1989) outlined three stages of analysis: description, explanation, and interpretation, which involve a three-dimensional framework that analyses language texts, discourse practices, and sociocultural practices. This type of analysis situates text within orders of discourse to examine the way that the language reveals and maintains ideologies and power structures. Each stage provides for a different analysis of the vocabulary, grammar and textual structures used within a text. More recently, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) have provided a framework based on Bhaskar's (1986) 'explanatory critique', which has four stages: 1) identifying the problem; 2) what obstacles emerge from the problem; 3) how the problem functions; and 4) possible ways of overcoming the obstacles. This provides a general framework for my research, while van Leeuwen's (1996) inventory of

representations of social actors provides more explicit direction for the discourse analysis.

Chaouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) argue that a problem can be a "misrepresentation" or an "unmet need" (p. 33). In my study I identify the problem as how the native speaker ideal creates misrepresentations of native speaking English teachers that can block access to professional development needs. Van Leeuwen (1996) uses CDA to examine the question:

> …how are social practices transformed into discourse about social practices – and this both in the sense of what means we have for doing so, and in the sense of how we actually do it in specific institutional contexts which have specific relations with the social practices of which they produce representations. (p. 35)

Accordingly, I locate the native speaker through the analysis of academic journal articles, and narratives using the eight categories of representation presented by van Leeuwen (1996) to analyse the data. Briefly, these categories are: 1) exclusion, 2) role allocation, 3) genericisation and specification, 4) assimilation, 5) association and dissociation, 6) indetermination and differentiation, 7) nomination and categorisation, and 8) functionalisation and identification. The first four categories (exclusion, role allocation, genericisation and specification, and assimilation) use linguistic features such as nominalisation, passive voice, pre- and post-modification to determine the degree to which social actors are visible, active, and individualised in text. The next three categories (association and dissociation, indetermination and differentiation, nomination and categorisation) analyse how and to what extent social actors are represented as members of a group or associated with other groups. The last category,

functionalisation and identification examines whether social actors are represented by what they do, for example a teacher, or by what they are, such as a native speaker.

While CDA has been criticized for lacking a standardised method, from my perspective, the models set out by Fairclough (1989), Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), and van Leeuwen (1996) are not disparate methods. Rather, they represent refinements in the method. The first phase of Fairclough's (1989) early model is description which has similar aims to Chouliaraki & Fairclough's (1999) stage of identifying the problem. During this process, the formal features of a text are analysed to describe the experiential, relational, and expressive values. Fairclough (1989) argues that grammar codes social relationships by situating processes and participants. Describing the experiential value entails describing how vocabulary, grammar, and textual structures are used to illustrate the text producers' knowledge and beliefs about the world. The relational value consists of the social relations that follow from this knowledge and the expressive value reveals how these relations are categorised. These three values are not discrete categories, but aid in focussing the analysis to specific ways language is used. Since the main intent of this research is to examine the impact of the native speaker ideology on perceptions about native speakers I will focus my description around representations of the native speaker using van Leeuwen's (1996) inventory of representations of social actors.

While the description process focuses on analyzing the text producer's perspective, the second stage of analysis, interpretation, focuses on analysing the

cues given by the text producer that activate 'interpretive procedures' in the interpreter. The interpretation stage looks at "…discourse processes and their dependence on background assumptions" (Fairclough, p. 140, 1989) The interpretation will focus more specifically on what members' resources the text producers are drawing from and how they differ from each other. This interpretive process is linked to what Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) describe as identification of the obstacles that emerge from the problem and how they function. While the description process identifies what categories of representation (van Leeuwen, 1996) are most commonly used, this stage of data analysis will examine the position of native speakers that emerges from these representations.

The final process of Fairclough's (1989) CDA is 'explanation' which looks at "…the relationship of discourse processes to struggle and to power relations" (p. 141). An aim of my research is to re-evaluate how native speakers of English are represented in ELT in order to further deconstruct the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy. This stage of analysis seeks to move beyond the text to explaining the social implications of how native speakers are represented produce discourses that affect their professional identity**.** However, since only one of these texts investigates the experience of native English speaking educators it is necessary to include narrative data that gives a better understanding of lived experience.

Gathering Data

The data collection occurred in four phases: 1) collection and analysis of professional narratives and follow-up interviews; 2) analysis of a general corpus; 3) creation and analysis of two specialized corpora; and 4) selection and analysis of articles from the corpora.

The life narratives provide an opportunity for the research participants to voice their own experiences that act as a foundation for further discussion in the interviews. The participants were two colleagues with whom I had developed personal relationships and whom I asked to volunteer to participate in the research. As a purposeful sample it is an 'intensity sampling' (Patton, 1990) because the sample provides "…excellent or rich examples of the phenomenon of interest, but not unusual cases" (p. 171). The participants both had experience teaching English in a foreign context at the beginning of their teaching careers and had chosen to continue their formal education and language teaching career. The reason for selecting participants who had established themselves as English language teachers was to highlight the possibilities that young, inexperienced native speakers overseas have in the TESOL field. It also provided insight into a reflective collection of formal and informal professional development over an extended time. Analysis of the interviews allowed me to see how the participants' professional identities had evolved, what areas they saw as needing development, and how they gained access to, or were blocked from, the development they saw themselves needing.

Before engaging in data collection, ethics approval was granted by the University of Alberta to conduct research with the participants in accordance with the Faculties of Education, Extension and Augustana Research Ethics Board (EEA REB). Participants were given an information sheet and consent form, in addition to an oral explanation of the research and discussion of issues regarding anonymity. Clandinin and Connelly (2000) noted that as participants negotiate their multiple roles as educators, and coresearchers, tension arises from the participants desire to remain true to their stories without alienating themselves from their professional community. Along these lines, both participants expressed interest in using their real names, but the final decision was to use pseudonyms in this dissertation.

Initial narratives were elicited by an e-mail that reiterated the information in the consent form, and which asked participants to write a narrative about their careers as English language teachers. The prompt for the narratives stated: "Please take time to reflect on your career as an English language teacher and experiences that you felt influenced your professional development." I provided them with this prompt for a written narrative to allow them time to reflect on their experiences and create texts that would act as a foundation for further discussion and reflection.

The reflective nature of the collection and analysis of data required a recursive process of reading the narrative texts to identify critical moments in individual narratives and themes among the narratives. This process entailed creating what Clandinin and Connelly (2000) refer to as *research texts* from

interim texts and narrative texts. The interim texts are the questions, discussions, and interpretations that emerge from reading the narrative texts, while the research texts are the integration of the data and interpretation that is meant to be shared through publication. The process I used to move from data collection to research text follows the eight steps of interpretive analysis outlined by Hatch (2002). The first step is to "read the data for a sense of the whole" (p. 181) followed by steps two to four which require the researcher to read and record his/her impressions of the data to identify significant examples and interpretations. Step five is to ensure that the interpretations are valid representations of the research. The three last steps are writing the research texts, reviewing the texts with the participants and making revisions.

Since the collection and analysis process were facilitated by the participants the steps mentioned above included written and oral communication with them throughout the process. First, the narratives were read to gain insight into the overarching story of the participants' professional development. Then the narratives were reread to identify critical events that contributed to the formation of the participants' professional identity and development. After these moments were identified, I sent the participants a set of questions, specific to their stories, asking them for elaboration on certain events. The answers to the questions were integrated into the original text and coded to identify the original narrative from elaborations. Individual follow-up telephone interviews were conducted with each participant to further discuss themes that emerged from their narratives. The interviews were conversational in style and field notes were taken. After reading

these notes, participants were sent another set of questions specific to their interview responses about the significance of certain events in developing their professional identity. In particular, their professional narratives focussed on how these research participants associated or dissociated themselves from the native speaker ideal, their perceptions of how they were represented in the workplace, and how this influenced their professional identity. Lastly, the participants' were sent drafts of the research texts and asked to comment on the accuracy and validity of the chosen texts and the interpretations. The participants were satisfied with how their narratives were interpreted and added minor factual details about events in their narratives.

The corpus analysis began with an analysis of The Brigham Young University **Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)**[4], a free on-line corpus that annually adds 20 million words from spoken, fiction, magazine, newspaper and academic texts. Analysis of this corpus demonstrated the frequency and use of the term native speaker. Second, I created two corpora consisting of academic journal articles. The first specialized corpus consists of 90 texts taken from the *ELT Journal* from 2006-2008. The *TESOL Quarterly* corpus consists of 125 texts of 1,014,845 tokens (running words) taken from *TESOL Quarterly* from 2002-2006. This probability sampling allowed for generalisation of when and under what conditions 'native speaker' appears in academic text. The

[4] Davies, M. (2008-) The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA): 360 million words, 1990-present. Available online at http://www.americancorpus.org.

articles were restricted to those dealing specifically with native-speaking teachers of English, non-native speaking English teachers of English, and/or the native speaker ideal.

In order to identify how text producers link and separate different representations of native speakers, a critical discourse analysis entailed selecting a sample from the specialized corpora and applying van Leeuwen's (1996) network of role allocation. As noted by Patton (1990), "The logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth" (p.169). The intention of conducting a critical discourse analysis of journal articles was to describe how native speaking English teachers are represented in literature read by a variety of ELT professionals. Using this variety of texts is valuable because it not only illuminates presuppositions about native speakers in the orders of discourse in each genre, but also reveals intertextual congruencies and dissonance between texts.

The Relationships within the Research

In recognizing that no method can provide an ultimate truth I rely on Derrida's (1978) interpretation of Levi Strauss's *bricolage* to reveal the limitations of each method. Derrida (1978) argues that "once the limit of the nature/culture opposition makes itself felt, one might want to question systematically and rigorously the history of these concepts" (p. 284). The combination of the three methods situates the current discussions of the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy. The narrative shows how native speakers

of English constructed their identities when they were hired as native speakers. The corpus analysis identifies how the native speaker is socially constructed across discourses, which illuminates the representations of 'native speaker' that have become dominant in TESOL. The critical discourse analysis clarifies how these definitions lead to discursive practices, which also provides insight into the lived experiences that were shared in the narratives.

Accordingly, *bricolage* supports the theoretical underpinnings of critical approaches in TESOL is its "critical search for a new status of discourse" (Derrida, 1978, p. 286). Critique requires providing new perspectives that are considered legitimate, but do not legitimate hegemonic discourses. Similarly, the degree to which research is perceived as being situated in the current discourse corresponds to its transformative potential. The researcher as *bricoleur* confronts the myth of solutions in favour of promoting a continuous dialogue. Derrida (1978) claims "There is no real end to methodological analysis, no hidden unity to be grasped once the breaking-down process has been completed" (p. 287). Therefore the research methods utilized do not seek new definitions of the native speaker, nor do they claim to deconstruct the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy. The aim of this research is to come to new understandings of what it means to be a native English speaking educator, given the implications of the historical spread of English. It also seeks to investigate the implications of critical approaches that maintain the binary opposition of the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy.

First, the narratives from three native English speaking language teachers set the stage by highlighting how individual experiences were influenced by being categorized as native speakers of English. “The aim of the study of narrative meaning is to make explicit the operations that produce its particular kind of meaning, and to draw out the implications this meaning has for understanding human existence” (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 6). Therefore, the narratives demonstrate how the different definitions of the native speaker manifest in social practices that influence access to professional development and how the participants constructed their professional identities. Then, the corpus analysis brought together fragments of texts that analyzed the use of ‘native speaker’ by separating it from the structural organization of the text. By looking at only the lines where the native speaker is found, a greater number of texts can be analysed to recognize patterns, a process Sinclair (2003) refers to as *degeneralisation*. Although this type of analysis provided insight into the frequency, collocations, and semantic prosody of the native speaker, this quick glance did not allow for interpretation. Thus, critical discourse analysis (CDA) was used to expose and interpret the ideological framing of the native speaker. In this analysis, the discursive practices found in a few concordance lines were further illuminated by analyzing specific articles from the corpus. These different perspectives provide a greater understanding of the social and political context where native English speakers work and live.

CHAPTER 4: BECOMING AN ENGLISH TEACHER

In this chapter the professional journeys of native English speaking educators are explored in order to come to an understanding of what it means to be a native speaker in English language education. Narrative inquiry is used to provide insight into the lived experiences of native English speaking language educators. As Pavlenko (2002) notes, "there is no doubt that recent developments that legitimize personal narratives are extremely important for the TESOL field, as they allow for both teachers' and learners' voices to be heard on par with those of the researchers." (p. 213). These narratives follow Eric, Liz, and myself as we learn to negotiate our identities, teach English, and research our professional histories.

To map these journeys, I rely heavily on Clandinin & Connelly's (2000) framework for narrative inquiry. As they note: "We take for granted that people, at any point in time, are in a process of personal change and that from an educational point of view, it is important to be able to narrate the person in terms of the process" (p. 30). Accordingly, the narratives explore how the teachers see themselves as developing into professionals over time, through their relationships and understandings of themselves, and from context to context. Narrative inquiry also reveals the challenge of negotiating who we want to be in light of who we are expected to be for our students, colleagues, and administrators. In this sense, narratives of professional identity and development also call forth sacred, cover, and secret stories (Connelly & Clandinin, 1999). The *sacred stories* are told in academic journals, curriculum guides, and policy papers. These are the stories of

how it is, and how it should be according to acknowledged experts. These stories are also perpetuated by *cover stories*: the stories teachers tell that mediate the lived experience of the classroom and the dominant professional discourse. These are the surface retellings of classroom experience that portray the teller as a competent, confident, and credible professional; the stories that make classroom practices compatible with what should be according to the sacred stories. The last type of story is the one that is the hardest to tell, because in the retelling is the uncovering of the uncertainty, the vulnerability, and at times the incredulous moments that deeply influence practice, but usually remain hidden. These are the stories behind formal evaluations. These are the stories that reveal the complexity of finding a professional identity that guides professional development.

These reflective moments are not intended to present isolated facts, but to weave together facets of interaction that reveal who the participants are and who they become. To be able to live the secret stories in light of sacred stories is what Connelly & Clandinin (1999) refer to as "stories to live by". Calling on our stories to live by involves reflective work that is an articulation of our professional identity. It requires navigating through the milieu of memory and experience to arrive at an understanding of oneself that can be shared with others. It requires a rending of sacred stories and cover stories that expose secret stories to reveal not only vulnerability, but also malleability.

Accordingly, narrative explorations also move through time, space, and personal and social interaction in what Clandinin and Connelly (2004) refer to as the *three-dimensional narrative inquiry space.* To listen to the narratives not only

requires sensitivity to the interaction between the personal and social, but also the limitations placed on human interaction by a particular time and space. To understand the contexts where these educators found themselves, one has to remember life in the 1990s before widespread use of the Internet: when searching for jobs was done through newspapers and word of mouth; before instant, low-cost communication such as Skype and e-mail; before people could readily share pictures and personal experiences with relative strangers via blogs and social networks. Globalization was more of a theory than a reality: the world economy was still perceived on national levels; the imagined community of Korea was influenced by exposure to the television show MASH; and the notion of university graduates travelling to work in a foreign country after graduation was relatively unknown and exoticised. The lack of instant communication meant living in a world where there were no instant solutions or access to remote understandings. Personal experiences were still personal and negative experiences were still secret. This is the time and place where the participants' journeys begin.

Crossing Paths: Meeting the Participants

The collection of data started with my asking Liz and Eric for narratives about their teaching experiences before they were the ELT professionals that I know them as now. At the time of data collection, both of them had graduate degrees and international teaching experience at the university level. Our common bond was the experience of teaching in South Korea and Japan starting in the mid to late 1990s. After reading their written narratives I responded with reflections of

my own and I have kept up a continuous written dialogue with both of them through e-mail and face to face conversations. The narratives presented here focus on the journeys we took as individuals, both literally and figuratively, and the experiences that we had in common. Initially, we went backwards to reflect on our rationales for teaching abroad, and then our experiences while we were there that made us decide to continue our professional development.

In presenting our stories, the boundaries between 'I' as researcher and 'I' as research participant are blurred. While this blurring of boundaries is most evident in my narrative, it is also present in the narratives of Eric and Liz. Narrative inquiry not only seeks to reveal multiple perspectives about a specific phenomena; it also seeks to redefine the relationships between researcher and research participant (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Part of the process of this narrative inquiry was to create continuity within and between our stories, while recognizing the partiality of each narrative. Writing about the past from the present where we now stand called on each of us to become researchers in order to re-search our pasts and communicate, in a meaningful way, how we saw our pasts unfolding. While we are represented by name as a singular identity - Eric, Liz, Yvonne – each of us also represents a multitude of subject positions. Elbow (1994) reminds us that it is impossible to fully articulate oneself in words, and that a sense of resonant voice assimilates multiple subject positions so that the text is richer than the words on the page. Therefore, it is important to remember that the 'I' projects a resonant voice that adds dimension, rather than confusion to the text.

I met Liz at an international conference and through a series of scheduled social activities: breakfasts, lunches, dinners, and wine tasting, we discovered that we had similar beginnings as English language teachers in Seoul, South Korea. As we went through names and places trying to figure out whether we had met before, I remember that it felt good to meet someone else who had such humble beginnings and who was now on an academic career path. At that time, she was finishing her PhD and I was starting mine. We exchanged e-mails and promised to keep in touch. She kept her promise and I asked her to engage in narrative inquiry with me about our experiences - the beginning of my doctoral research.

I met Eric three years later in Edmonton while he was finishing his M.Ed. and teaching ESL. His desire to connect with people was obvious in his interaction with colleagues and students. Being a new teacher in this context, he often asked for guidance and whenever he prepared resources that he had used successfully in his class, he was more than willing to share. I was glad to have him as a colleague because he was such a positive, caring force. However, he did not want to stay. He had taught in Japan as I had, but unlike me, he had hopes of returning there to teach. His wanderlust intrigued me and I invited him to share his narrative as an ELT professional.

Their agreement to contribute to my research created an opportunity sample. At first glance they both fit the privileged native speaker category. Both participants fall into the native English speaker categories linguistically and visually. Both of them were born in North America and have graduate degrees. They are articulate, well-educated, youthful, vibrant, and white. According to Se-

ri, one of the teachers in Simon-Maeda's (2004) research, they have an advantage because "… White Caucasian, with blonde hair, blue eyes is the symbol of internationalization." (p. 421). According to academic literature (Holliday, 2006; Kubota & Lin, 2006; Willinsky, 1998) they are beneficiaries of native speaker privilege. Clandinin and Connelly (2004) remind us that "…a person is a member of a race, a class, a gender, and may be said to have varying degrees of power in any situation. "Part of the tension for a narrative inquirer is to acknowledge these truths while holding to a different research agenda" (p. 45). My research agenda is to illuminate how professional identity evolves through formal and informal professional development, and the ways in which identification as native speakers comes into play, both positively and negatively.

Finding Futures in our Past: The Naïve Speakers' Journeys Begin

The Oxford English dictionary (on-line) defines naïve as "Originally: natural and unaffected; artless; innocent. Later also: showing a lack of experience, judgment, or wisdom; credulous, gullible". None of us had made a conscious decision to become English language educators, but in the retelling it seemed inevitable. The start of the participants' professional journeys began with naïve decisions that later reveal the complexity of native speaker identity and privilege. Eric starts his narrative with these words:

English teaching…Partly, it evolved naturally, partly it evolved by design. Where the fates intervened and our conscious decisions started is blurry, even in retrospect. What does become clear is that who we are as language teachers is influenced by how we came to it. Eric's narrative starts with his journey out of

monolingualism as he recalls his first high school language exchange that eventually led to graduating from university with a German/ French double minor. It is in this reflective pause, in the yet to be considered, that the personal and professional emerge and merge. As he recounts his language learning experiences he recognizes how his attitudes towards language learning influence how he teaches.

> Admittedly, I was a naïve, Anglo-centric Canadian… Thus, a year in Sweden, experiencing firsthand how a pragmatic, seemingly apolitical approach to language learning was far superior to our own, politically driven language agenda, lead me to the conclusion that I was right to feel ashamed of my lack of French ability.
> I had experienced a few approaches to language instruction [sic]…my Swedish and French instructors. However, I had yet to even consider a future career, let alone one as an English teacher.

What is also interesting is the admission of naiveté as an "Anglo-centric Canadian" as an acknowledgement that he has moved beyond that. By being immersed in another culture and learning two other languages, he broke free from the assumptions that he had made about being an English speaker and the value of language learning.

This naiveté resurfaces in Liz's narrative as well as my own and I recall the first time I presented Liz's narrative. I called it "From naïve speaker to ELT professional" (Ellis, 2005) to emphasize the personal and professional growth throughout her career. I received this e-mail response from one of the conference organizers.

> Hello
> apparently you typed in your AILA presentation title as 'naive speaker'--I assume you meant 'native speaker'? Can you please confirm ASAP as we are in
> proofreading now.

(May 10, 2005)

This dual identification of naïve and native had yet to be considered, or had it? In some aspects it had. In surveys (Barratt & Kontra, 2000; Medgyes, 1994; Samimy & Brutt-Griffler,1999a) about the perceptions students and non-native English speakers had of native English speaking teachers, the results showed that they were perceived to be lacking pedagogically and intuitively compared to their non-native counterparts. What is not mentioned is how to get past that lack of experience and knowledge, which happened in our narratives. This excerpt is from the notes Liz and I created after writing our narratives and reading some of the literature (e.g. Braine, 1999; Medgyes, 1994; Seidlhofer, 1999).

> I think it is important that we address some of these so-called 'privileges'. Perhaps it is the case, that the bias is based less on native-speakerness than on age, gender, vulnerability, gullibleness etc. I still have to think about how these experiences led to an academic career.

My naiveté was fuelled by the realization that I was a visible minority. I wanted to be an inner city, elementary school teacher. My hero was Steve Ramsankar, a principal of an inner city school. He was an islander, like my father, and my father followed his career with interest. But as my university education drew to a close, I felt that I would never get a teaching position. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, although my practicum went well, a teacher's comment that I was too "exotic" to ever become a teacher solidified my need to look for other options. I had never thought of myself as being a visible minority before. I remember that I worked for University parking services during my undergraduate degree and on one of the forms I had to fill out I had to check off if I belonged in the visible minority

category. Strangely, I was unsure whether I was part of the visible minority category or not, so I asked my supervisor and he said “no, you were born in Canada”. I laugh about it now, but back then I was very confused about where I fit in, and that exotic comment made me realize that I was a minority and I felt that I definitely would not be hired. Here is the rationale I shared with Liz about why I left.

> It had been drilled into us throughout university that public education was constantly suffering from cutbacks, which meant no jobs for neophytes. I would go and experience life. I would make some money to pay off my student loan. I would gain valuable life experience that would make me an asset to any Canadian classroom.

Liz also felt that her options were limited. Like me, she felt the financial burden that faced much of generation X: educated, in debt, with limited job opportunities.

> In January of 1995 I finished a Bachelor in English a little earlier than I’d expected to. I was 23 years old. Suddenly I didn’t need to study any more and had to look for a job. About time pressure: I think I really felt like I had to get a job. I had to do something. First of all, there’s only a 6 month’s grace period before loan payments start kicking in. Secondly, I think I felt my family really expected something from me. I felt I had to do something in order to prove that my degree was worth something.

Where each of us locates the beginning of our careers signals the end of our innocence through the realization of our own limitations. Where each of locates the beginning of our careers also signals a call to action that will take us into unfamiliar and sometimes hostile territory**.**

Becoming an English Teacher

Being able to teach English overseas is one of the benefits of being a native speaker of English. And one of the key destinations is Japan via the JET (Japanese Exchange and Teaching) program. As discussed in chapter one, over

90% of the participants in this program are ALTs (assistant language teachers), but that does not mean that 90% of native English speakers teaching English overseas are in the JET program. As this one blogger so crudely puts it:

> Look, people. It's really very simple. Your degrees in basket-weaving from the community college or State U didn't amount to shit and then you heard you could make lots of money teaching Engrish in Asia. That sounded a lot better than Mom's basement and a career as a french fry technician at Burger Joint. Japan is a lot pickier about what kinds of barbarians it lets in (the JET program only wants the finest, high quality barbarians) so you ended up in Korea. Neither you nor Korea were the first pick for each other, a match made in heaven. You're migrant workers. You're First World economic refugees.
>
> Posted by Netizen Kim on February 5, 2009 in response to an interview with Professor Benjamin Wagner about the legality of requiring E-2 Visa holders (Foreign language teachers) to submit criminal records, and the results of HIV and drug tests to work in South Korea. The Marmot's Hole- Korea… in Blog format http://www.rjkoehler.com/2009/02/04/atek-interview-with-prof-benjamin-wagner/#footnote_1_10406

Although this blog has negative stereotypes it does speak to the participants' narratives because it reveals perceptions about the worth of a university education being correlated to economic prosperity and how teaching English overseas is perceived as an economic lifeboat rather than a life choice. As our journey continues, each one of us considers the JET program with different results. Eric's experience leads to an ALT position, while Liz applies to the program and is rejected, and I consider it, but never apply.

The Importance of being Eric

Before being accepted to the JET program, Eric had experience working with students who wanted to learn English and as he notes, it is from these experiences that he begins to identify teaching English as a possibility. He worked

three summers as an "international tour coordinator" who organized extra-curricular activities for students who had come to Canada during the summer to learn English.

> My UBC experience also introduced me to a number of international teaching opportunities, among which the JET program stood out. It eventually took me to Japan as a high school, English conversation teacher.
>
> Now I was beginning to think about work as an English teacher. Not for a career, but as a job that I might be doing for a while. Also, the notion that I could travel the world and make a successful go of it as an English expert had crept into my mind. No long term plans at this point but I was open to the idea of any future career possibility. Also, I had worked with children continuously throughout my youth and university years so the idea of teaching kids English sounded fun and simple enough. As well, because of my own language learning success I felt that I could transfer that into language teaching without much trouble.
>
> While at UBC I had been working summers at the University College of the Fraser Valley. My job was as an international tour coordinator. My duties during the 3 summers were primarily coordinating the activities and outings part of the program. However, I did oftentimes find myself working with the English instructors to plan language activities as a complimentary component of the non-classroom activities. This led to periodic participation in the classroom as instructor support. Foreshadowing aside, this was a small taste of what was to come.

Although he did not formally teach English, he did cooperate with the English instructors, which was his introduction to classroom language teaching and the beginning of his informal professional development as a language teacher. He notes that "This led to periodic participation in the classroom as instructor support." His initiative did not go unnoticed and after his third summer one of the high schools that was a part of the Canadian summer program offered him a job in Japan as an English conversation teacher.

> During my third and final summer at UCFV I worked with Koyo High School from Omura City, Nagasaki, Japan. The relationship was so

> successful that they ultimately hired me to work as an English conversation teacher at their school.

Eric's narrative highlights how as his experience increases, so does his participation in the classroom. As his experience increases he has moved from language student, to informally assisting language teachers, to a position where he is an assistant language teacher responsible for teaching conversation.

Liz's Letdown

Eric's success at entering the JET program contrasts with Liz's narrative where she had applied to the JET program and was rejected.

> Every week I looked in the papers for jobs as a teacher, editor, or something to do with English. Nothing ever panned out. At some point I applied for the JET program in Japan, which I was confident I'd get. Every week there was an advertisement looking for teachers in Korea...Every week I ignored it. When JET turned me down, I started to consider applying. They rejected me flat out. That was around the time that JET started getting more popular and competitive; they actually required people to have teaching experience. I was so confident that I'd be accepted that it really shocked me when I didn't. I probably had already told people that I was going to Japan. I was living at home, I had no health insurance, my car was breaking down and I wasn't doing what I had wanted to do.

She realizes that, contrary to her assumption, evidence of teaching experience was required to be accepted by the JET program. Her response reflects a transition in the global market with regards to English language teaching (ELT). It was no longer enough to be a native speaker, even one with a degree, to be considered for reputable English language teaching positions. Her response also reflects a transition from confidence spurred by the taken-for-granted status of the native speaker in ELT to the concerns of a recent university graduate seeking stability.

> My mother was always worried about how I was going to make money—she wanted me to go into science or something more safe and lucrative… I got a BA in English and a Minor in German. My plan was to teach English and maybe someday do an MA in applied linguistics…I worked as a secretary and data entry clerk for several months in various companies. I was happy not to be studying anymore, but I was not doing what I went to college to do... Suddenly I thought that Korea might not be so bad. We had family friends from Korea and had spent a lot of time with them over the years. I realized that I knew more about the country than other Asian countries. Moreover, I got a job offer on the island of Che-ju-do. I had never heard of it before, but the encyclopaedia said it was the "Hawaii of the Orient". I thought that an island paradise sounded good, so I agreed to take the position…

Although Korea was not her first choice, upon reflection she realized that she did have some familiarity with Korean culture via her family friends, and also had experience living and working overseas because she went to Europe after high school. She also reflects back on how travelling through Europe gave her the opportunity to meet people who had travelled to other countries, which made her realize how she had a limited understanding of the world. As she writes in her narrative:

> While we were there, we met a few people who were traveling around the world—some of them overland—through Iran, Pakistan, India, Indonesia, Thailand, etc. I remember being really impressed with this idea. I think that was when I realized that I didn't know much about the world and that I definitely wanted to get to know another continent... So when I got to Korea, I had already traveled a lot, was independent and had lived abroad on my own; I had some interest in Asia and wanted to be a teacher.

Her narrative also reveals her primary desire to teach and a secondary desire to be in Asia. In this desire are a commitment and a responsibility to what she wants to become – a teacher. In the words of Alfonso Lingis (2007), "The power to fix a word in ourselves, to fix ourselves with a word makes us responsible, able to answer for what we say and do" (p. 116). The desire to be identified as a teacher

is different than wanting to teach; a subtle difference, but one that changes how she sees herself and thus, reacts to situations where others disrupt or advance her *story to live by*.

Yvonne's Escape from Minimum Wage

My own involvement with the JET program came many years later when I was involved with an in-service teacher education program that brought me into contact with ALTs (assistant language teachers) from the JET program. My involvement with them and the narratives of my participants caused me to reflect on why I never even applied for the JET program. I had the degree, the teaching experience, and the desire. My parents took me to Japan when I was a little girl which was an unforgettable experience. Two events stay with me: first the kindness of the taxi driver who showed us the sites and the toy he gave me and second, how expensive fruit was. I can remember ordering a fruit salad at the hotel and my dad telling me I better eat every single piece because it was so expensive. My sense of how expensive it was to live in Japan was confirmed fifteen years later when I was discussing my job prospects with a friend who had been teaching English in Korea for one year. Here is an excerpt from the narrative I wrote:

> "Don't go to Japan. It's too expensive and you can make just as much money teaching in Korea. And don't take a contract from home, you'll just get ripped off or be placed in the boonies" Came the wise words of the 26-year- old "experienced" English teacher. Not that he had been to Japan, let alone taught in Japan; not that he had an education degree; not that he had been in South Korea for years, but he was one up on me. One year to be exact, one year of a million experiences, which to my scarcely traveled ears, made him street smart to the trials and tribulations of teaching overseas and had earned him the title of 'English teacher'.

> I want to be an English teacher, too. It sounds exotic and more money than I was making working at my minimum wage retail job.

The thought that I could be taken advantage of never even occurred to me and gave me a moment of pause: would this be a good decision, a safe decision? Like Liz, I had student debt and felt that my education had failed to provide me with any type of job security. I took a risk that many transient workers had taken before me: I went to a foreign country in search of a better life.

And Now for the Rest of the Story…

Although each of us came to the decision to teach abroad for different reasons, each of our stories reflects the challenges we faced as foreigners, native speakers of English, and neophyte teachers. Eric's experience of teaching English in Japan motivated him to pursue a graduate degree in TESOL, which led to other teaching opportunities that increased his professional development. Liz's experience teaching in South Korea also motivated her to pursue a graduate degree and eventually complete a PhD in Applied Linguistics. She also tries to understand and overcome the barriers associated with being an outsider because of her experience as a visible minority in South Korea. My teaching experience in both Japan and South Korea increase not only my insight into how to being an outsider, but also on how to be perceived as an insider. My experience being a visible minority in Canada had already initiated me into a discourse of difference. However, looking like one of the locals in Japan and South Korea, and having a background in education gave me the foundation I needed to address the effects of

discourses of difference. The commonalty between our stories is the desire to assert our independence as individuals, our professionalism as educators, and to create camaraderie in our community.

Eric's Story

Eric's *story to live by* is to be a teacher who learns as much as his students by making connections with them that reach beyond stereotypes and continually trying new ways of teaching. Once in Japan, Eric taught English to grades 10-12 using the popular Jack Richard's New Interchange series. Unlike his Canadian experience he was not included in curriculum development and received no professional support. He expresses it this way:

> I was asked to plan lessons and prepare tests, yet had no input on the conversation curriculum - a very unprofessional aspect of the program. I was given no guidance and told merely to teach all the chapters of the textbook.

This did not mean that he had no ideas about how he would improve the program. In his narrative he identifies two possible areas for improvement.

> The curriculum was built around Jack Richard's New Interchange series…a very colourful set of texts but with limited explanations and practice exercises. A locally developed, supplemental songbook (cloze exercises) was provided but was of little value to the students' English conversation education**.**

Fortunately, he did not define himself by his professional status which allowed him to focus on other aspects of his teaching context. Contrary to the lack of legitimate participation he felt among his colleagues was the rapport he developed with his students. Focussing on the interactions he had with students gave him the

opportunity to improve his classroom skills and start to develop his teaching philosophy.

> The students were wonderfully attentive and respectful…I enjoyed the interaction with the students. The classes were a chance to showcase my budding talents as both a stage performer and a language guy. Additionally, it was during this time that I realized that despite the job, I would always feel more like a friend to my students than a teacher. My approach was always focused on the students growing from the experience as people and hopefully gaining an improved level of English competency.

As a language learner he made small gains learning Japanese and as result he increased his empathy for Asian students of English. He developed:

> …a greater appreciation of the difficulty Asian learners faced when confronted with the task of learning English as foreign language. My sympathy was evoked and the seed of desire to further develop my language teaching ability was planted.

For personal and professional reasons, he decided to leave Japan and return to Canada. The professional reason had to do with the tension between him and an Australian colleague. As he puts it, “It was the most poorly I have ever been treated by a colleague in any position anywhere.” In short he attributes this to the senior colleague’s disapproval of his teaching style and his growing Japanese language proficiency. When he came back to Canada he pursued different interests that were not connected to language teaching, but decided to return to teach English in Japan.

This time he was in rural Japan and taught English in five different locations: three elementary schools, one junior high school, and the board of education. He experienced a marked difference in his roles at the elementary schools and the junior high school. At the junior high level he was considered a colleague.

> I worked in conjunction with the two full-time English teachers and consulted with them on all aspects of the teaching. I was also given a certain degree of freedom to teach conversation lessons based on unit objectives. The teaching style was as a team whereby I offered both in-class and out-of-class support to the Japanese English teacher whenever it was needed.

While at the elementary level he was an English resource.

> I was certainly the token foreigner brought in to teach English and offer the students a look at what I represented – or possibly represented. Additionally, I felt as though I was also a symbol of a changing Japanese world. Whether this included improved English education is questionable…

The similarity between both contexts was that he was not the primary English teacher, which is the same way native speakers of English are utilized in the JET program. His role was to provide assistance to the local teaching staff. However, how that role was fulfilled was open to the interpretation of the cooperating teachers and administration. This role was not limited to the educational context. Living in rural Japan made him a visible minority which had its benefits and its drawbacks. Since it was a small community without a large expatriate community he had access to and became a part of the local community. This allowed him to forge strong relationships and learn about the language and culture. The drawback was the constant public scrutiny, which a less culturally sensitive individual might have ignored, but since an impetus for working in Japan was his respect for the culture, he tried to live up to the expectations of the community.

> Well, in Japan – small-town, rural Japan, I was a well recognizable member of the community. Thus, my job was accompanied by a certain degree of "**celebrity notoriety**". By this I mean, anyone with a child in any of the 4 local schools knew who I was and watched my every move – which, I might add, in a community so small, wasn't that hard to do. This visibility carried with it community obligations that went hand in hand with my English responsibilities. Anything that occurred locally and in

> public eventually made its way back to the ears of both my principal and my board of education. Thus, I lived a very conservative life in my town and took the majority of my fun activities and hobbies elsewhere beyond prying eyes.

His response to further questions about what his responsibilities and obligations reiterated his foreigner status: "As a foreigner…meaning different than them". Accordingly, he was expected to be different, but within Japanese parameters. This also meant gaining the cultural knowledge to know what was appropriate given the age and gender of the people in his presence. From the perspective of the JET program initiatives he was a success story: he learned Japanese and left the country with a high degree of admiration for their society and culture. He was also able to view his own country through a different lens. From his perspective it was a rewarding experience that increased his interest in working in Japan at the post-secondary level. In his words he says:

> I guess, if I were to encapsulate my Japanese English teacher experience I would say it allowed me to learn Japanese, make plenty of Japanese friends, learn intimately about contemporary Japanese society and culture, enjoy an amazing food experience, to a degree see Canada through the lens of an Asian world and further my interest in pursuing a Japanese university teaching job. In short it was tremendously fulfilling and rewarding.

His desire to work in a university environment was enhanced by an opportunity to work as a medical English researcher/ editor at a local university during his last year in Japan. The job required him to edit academic papers for publication. Although his native speaker status may have got him the job, it was his Japanese proficiency, previous educational background[5], cultural sensitivity

[5] He had previously entertained the possibility of going to medical school and had taken the required first year science classes.

and the status of the doctor who hired him that led to him gaining the respect of other people in the department. He also came to the realization that in order to be employed at the post-secondary level he needed formal education and credentials.

Consequently, he returned to Canada to complete a Masters of Education in TESOL. During this time he was able to gain additional teaching experience, this time as a principal instructor: First, as an English instructor for South Korean nursing students and secondly as an English instructor for international students at a Canadian University. His narrative demonstrates the flux of experience encountered in the lived experiences of language educators. His exposure to the academic side of TESOL gave him the opportunity to learn about pedagogical practices, but what he felt was missing was the opportunity to question them. His classroom experience made him realize that each context was different, whether it was because it was a different level of students, a different country, or a different year.

His reflections about his experience in the masters program reveal dissatisfaction with the program and feelings of discrimination. The focus of the program did not match his professional development goals. While he enjoyed the opportunity to read and improve his research and writing skills, what he felt was missing was critical discussion about the field. Furthermore, he began to experience negative attitudes towards his previous experience. In his own words, he felt: “a bias against those not interested in immigrant issues”, “A bias against younger, Caucasian males with experience working in Asia”, and a “lack of open & honest discussion that went counter to the professor’s opinion”. Perhaps, his

program was a space where critical theory confronted the ‘native speaker’, or perhaps it was the space where the native speaker confronted the hegemony of critical critiques.

His experience with the Korean nursing program, made him question his career decisions even further. The first year he was up to the challenge. Although he was provided with little support or guidance from program administration, his research and subsequent curriculum development were not in vain - the program was a success. The students made significant gains in terms of their English language development and positively evaluated the course. Not surprisingly, when he had the opportunity to teach a second group of students the following year he did not hesitate. His hopes to improve the program were dashed as the politics of the program and the hierarchy within the group of students limited his ability to foster a spirit of teamwork that he felt was essential to the success of the program. The negativity he felt in this program echoed the negativity he felt in his master’s program.

> I don’t like the negative politics of administration that impact directly on the educational side of a program. As well, the goals and needs of competing stakeholders can be mind-numbing. I experienced similar feelings during my M.Ed.

In spite of these negative experiences, he maintained an interest in teaching English and gained an interest in teaching in South Korea.

The other teaching experience he had was teaching academic English to international students who were currently or conditionally enrolled in a Canadian university. The students were mostly from mainland China, which provided him with another opportunity to gain insight into another culture. He was also able to

see the effects of a homogenous class on English language development and knowledge of Canadian culture. While he had made the choice to learn different languages, these students clearly did not feel the same way about immersing themselves in another culture. He had to learn to balance the reality of being a minority within the classroom with his authority as a teacher and his role as a representative of Canadian culture.

> Of particular note was the homogenous nature of the class which provided the students with a less than ideal English learning environment. Nonetheless, the class progressed nicely, both in terms of English learning and the overall positive atmosphere.

Another challenge was developing the students' academic writing skills. The expectation was that the required textbooks were to be supplemented with materials developed by instructors to provide students with an individualized experience. He reflects on this experience as one which provided him with the ability to improve his teaching skills and confidence. An important part of successful teaching for this educator is developing rapport with and among the students and similar to his other teaching experiences he attributes this as a major factor in the students' motivation and success.

> Our rapport was excellent and their desire to complete the course successfully never wavered. Thus, the students high degree of motivation coupled with my support lead to a significant majority passing the class. Most have since moved on to regular university classes…In short, I would say this class was a success for both myself, as an instructor of writing and my students, as English learners. Furthermore, because it was such a positive experience it helped to develop my confidence within the classroom environment.

When asked for specifics about his increase in confidence, it was not only the success of the students that came to mind, but also the level of collegiality he

felt. As he points out, “The camaraderie and support of coworkers also contributes – more than I expected.”

At the end of his narrative he had not made a decision as to what his next teaching position would be, but he did have a strong perspective about his identity as an educator.

> I have never thought of myself as an English teacher. Frankly, due to my varied past, I find identifying myself with any particular title misleading and uncomfortable**.** There is no aspect of my life – past, present or intended future - with which I would choose to pigeon-hole myself. Titles function like constraints allowing society (including ourselves) to create a general picture of who we are without bothering to dig for honest, pure, real identity…However, my role in life will always overshadow any job I take. Thus, perhaps the best way to identify my job is to invert the picture – I am a hiker who spends some time explaining aspects of English usage to folks.

Some might interpret his refusal to identify himself as an English teacher with a lack of professionalism, but his final comments demonstrate how his resistance to essentialized identities does not diminish his desire to advance as a professional. He has definite professional development goals that include researching, publishing, and becoming a part of the Asian academic TESOL community. However, the pragmatic nature of his goals does not take away from recognizing areas of professional growth that are often discussed in academic literature, but rarely formally developed.

> I’ll close by pointing out some of the areas where I feel that I have grown significantly: Political understanding, touching the people on the ground, learning from the locals, language acquisition, cultural growth, emotional understanding, and desire to recognize flaws in my own knowledge base.

Was he qualified? Was he culturally sensitive? These are two of the critiques of native English speaking teachers discussed in chapter two. One of the rationales for saying that non-native speakers make better teachers is because they have been through the language learning process and can identify with the challenges their students are facing (e.g. Medgyes,1999; Phillipson, 1992). Does a native speaker of English who has studied four languages have personal insight into the language learning process? Does his study experience as a language learner and language minority make him culturally sensitive? His narrative indicates that his experience has made him more culturally sensitive which contests the monolingual, culturally insensitive stereotype of the native speaker. Additionally, his interaction in academic settings shows evidence of how assumptions about his previous experiences have influenced his participation and sense of belonging.

Liz's Story

Liz, like Eric ended up teaching abroad, but unlike Eric, she did not have an initial experience of being at a reputable institution. As mentioned previously, she had applied for the JET program and was not accepted, but this did not deter her from finding a job teaching English overseas, and finding out that the position she applied for was no longer available did not discourage her from going to Korea. Her *story to live by* is to assert her independence by utilizing ever opportunity to learn.

> A few weeks before I was to depart for Korea, I heard from the recruiter that the job in Che-ju-do was no longer available. The person whom I was to replace decided to stay another year, they said. But they had a job for me in Seoul. I was told that it was at "one of the best private schools in the

> country" and it had "over 80 teachers". Yes, I suppose it gave you the impression that it was a credible institution and it was somehow reassuring that there were other foreigners there. I suppose I also thought there would be people I could learn from, that I would undergo some type of teacher education (which I never had).

Her narrative highlights how not being seen as an individual, but representative of a group affects her sense of self. From her perspective, the opportunity to teach English was also an opportunity to learn about South Korean language and culture. It was also an opportunity to learn about teaching and to see if she could become the independent woman she envisioned.

> I remember being both excited and scared to go. I was scared about things because I had no way to imagine them. It felt like a really big move. I was going somewhere very far away all on my own. Although I had always been rather independent, this was the first time that I was doing something completely on my own—without the language skills or the cultural knowledge to make things easier. I was excited to see Asia and find out what it was like. But I don't think I knew that I would come to love it like I did.

Her fondness and appreciation of South Korea grew during her time there, despite a tumultuous start. Her narrative reveals the complexity of teaching in a foreign land where being a native speaker of English is, at once, respected and reviled. Her recollection of students' responses to her as she approaches the school that she is about to teach in illustrates the polarized views towards her foreign presence.

> I can remember walking up to the school and there were kids hanging out of the window yelling "Fuck you" or "I love you": two of the only phrases they knew.

Part of the reason for such divergent reactions was the lack of exposure to foreign cultures and the U.S. military presence. The history of being dominated by outsiders had a lasting legacy of exoticizing and demonizing foreigners that visit

the peninsula and young American soldiers' escapades in "the economy"[6] did not help international relations. English language skills were seen as a necessity for South Korea to be competitive in the global market, but whether South Korea was taking advantage or being taken advantage of by Westerners was debatable. Liz soon found out that it is not the experience that is foreign, but the experience of being a foreigner where broken promises reign.

> I arrived there in 1995 and was only the third foreign teacher at that school (note that the recruiters told me that it was the largest school in Seoul with over 80 foreign teachers).

It was not the fact that there were not eighty teachers that most disappointed Liz when she first arrived. It was the lack of training that made her doubtful.

> It was a Friday, so I just had to observe a couple of classes, so that I could start full time on the following Monday. That was the only training I ever got. As soon as they left, I cried myself to sleep …I would make this a good experience for myself.

However, she persevered and learned that her role as an English teacher was to provide students with a fun learning experience, with more emphasis on the fun than the learning. This marked another dichotomy; one where English was not as serious as other subjects - at least when it was taught by a native speaker of English.

> I think the school had been an after-school program for all types of subjects, but while I was there it changed into an English school. When I started working there it was called Choi Academy and after renovation it was called Snappy Children's English. Yes, it seemed more playful and fun. At the same time, we also got more books and materials, which were more TPR-based and communicative (songs, games, puzzles, etc.) English was supposed to be fun, not work (and this made the children enjoy it

[6] From personal experience, I noticed that many soldiers referred to the country that they were stationed in as "the economy" and the military base as "the base".

> more, too. After all, they had spent the whole day at school and then went on to study after school).

This dichotomy was even clearer when she was required to teach outside the *hogwan*[7] in the surrounding Elementary and Junior high schools. Team teaching consisted of compartmentalization, rather than collaboration.

> The school started a pre-school program for English, for which I had to teach 8 four year olds English for almost and hour every day. It was impossible to teach this group, so I demanded that a Korean teacher help me. The teachers also started teaching at the local elementary and middle school. The classes were very large (around 40 students) and we alternated with a Korean teacher every other day. Middle school was what I found most intimidating. The students weren't used to communicative activities and I didn't know what else to do with them. I did read one ELT book while I was there and found out about the communicative approach and TPR. So I think I even knew that I was using it back then.

Although she recognizes her use of different language teaching methodologies as a way of asserting her professional identity, she also realizes that these methods were not the norm in educational settings. At first she sees this difference as an opportunity to develop her teaching skills, but quickly she realizes that the students and her boss have different expectations of her than they do for local teachers.

> I think when I first started working there I was very motivated and tried hard to prepare lessons and think of new ideas. But after a while I got frustrated...There was no level testing at the school, so there was always a mix of language abilities in the classroom. My students were also often very badly behaved and it was hard for me to discipline them. They called me 'Liz' and they would never call their other instructors by their names. I think I didn't fit with the hierarchy of respect within the Confucian system… it was also very difficult to develop a pattern of teaching. I hardly ever got to teach one group of students over time. My boss would move my schedule around and change the groups often…My boss also 'hired' me out to various schools at times. I would show up to work to be informed that I had to go to X for the day (This I called being pimped out

[7] Korean for private institute.

> for a day)... I think I felt I was a really bad teacher – and in some ways irresponsible – but I also know that the circumstances didn't allow for anything better.

At best, she was seen as a substitute teacher who should have limited interaction and impact on her students, which increased discipline problems in the classroom, as well as her feelings of inadequacy about her professional identity. Her role as a native speaker was clear: she brought prestige to the school and little else. She was expected to perpetuate an image of native speakers of English by publicly representing an out of classroom stereotype.

> Another time I was paid extra to visit a new school on a Saturday. The school had its grand opening housewarming party and wanted to show off their great number of foreign teachers. Of course I didn't really work there. I was told to dress up and then I had to put on a red sash and greet people as they came in. The school had set up different classrooms that looked like different rooms of a house. The slogan that advertised the school was "Come and play with the native".

Thus, she learned that part of being a native speaker was the willingness to publicly display her private life. What initially was a marketing strategy became part of her teaching repertoire.

> I really used (or abused) the fact that I was such a novelty and I would just chat to students and tell them about my life, friends, family in the US…These are things that I never do anymore. I don't usually talk about anything personal (well, perhaps some anecdotes). But I guess I still do feel that students are very interested in knowing about my life…

With regard to her boss, like many English teachers, she was as suspicious of her employer, as her employer was of her. The globalization of English meant that there was a steady supply of English students who required English teachers. As a result, English schools were seen as lucrative to South Koreans. This business

approach to English education definitely influenced the way that teachers and their employers perceived each other. As Liz notes:

> I was never sure if the boss of my school was a good person or not…She had nothing to do with the English language, so I don't know why she ran a school. She'd never been abroad, didn't seem to have any interests in the US or English. But she did want her daughter to learn English. We complained a lot about her, but sometimes she was good to us. She seemed like a soulless slave driver. She would try to rip you off whenever she could. She'd work you all she could and was never overly generous. The Korean teachers didn't like her either. She was not even remotely a pedagogue. She didn't care about the students and their education; she cared about money.

However, this did not deter Liz from emphasizing the positive attributes of her employer, which was for the most part, her willingness to turn a blind eye to the infractions of foreign teachers. Just as she ignored the private tutoring that Liz did, she also did not pay close attention to who was living with Liz, which Liz interprets as an act of kindness.

> The nicest thing she did was to let me stay in that run-down apartment. She let four illegal teachers live there when only one of them was working for her. ..We would have never had enough money to put down a deposit on our own place, and she let us rent from her. ..When I left, the director of my school let my friends keep the flat that I had been living in. They didn't work for her, but she let them rent from her. It's really hard to get a flat in Korea because you have to pay a huge deposit, so we were really happy to have a place. It was very nice of my director to let them stay there, but I think it was a good business deal for her. It wasn't a very nice flat and I don't think that many Koreans would have lived there in the condition it was in. I suppose that has a lot to do with it. Plus, it's just that you're so happy to have A PLACE that you don't really care what it's like.

To understand the gravity of this comment is to understand that one of the drawbacks of being a foreign English teacher is being dependent on your employer for housing. The strain of adjusting to a new culture was exacerbated by

her initial accommodations where she felt like an outsider, in what was supposed to be her own home.

> I was given a small room in a retired couple's apartment, which was located in a large group of high-rise flats in Sung-san-dong. I had a single bed and a small cupboard. My room had a window that was covered in bars. The window looked out onto a hallway which all the residents of that floor had to pass to get to their doors. I would lay on my bed reading and people would stop to look at me through the window. Often they were shocked at first; sometimes they would stare or laugh. I felt like a monkey in a cage. The bathroom was also very strange. Because the old couple was careful with money, they kept the tub full of cold water. There was no hot-running tap. To shower, I had to stand in the middle of the floor (which had a drain), scoop up the cold water from the tub, and pour it over me…It took three months until I got my own flat ... For three months I had nowhere to cook, nowhere to eat, nowhere to talk on the phone, nowhere to have guests over… I had been promised a flat of my own and I didn't get one. That was broken promise number one.

Liz, like many other foreign English teachers during that time, was promised housing, but the living conditions were never explicit. In South Korea there is *joense*, or a key money system, where a tenant could lease an apartment for a considerable portion of its market value and when s/he moved out s/he could get the money back. The logic behind this was that the owner would benefit from making a profit from the tenant's deposit in lieu of the tenant paying rent. If a tenant could not afford to put the full amount of key money required, s/he would have to pay rent in addition to a deposit. The size of the deposit determined the quality of the apartment. As such, employing young, transient workers for a 12 month contract did not provide an impetus for employers to invest their profits into teacher housing.

Another breach of her contract was the absence of health insurance. As a Canadian, I grew up in a system where basic health insurance was available to

everyone. South Korea, similar to the Canadian system, has a compulsory health care system. Accordingly, I was surprised at how important health care was to Liz and that she would not question whether or not the school was legally obligated to provide healthcare.

> Broken promise number two was health insurance. The promise of insurance was one of the biggest attractors of the job in Asia…there was no health insurance. The director of my school told me that she didn't know I was promised that. In fact, she had never seen my contract. As a compromise, she promised to pay for things if anything were to happen to me.

Although she was looking for more financial stability than she had at home, the low wages and sporadic hours made it necessary for her to take on extra work.

> We were not allowed to take on any private jobs, but as long as we weren't stealing clients and our students were in other neighborhoods, teaching outside of our jobs was ignored. I think they knew that we wouldn't stay happy with our monthly salary otherwise.

Recent calculations indicate that the average wage for an English teacher working at a *hagwon* is 1.8- 2 million Korean Won, which converts to about $19 800 - $22 080 annually in Canadian dollars (Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, 2009). To put this figure in perspective, the starting wage for a teacher in Canada ranges from $30,000/yr in Prince Edward Island to $43,000/yr in Alberta (Government of Alberta, 2009) and the low income cut off for a single income is $21,666 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2009). Therefore, although the labour laws prohibited private tutoring, most foreigners found it necessary to supplement their wages, especially if they wanted financial freedom from their employers.

Liz's narrative illustrates how having a place to call home is an essential part of feeling at home, especially in a foreign country. As she explains, having her own place contributed to her ability to build a community and feel a part of something.

> Over time, I developed a very strong community. We all met up regularly, invited each other over for meals and parties, spent weekends and holidays together. It was the closest circle of friends I've ever had. All of us remember that time of our lives as being very special.

Her sense of belonging was due to her efforts to make her experiences outside of the classroom different than her experiences inside the classroom. While Clandinin and Connelly (1996) assert that a distinction between the in-classroom and out-of-classroom place is the security of the former, since Liz did not have her own classroom her in-classroom place provided little shelter from the storm of stereotypes she was hired to represent. She strived to make connections in her out-of-classroom places that she could not access in the classroom, but these interactions were often tainted by the exoticism of being a native speaker of English.

> My first weekend there was rather lonely. On Saturday, I took the subway to Kyong-byo-kung palace. A group of school girls shrieked when they saw me and asked to have their picture taken with me. I think at the beginning I thought it was funny, but I know I felt really awkward about it. I may have offered to take a photo of them (not really being able to understand why they would want a picture of someone they didn't know).

Her feelings of loneliness did not subside as her chance interactions with Koreans increased. While she was looking for friendship, many of the Koreans she met were looking for a foreign experience.

> Another time I was walking down the street and a man stopped and wanted to talk to me. In the end, I accepted a lift from him. He was a

> dentist and he wanted to immigrate to New Zealand and he needed to practice his English. He called me regularly and we met up sometimes for drinks. It so happened that I did need some dental work, so I went to him and he fixed my teeth for free! Once I took him out to Joker with some of my friends. He got a bit drunk and tried to kiss me. I don't think I went out with him again.

This interaction could be used as an example of the native speaker privilege, but as Liz makes clear, these types of interactions made her feel less than privileged.

> These experiences and others made me feel like an English-language prostitute. It was hard to find people who wanted to be friends with me. I often felt like people were just trying to get language practice or wanted to be seen with someone blond and white. I think that for many men, they wanted to have the experience of being with a western woman: I sometimes felt like a check on a list of things they wanted to experience in their lives. So many people would stop and ask to have a photo taken with me. I couldn't go anywhere without causing a sensation. Sometimes I enjoyed the attention, but other times I would have preferred to blend in more. I got used to everyone pointing and staring, children running after me calling "Mi-guk saram". Even at the place where I would call most regularly to order food, I would call and say; "It's the Mi-guk saram[8]. Could I have… please."

Her disappointment in her Korean interactions was not offset by her interactions with other minorities.

> Just a note here about my experiences with Canadians in Korea that you might find interesting: I was lonely for friends at the beginning and somehow I met two girls … I did a couple of things with them at the beginning, but they were kind of mean to me. They just didn't include me very much. Once I went to a party with them at a guy's apartment … I felt very distinctly that they didn't like me because I was American. I wish I could remember more about it. But a couple of my friends had similar experiences and this brought us to be kind of 'anti-Canadian'…I've never thought myself to be anti-any nationality before… It seems strange, though, that in Korea I had negative experiences with Canadians.

[8] Korean for American

Just like Eric's experience with his Australian colleague, she is spurned by people who she considered likely companions. However, this was secondary to the amount of isolation she felt in Korean society.

> … I had come very far with my Korean classes, but I suddenly felt that despite all my efforts, I wouldn't be accepted into Korean society… I remember feeling trapped, like there was nothing I could do. I was stuck in an obsession that would never benefit me. I was suffering, not being welcomed somewhere where I was so keen to go. I was trapped by a place and a language and all I could do was scream. Soon after that, I decided to leave Korea for good…Once I made that decision, the remaining time I was there was fantastic.

Not only did Liz make a decision to leave Korea, she had also made a decision to accept her role as a foreigner: transient, homogenous, and utterly Other.

Her final reflection about her experience teaching in South Korea marks a starting point, rather than a conclusion. As she summarizes her journey, she identifies this period of time as one of personal, as well as professional growth, and notes how sharing these experiences have shaped lifetime friendships.

> It's interesting what has happened to all of my friends from there. At the time, we were all in our early twenties. We wound up there for one reason or another and all of us seemed to have wounds to heal... We used to call ourselves 'losers' and wonder what would become of our lives. It's interesting that so many of us have come so far. Four of the Americans (including me) are currently enrolled in PhD programs...No one is what you could call a loser. There was a tight group that all experienced that time in Korea. None of us live near each other anymore, but most of us remain in touch.

Although she had negative experiences, like Eric, she gained a profound respect for her host country. She concludes with these words.

> Finally, I have to say that my time in Korea really inspired a love of the country, language and culture in me. I feel as if I will be curious for my whole life to find out more about the place where I lived and worked. Sometimes I feel like I'm on a search to understand what I experienced.

The need to understand why she was there and how she was treated problematizes administrative and cultural interpretations of privileging the native speaker of English. Feelings of being "pimped out" and being an "English-language prostitute" made her more critical of the impact of the globalization of English and the importance of understanding the cultural context of her students. In her current position she realizes that she will only ever have an outsider's perspective of the backgrounds of English language students, but what is important is to make an effort to understand regardless of the limitations of that understanding.

Yvonne's Story

As I read and reread my own story, I realize my experience may be interpreted as one of privilege, but it was not lived that way. In telling my personal narrative, the distinction between researcher and researched becomes blurred. As previously mentioned, the narrative self is a multiple self and to challenge the hegemony of the native speaker is to acknowledge my multiple selves, past and present. As Douglas Flemons notes, "When you write a story of yourself, you accept an assumption about yourself that then determines in part how you understand yourself, and if you publish this account, then you are defining yourself not only personally but also professionally." (Flemons & Green, 2002, p. 90). The purpose of telling my own narrative is to at once define and change my ways of knowing about what it is to be a native English speaker and an ELT professional by reflecting on my own experience.

As I recollect the moments that define my *story to live by* I notice how little of it actually takes place in the classroom or during official class time. For

me, feeling valued as a member of the educational and social community influence my professional well-being. Classroom experience, personal reflection, and professional growth are not solitary activities that naturally come when the teaching is done. The feeling of satisfaction when I realize my students enjoyed learning, the realization of how much I have changed since these events occurred, and my commitment to always seek new opportunities for growth are also influenced by how I am acknowledged in my surrounding community. Schön (1987) notes that to progress as a reflective practitioner means to notice and frame problematic situations to decide on a course of action. My story not only tells of my experience and professional development, but also what I have felt I needed to conceal to be accepted in the communities that I live and work in. I begin with pretending to be more than I am and end with pretending to be less than I am.

> I recount the last words he said to me as I am jostled on the bus.
> "I drew you a map and here is Hicham's beeper number. He's at the Internet café by the Kyobo bookstore. It's easy to find. You just take the 81 or 78 to Namyong station, get on the subway and go to Chonggak station and then follow these directions."
> Now that I was on the right bus, I realized that these directions needed to be a little more explicit. About how many stops to Namyong station? He told me they would announce the stops, but they weren't announced in English and the quality of the system coupled with the din on the bus made it impossible to hear. A glimpse out the window was like someone drowning gasping for air. It only brought slight relief because nothing looked familiar.
> I decided to follow the crowd. I thought I heard something like 'Namyong' and let the crowd carry me to the station. Everyone rushed to the platform and then waited.
> I looked around and saw nothing familiar. The signs were in a strange language. The garbage cans, benches, the air, trees. Everything was different. I was scared and irrational.
> "I'm going to die. I'm going to get mugged and killed in an alley on my second day in Seoul." These were my internal thoughts as I tried not to cry and convey through my posture and facial expression that I wasn't a woman you wanted to mess with.

This was my first memory in Seoul, the place I had chosen to begin my teaching career. This would not be the first time that I would have to hide my true emotions. This event summons many other memories of when I was told by Koreans that I did not understand Koreans even though I lived in the same apartments, worked in the same offices, ate in the same restaurants, shopped in the same stores, and sat on the same public transportation. They were concealing something too. It was not true that I did not understand Korean culture, even though that is where I started. As my knowledge of the Korean language and culture grew, so did my understanding that my interpretation of Korean culture was not considered legitimate because I was a foreigner, and would remain a foreigner no matter how long I lived there. This perception that it was impossible for an outsider to have truly Korean experiences affected the way students perceived me:

> It was my 3rd year teaching in Korea and as usual I started the class with having the students ask me questions.
> "How long have you been in Korea?"
> "3 years."
> "Have you tried Kim chi?"
> Now this question always raised my hackles. Let's see…it's your national dish, Koreans eat it with every meal, and it is served with every Korean meal, it is used as spaghetti sauce, and as a pizza topping. What do you think?
> "Yes."
> Hired for our English purity, there is an assumption that we are secretly transported to a foreign compound where we are cut off from all things Korean…
> We were encouraged not to let our students know if we speak Korean because then they would want to speak Korean. That was the theory. The reality was that Koreans did not need encouragement to speak English and that to gain their respect we had to show them that we had some knowledge about where we lived.
> They also loved the communicative approach. Korean education policies

> were changing as English became more solidly anchored as a lingua franca. To my students the most important aspect of English was being able to speak it. They wanted me to clean up their "dirty" English, and rid them of Konglish. Little did they know that the foreigners loved Konglish. It was a window into their world. Koreans didn't "hang out" with their friends, they played with them. They didn't go "window shopping" they went "eye shopping".

I was expected to perpetuate the native speaker ideal as less than ideal. My identity was formed by how 'I' was not like 'them'. I was supposed to demonstrate to students the power of English by representing myself as privileged, rather than qualified. My life existed in polarities: us/them; teacher/learner; foreign/local. In the classroom, I was supposed to pretend that I did not know anything about Korea and to teach them how different Korean culture was from Canadian culture. I was also supposed to be the pinnacle of intuitive English knowledge: grammar was taught by Koreans and native English speakers were supposed to teach them how to sound "natural". This was not restricted to inside the classroom. As a foreigner my every interaction garnered attention which could be a source of frustration and at times paranoia, especially when you understood the language and culture. Instead of feeling more accepted, it often made me feel more isolated:

> "Do you ever feel like everyone's talking about you?" I whispered to my friend as we sat on the subway.
> "Oh they are… that's why I stopped learning Korean. I'd rather not know that they were talking about how I'm too fat or how long my eyelashes are."
> This was a common sentiment. As soon as a group of *us* walked by, a group of *them* had to comment on it. Sometimes I ignored it other times I didn't.
> "Africa seram" I overheard one Korean teenage boy say to the other.
> "Annio, Canada seram" I replied.
> Then the one yelled at the other and hit him. "That foreigner knows Korean."

> As time passed I was a foreigner that knew Korean, and Korea. My teaching jobs and friendships with other foreigners took me to different neighbourhoods. I realized that part of being a foreigner was having a broader perspective than the average Korean. Many of my Korean friends and neighbours didn't understand why I would leave my neighbourhood. Everything was here - grocery stores, restaurants, bars, movie theatres. Every neighbourhood was independent. There was no need to leave.
> It was interesting for me to see the differences in neighbourhoods; the rich youth in Apkujong and Kangnam, the student's in Hongdae, and the U.S. military presence in Itaewon. I lived in Itaewon and had noticed that many of the Korean women there spoke English like soldiers and many of the foreign men spoke Korean like women.

In the hierarchy of foreign workers, English teachers held a lowly status. We were given more respect than foreign labourers, but we were not as respected as Korean teachers and we received less respect than foreign businessmen. As someone who has taught in South Korea and Japan, I am often asked what I felt was different. One of the huge differences was the interaction between foreigners. In Seoul, the foreigners were grouped into closely knit cliques who looked after each other. It could be a very dangerous place for foreign English teachers, and to protect ourselves we had to protect our own. Any disagreements with any Koreans inside or outside of the classroom ended with the foreigner being blamed. This was a lesson I learned the first night I was in Korea. I remember meeting Canadians at an Internet café behind the Kyobo Bookstore.

> I could not believe how comforting it would be to be with strangers. I instantly wanted to get to know them and to know what they knew about Seoul. They were all Canadian, and all men except for one. They were just as eager to tell me all the ins and outs of life as a foreigner in Korea as I was to hear it. She told me that it was hard to buy a bra in Korea. He told me about the cheap Western restaurants in the area. Another he told me about the good nightclubs, and another one told me about the palaces and gardens to see. My head was full of mental post-it notes. It was like an English information gap activity where I had to match the name to the face with the activity that they liked.

> The twists and turns of the conversation inevitably led to work. They were all English teachers who worked at *hogwans*. I had yet to find a contract and they were quick and direct with their warnings. Before I left I was told that it was better to get a contract in-country and their stories about getting a contract from home confirmed this. There was a simultaneous nod as they took turns recounting being ripped off by *hogwan* bosses and agents. They gave me the numbers of reputable agents, but warned me that there were no guarantees.
> What I didn't know now, was that these experiences were almost inevitable and that these people who were acquaintances tonight would be the people who I would form lifelong friendships with.

We occasionally had interaction with other foreigners, but the difference between their experiences of Korea and ours seemed even more different than when we compared our lives to the Koreans we had met.

> The foreign businessmen, diplomats, and military had a very isolated, privileged view of Korea. They told stories that we, as English teachers listened to with wide-eyed disbelief.
> A place with a bathtub and a shower? Unheard of. We were all now used to the all-in-one toilet, shower, washing machine. I remember seeing the bathroom in my first apartment and wanting to cry. This was worse than camping. The showerhead was across from the small toilet of a tiny tiled room. There was no room to permanently keep the washing machine in the washroom, so to do laundry I had to carry the washing machine into the bathroom. I thought it was luxury when I moved into a place that had a bathroom big enough to keep the washing machine and a sink. One thing I must say- the all-in-one was extremely easy to clean. You could just lather it up and spray it down.
> Flying business class and staying in a hotel? We traveled, but to cheap destinations in Southeast Asia. Our hotels were huts by the beach and we were always looking for cheap flights to anywhere.
> Isolation pay? This I couldn't believe. While we all came here for the experience, soldiers and businessmen were given extra pay for the inconvenience of being in Korea.
> Saturdays and evenings off? For the English teacher this was a privilege bestowed on the old timers. Teaching, at every level, meant split shifts and working on weekends, since we worked when Koreans had time for us: before or after their work or school day had finished.

We were at once inside and outside of the culture. We were welcomed as long as we knew our place in it. The reminders of our place in society ranged from

privilege to unpleasant - and that could happen in one interaction. For me, the most vivid memory of this rapid change was when I thought I that I had finally found a place where there was a teaching community I wanted to be a part of that would help me develop as a professional. A day that started with a firm decision to stay in Korea ended with a hasty departure.

> During the time I was trying to find a good contract I did odd jobs for a variety of companies and agencies. My dream job came through the Australian Embassy. They had a Montessori school near Itaewon that had an entirely female staff of Koreans and westerners. I went to the school and instantly loved it. All the teachers were fantastic, qualified, and caring. The students were not only Korean, but children from all different countries. This diversity took away from the everyday us and them boundaries of being a foreigner in Seoul. I eagerly wanted to start the paperwork. This is what I had been waiting for.
> "They just need you to go to immigration with your passport, sign some papers, and that's it. I'll send Ms. Lee with you to translate."
> I loved my new boss. Her husband worked for the embassy and she had a ton of books about pedagogy and Montessori. She really saw me as a teacher and I loved the camaraderie between all the teachers.
> Ms. Lee and I took a taxi to the embassy and got to know each other. As soon as I told the immigration officer who I was I realized that something was not right. Ms. Lee had receded into the shadows and for the first time in a long time I felt utterly alone.
> The man led me to a room and Ms. Lee sheepishly followed.
> "You wait here." He said gruffly, pointing to a chair in a tiny, dingy office.
> I signalled Ms. Lee to come join me.
> "No, she stays outside." He blocked her entrance and then shut the door.
> "Don't leave me!" I screamed to Ms. Lee through the door. All the stories about people being interrogated, thrown in jail and deported for teaching English illegally were surfacing in vivid details. "Phone the school! Phone the Canadian embassy!"
> Seconds later a duo that I recognized as good cop and bad cop came in. They started swearing at me and telling me how they could make me disappear. I now knew that they were bad cop and bad cop...
> I have never been so scared in my life. I stood up.
> "Sit down!"
> "No!" I stood defiantly.
> Through the door I could hear Ms. Lee begging me to let her leave.
> "You cannot leave me here. Phone the embassy."
> "Your embassy can't help you. Read this!"

> He was pointing to a passage in a book. I did what I was told.
> They could legally detain me for 24 hours for no reason and I would not be allowed to notify anyone.
> "Shit, shit, shit" I thought to myself.
> I read on… the only way they could do this is if they gave me their names. They had no nametags on.
> I couldn't believe it. Here I was trying to do the right thing and get a legal contract and this is how I would go out.
> "What are your names? It says here that you can detain me but I have a right to know your names."
> "Give me that book! You think you are so smart."
> "Ms. Lee, are you still there!?"
> "Yes." She said tearfully.
> I couldn't believe this either. I had to calm *her* down, even though I was the one being interrogated. The interrogation lasted for 5 painful hours, which I have blocked out of my memory. I asked Ms. Lee why they released me and she told me that when the Canadian embassy phoned they denied that they were holding me. It didn't make sense, but none of it did. I found out later that they always gave this school a difficult time when they were hiring foreigners because they did not bribe the police.
> When I went home I decided that I had had enough of Korea. I would finally go to Japan. I spent a year in Japan and then decided to come back to Korea on a legal contract at Sogang University.

Since the majority of my time teaching abroad was in Seoul, my time in Japan was not elaborated on in my narrative, but that does not mean that it was not significant. Japan had more exposure to foreigners and for the first time I was being interviewed by other foreigners. This did not make it easier to find work and the high cost of living added to my financial pressure. These foreigners had paid their dues and they wanted to make sure that anyone at their institute was qualified and culturally sensitive. Although I was there on a working holiday visa, the people who interviewed me wanted to make sure it was more work than holiday. After three interviews and a week's worth of training, I was a teacher at Berlitz. I worked all the time. Sometimes I taught from 8 a.m. to 9 p.m. and I worked on weekends. I would block off one lesson to go to the gym and kept

stacks of snacks to eat between classes so that I wouldn't have to take breaks. Each class represented a step up out of debt, an inch closer to the light at the end of the tunnel.

I also felt respected as a teacher and a foreigner. I had made friends with both the Japanese and foreign staff and I made a lasting impression on some of the students. I was even allowed to do curriculum development that met the needs of our students. I helped organize a *happyokai*[9] to showcase the English skills of our younger students. The school planned special social events for teachers and students to mingle, and the teachers planned informal get-togethers with our students. I met teachers that taught other languages and teachers who taught English who were not native speakers of English or Japanese. I never felt stagnant.

The classes were full of variety. We taught adults and children in individual and group lessons of all abilities. Since the Berlitz system meant that we shared students we could discuss students' progress and personalities. We had special Berlitz Blitz classes for students who were going abroad which entailed a whole weekend of lessons. I remember a student during the last 4 hours of his intensive lessons being punch drunk with English. We were both on autopilot saying anything we could in English. The method was definitely effective; humane - definitely not. The irony was that the student was so prepared to hear English that when he arrived at LAX and the airport security spoke to him in perfect Japanese he didn't understand what the man was saying. We all had

[9] recital

stories about our special students: the retired teacher who liked her lesson to be like having afternoon tea with a friend; the widow who spent her whole lesson talking in Japanese because she was more interested in the interaction than the learning; the business man who carefully selected the *kanji* for our *inkans*[10]; the group of little boys who loved to play during their lessons to their mothers' dismay and my delight.

As a foreigner, I was becoming a star pupil in my Japanese class and I was eager to learn the language and culture. When I wasn't working, I was planning all kinds of trips to local attractions. There was less tension between the foreigners and the locals and it began to feel like a second home. Leaving Japan was a difficult decision, mostly predicated on a personal relationship. One in hindsight that was not worth going back to, but the experience I had once I returned to Seoul is where I feel I blossomed as an educator and critical thinker. I now had the experience and connections to pursue a position that I wanted at the language institute of a prominent Korean university.

Although the position was better than any teaching position I had before, *jeonse*, the key money system for renting an apartment, still meant that I had to live in questionable accommodations. I had the equivalent of about ten thousand Canadian dollars, which made me eligible to rent an apartment in a neighbourhood close to the University which was also home to sweatshops and prostitutes. Here is how I described the apartment in my narrative:

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[10] The Japanese writing system uses Chinese characters along with hiragana and katakana. These Chinese characters are used for names and a stamp with your name in kanji can be used as a signature stamp on official documents.

> After living with a roommate for the first 2 years in Korea, and living with 25 roommates in Japan, I had finally found my own apartment. It was a 12 pyung apartment in the Canadian ghetto, formally known as Taehung dong. The key money was only 7 million won and I had two friends who lived in the same building. I, and many of my colleagues lived among the sweatshops, bar girls, and students that were also located in that area. On my move-in date I went to the bank and got a bank note for 7 million won and presented it to my new landlord.
> I handed him the note and to my surprise he was not pleased. He cocked his head to the side, loudly sucking in air between his clenched teeth. Not a good sign. Was he going to raise the key money? Had he changed his mind about renting to me?
> "Cash, I want cash." He said firmly.
> He must be joking. The largest Korean note is 10,000 won. That would mean I would have to go back to the bank and get 700 ten thousand won notes. I looked at his face again. Not one sign of lightness.
> "I'll be back in an hour." I told him.
> I felt like a secret agent. I would return with a briefcase full of money. Hands would be shaken, papers signed, and I would have my own apartment.
> However, I was not without roommates. The first night there I heard scratching noises and when I would turn on the light I would see nothing. In the morning I asked my Canadian neighbor what it was.
> "Cockroaches" he said matter of factly. "They're stuck under the wallpaper."
> I shuddered, went down to the convenience store and bought some bug spray and a mask.
> When I returned I looked for cracks in the wallpaper and sprayed into them.
> That night there was definitely less scratching.
> The life of the ex-pat English teacher was a far cry from any other westerners' experience. I had met some of the businessmen and diplomats who were here. My apartment was the size of their bathrooms and just as clean. I bet their luggage did not consist of two Koho hockey bags.

I never revealed the contrast between my living environment and working environment to my students. I also rarely revealed my perspective on Korean society or the discrimination that foreigners faced. Instead I called on my students to seek out commonalties in our shared experiences. One of the most memorable comments I received from a student was that I was the first teacher to talk about how we are the same instead of how we were different. This is how I shared

those feelings at the end of my narrative:

> The longer I stayed in Korea the more I began to associate with English teachers who liked teaching. The more I ventured past my neighbourhood, the more I ventured past static representations in my teaching. The experiences we shared were less and less about what we did as foreigners and more about what we did as teachers. I had become close friends with the women I worked with and we all helped each other grow as teachers. The content of lessons began to be less about representing myself as other, and more about presenting possibilities that went outside the boundaries of ethnicity, gender, and social status.

My narrative ends where my formal graduate education begins when I came back to do my master's degree in Education. The readjustment to the Canadian context made it clear how much my overseas experience had influenced my professional identity and development. My overseas experiences also gave me the confidence and credibility to engage in international teaching and research. My personal and professional identities have merged because teaching is now a part of who I am, not simply what I do. My *story to live by* is to be part of a supportive professional community where we can learn from each others' secret stories in order to resist the sacred stories that depersonalize teaching.

The 'Morale' of the Story

What links the three narratives and what does this tell us about the influence of being a native speaker on the professional identity of native speaking English teachers? To answer this research question means recognizing that, similar to non-native speakers, being a native speaker of English can influence the interaction with their students. Throughout these narratives the participants are at once native and non-native, representing an imagined community (Anderson,

1991) based on the Other's expectations of a foreign nationality. They are a minority representing a distant majority to the majority in their immediate context. 'The native speaker' becomes a token, a symbol of Western affluence that motivates the desire to learn English.

These narratives also demonstrate the importance of recognising the myriad of subject positions that educators hold. There are multiple definitions and identities for native speakers that accompany the social practices that involve them. Simon-Maeda (2004) noted that the participants in her study were also "daughters, expatriates, racial minorities or socioeconomically disadvantaged" (p. 414). In all three of the narratives presented above, there are narrative threads of difference that separate them from their peers, and sameness that bring them together.

For Eric, his success and challenges as a language learner influence how he views language and language learning. Initially, he identifies himself as 'monolingual, western Canadian, Anglophone" who quickly becomes a multilingual language learner, although he does not identify himself as such. In his narrative he was successful in acquiring competency in three European languages, but found it challenging to develop his Japanese language competency. These experiences provided him with an appreciation of language learning and also the difficulties, his students, particularly Asian students, face in the classroom. Token foreigner, foreigner, graduate student, Caucasian male, instructor, hiker are other subject positions he identifies throughout his narrative. The subject positions that seem to have a negative effect on his professional

development are token foreigner and Caucasian male. In these positions he reports feeling restricted by what he was supposed to represent: stereotypes of the Eurocentric Western male.

For Liz, her experience as an outsider profoundly affected the way she saw herself as a minority and as an educator. Her experience of being "pimped out" and "prostituted" speaks directly to the commodification of native English speaking teachers and her perceived value was limited to being a native speaker. These feelings of being objectified as a professional increased her motivation to make meaningful connections with others regardless of their background. When she describes her own community, categorizations melt away. This is in stark contrast to the times when her experiences of being an outsider makes the categories more pronounced in her narrative. Her vulnerability increased her empathy for others who find themselves living in the margins of society and increased her desire to incorporate learning about other cultures into her professional development.

For Yvonne, the neophyte, the researcher, and the rebel, I realized I was more of a cultural chameleon than an outsider with a unique vantage point that should be valued. I was the participant who was furthest removed from the native speaker stereotype, and thus given some credit for my professional development. I was not simply a native speaker of English because I was non-white and as a result it was not assumed that I was taking advantage of the native speaker privilege. The stereotype that had the largest impact on me was the assumption of cultural purity; that as a foreigner, my students did not see me as a participant in

Korean society, but as one who was unaffected by and insensitive to the local culture. This was not my reality. Due to my appearance I could easily blend in with Koreans and my salary dictated that I live in a lower middle class neighbourhood. The opportunity to associate with different circles of native English speaking expatriates and different socioeconomic groups within Korean society accentuated the difference between privileged categories and privileged individuals. This difference also accentuated the need for me to question the assumptions that accompany categorization in and out of the classroom.

However, the purpose of these narratives is not to create more tension between native and non-native English speaking educators by comparing challenges that native English speaking teachers face to those of non-native English speaking teachers. The purpose is to recognize that the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy can have a negative effect on educators regardless of linguistic background, and that these negative experiences influence professional identity. As Clandinin and Connelly remind us, "When participants are known intimately as people, not merely as categorical representatives, categories fragment." (2000, p. 141). Professional identity is not only determined by the formal qualifications that a teacher has, but also by the legitimacy a teacher's professional and life experiences are given in educational contexts. These narratives show how language educators can make a commitment to their professional development, but in situations where they are merely seen as token foreigners or native speakers of English they are given less opportunity to share their pedagogic knowledge with their colleagues and students.

This is due in part to a discourse in ELT that ties English to colonialism that rationalizes the exclusion of native English speaking narratives because of the global dominance of the English language. As Lingis (2007) reminds us:

> The discourse of a collective establishes what the collective takes to be true and what false. Every established discourse - established by watchwords, passwords, and prompts or established by the decrees of experts-determines what observations and what arguments could be valid and those that are invalid. (p. 125)

Therefore one of the challenges that native English speakers face as language educators is to have their individual voices heard because they are represented as foreign and privileged.

CHAPTER 5:

THE CORPS IN THE CORPORA: THE SEARCH FOR ALTERNATIVE DISCOURSES

My second research question provides a broader context for understanding the previous narratives by examining how the concept of native speaker is understood in different texts. The narrative inquiry provides insight into the lived experience of native speakers of English who have been language educators in a foreign context. The difficulties they experienced in asserting themselves in the shadow of the native speaker ideal bring to light how the mixture of privilege and prostitution of native speakers of English is not confined to the English language teaching industry. Their experiences outside the classroom reiterate the perception of native speakers of English as useful, using, and used.

However, some might question whether or not these experiences are representative of experiences that native speakers of English have, considering the elevated status of English in the global market. Indeed, given the well documented discrimination faced by non-native speakers of English, it is difficult to imagine that native speakers have any trouble. Accordingly, I conducted a corpus analysis to investigate what kind of company the 'native speaker' keeps in linguistic terms. My analysis of how the term 'native speaker' is used creates a larger backdrop for understanding the native English speaking teacher experience. Locating the shades of meaning of 'native speaker' used throughout general and academic discourse clarifies the complexity of being a native speaker. This chapter begins with an explanation of corpus analysis, then a description of the

data collection followed by an analysis of three different corpora that represent general discourse and academic discourse in the field of TESOL.

Corpus Analysis: Four Hundred Million Words can't be Wrong

In order to examine representations of the native speaker in different texts this corpus driven analysis (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001) identifies not only the dominant discourses regarding the native speaker, but also alternative discourses. According to Tognini-Bonelli (2001) a tenet of corpus analysis is to read the corpus in fragments to reveal social practice. Focussing on how the term 'native speaker' is applied in a large number of texts provides insight into how native speakers are socially situated throughout discourse, rather than how they are represented by one or a few authors. The patterns that emerge from investigating these corpus fragments are indicative of the general or taken-for-granted understandings of what it means to be a native speaker. Furthermore, Sinclair (2003) argues that the analysis of concordance lines[11] provides evidence for alternative meanings that may differ from intuitive definitions. Sinclair (2003) points out that linguists' descriptions of language use, including definitions of terms and concepts, are largely based on "intuitive guesswork" (p. ix) which have no other validation for their conclusions. As such language use that did not fit the dominant pattern was easily dismissed as exceptions to the rule. Therefore, the aim of this corpus analysis is to identify the dominant and alternative definitions

[11] "A concordance brings together utterances which have been produced at different times by different speakers, makes visible recurrent patterns and allows us to count them." (Stubbs, 2009, p. 117)

of the term ‘native speaker’. Presenting more than one definition of the term ‘native speaker’ calls into question the dominant representations of native speakers, providing space for different interpretations of social practices involving native English speaking teachers.

Before examining the corpus data, I will present a dictionary definition of ‘native speaker’. According to the Oxford English dictionary (on-line) a native speaker is:

> a person for whom a specified language is their first language or the one which they normally and naturally speak, esp. a person who has spoken the language since earliest childhood, as opposed to a person who has learnt it as a second or subsequent language.

This definition embodies the commonsense and neutralized understanding of ‘native speaker’ that does not consider the social implications of being classified as a native speaker of a particular language. It is simply the first language a person learns. At first glance, this definition maintains the native speaker/non native speaker dichotomy. The native speaker is differentiated from a second language user without consideration for the distribution of power that accompanies this opposition. However in smaller font, this definition also contains the following note:

> The main use of the term among linguists is to identify a person who has an intuitive insight into the way a language is used; however, what criteria entitle a person to the description have been a matter of some debate. (Oxford English Dictionary)

This note reveals that defining a native speaker is a contested terrain.When the term native speaker includes an intuitive sense it is no longer a question of when language learning takes place, but who can lay claim to having insight into a

particular language. A corpus analysis shows how this debate is overlooked or interpreted in different texts and consequently influences social practices involving native speakers.

Data Sources

As noted in Chapter 3, I analyzed three corpora (one general and two academic) to examine how the term 'native speaker' is defined and used in discourse. The purpose of a general corpus is to provide a large amount of data to look at meaning across different text types (Hunston, 2002). I used **The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)**[12] to determine the variety of meanings for the term native speaker by identifying patterns of usage. This corpus is a general corpus that consists of "more than 385 million words of text, including 20 million words each year from 1990-2008, and it is equally divided among spoken, fiction, popular magazines, newspapers, and academic texts" (Davies, 2008). From this corpus I identified definitions of 'native speaker' by examining how the term is used in authentic text.

The next two corpora are specialised (Hunston, 2002), because they are restricted to academic articles from the field of TESOL. I compiled them from electronic versions of articles from the *ELT Journal* and *TESOL Quarterly* with the assistance of *Wordsmith Tools 4.0* lexical analysis software. I worked with

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[12] Davies, M. (2008) The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA): 360 million words, 1990-present. Available online at http://www.americancorpus.org.

ninety articles from the *ELT Journal* and 125 articles from *TESOL Quarterly* to create two specialised corpora that represent the current discourse in English language teaching at the practitioner and academic levels respectively. First, I analyzed the *ELT Journal* corpus to see if 'native speaker' carries the same meaning to TESOL practitioners as it does in a general sense. Then, I analyzed the *TESOL Quarterly* corpus to identify whether there is a difference between how 'native speaker' is used when referring to educators versus the native speaker ideal.

My analysis of the three corpora moves from uncovering perceptions about native speakers in the general corpus to identifying specific social practices in the field of English language teaching in the specialized corpora. Finding these meanings entails taking 'native speaker' out of many different contexts such as newspapers, magazines, and academic journals and grouping the fragments of text together to identify how native speakers are represented. This is done by using concordances, "an index to the places in a text where particular words and phrases occur" (Sinclair, 2003, p. 173). In this study, the concordances consist of excerpts from texts that use the term 'native speaker'. The fragments are not presented as full sentences, but are arranged in lines where the native speaker is at the center of each line. For the purpose of this study the line lengths are approximately 27 words long, in order to observe how the clauses containing native speaker coordinate with other sentence clauses and to go beyond analyzing immediate collocates. Although these lines are referred to as KWIC, key word in context, their value lies in being *degeneralized* (Sinclair, 2003) by disengaging the phrase

‘native speaker’ from its broader written contexts and analyzing the fragments of text. The rationale for not providing whole sentences is that the researcher has to rely on linguistic evidence rather than semantic evidence for his/her analysis.

The efficacy of this research lies in the use of identifying patterns within a large amount of text. I gathered the concordance lines and then identified patterns of use by analyzing the frequency of ‘native speaker’ and its collocations. I identified differentiations in usage by examining the grammatical function of ‘native speaker’ and the words commonly associated with it, which are called collocates. Identifying different usages of ‘native speaker’ is an important step in interrupting the dominant representations of the native speaker that influence social practices involving native English speaking language educators. However, there are limitations to what corpus analysis can accomplish: it can establish evidence of alternative discourses, not interpret it. Therefore, the purpose of this analysis is to identify different representations of the ‘native speaker’ as a starting point for questioning the dominant discourse of privileging native speakers.

The General Corpus Analysis: Defining the Native Speaker

My first analysis investigated the term native speaker in a general corpus. The Brigham Young University **Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)** is a free on-line corpus that annually adds 20 million words from spoken, fiction, magazine, newspaper and academic texts (Davies, 2008). Analysis of this corpus demonstrates the frequency and use of the term native speaker. Within this general corpus, the term ‘native speaker’ occurs 68 times

with 36 occurrences in academic literature. Table 2 demonstrates the frequency of the term in different genres and throughout different time periods. This general corpus analysis indicates that native speaker/s is more commonly found in academic literature than in other texts. The term ‘native speaker’ occurs 0.50 times in 1 000 000 words of academic text versus 0.20 times in the same amount of text in newspapers and fiction, and virtually never in spoken or magazine text.

Table 2

Frequency of the Term Native Speaker in the COCA Corpus

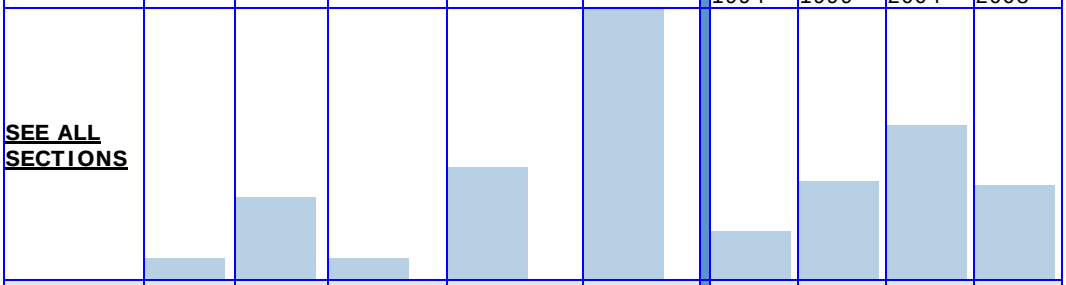
SECTION	SPOKEN	FICTION	MAGAZINE	NEWSPAPER	ACADEMIC	1990-1994	1995-1999	2000-2004	2005-2008
SEE ALL SECTIONS									
PER MIL	**0.0**	**0.1**	**0.0**	**0.2**	**0.5**	**0.1**	**0.2**	**0.3**	**0.2**
SIZE (MW)	78.8	74.9	80.7	76.3	76.2	103.4	103.0	102.6	77.9
FREQ	3	11	3	15	36	9	18	28	13

Table taken from The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)

Patterns of usage

Since most occurrences of ‘native speaker’ are in academic text, the next stage of analysis focuses on identifying patterns within the academic concordances lines. The patterns reveal four different uses for the term ‘native speaker’. ‘Native speaker’ was used to identify: 1) a native speaker of a language, 2) a verifier of language in non-educational contexts; 3) a model for language learning and/or a resource for language students; and 4) a person who met or

failed to meet the expectations of a native speaker. These patterns of usage are not restricted and can be used in conjunction and contradiction. For example, someone who is identified as a model of the language can also be represented as failing to meet the linguistic expertise granted to a native speaker. Although these patterns indicate that in most cases 'native speaker' is used in a seemingly neutral sense as a descriptor, the dominant understanding is that it is a positive term because of the language expertise associated with being designated a native speaker. However, there are a few concordances that indicate that there are expectations that come with the designation and failure to meet these expectations result in negative evaluations. The following sections provide further explanation of each definition.

The native speaker as a characteristic

The most common pattern is the use of 'native speaker' to identify someone as a member of a larger group using the grammatical pattern is "a native speaker of…" which accounts for 35% of the concordance lines. It is important to note that the term is not restricted to English. The concordance lines indicate that "a native speaker of" can refer to a speaker of any language. The reason that I mention this is because in the academic literature that discusses the native speaker concept or native speakerism (see for example, Holliday in the next chapter) in TESOL, it is represented as a term that refers only to native speakers of English. An analysis of all the concordance lines indicate that native speaker collocates with English nine times, other languages 17 times and language in general, ten

times. Furthermore, native speaker is used to refer to speakers of dominant languages such as Spanish, French, and English; lesser spoken languages such as Cornish, Swahili; and even fictional languages such as Tabaxi and Cor-myian[13]. This indicates that using the term native speaker is not reserved for dominant languages, such as English, and therefore anyone can be described as being a native speaker of a language. There is an assumption that every individual can lay claim to a native language and can be considered a native speaker. Therefore, it is important to remember that everyone can be categorized as being a native speaker of a language making it a universal and seemingly easily defined characteristic.

Based on the analysis, although 'native speaker' refers to a speaker of a language, it is rare to refer to yourself or someone you are communicating with as a native speaker. The analysis revealed that it was rarely used to describe a specific person (10/65) and usually occurs using the third person (62/65). Use of the third person supports the perception that it is possible to identify whether or not someone is a native speaker of a language since third person reference does not necessarily include participation or presence of the person being discussed. Similar to describing someone using descriptions of physical attributes, such as hair or eye colour, there is an understanding that both the reader and the writer call on similar definitions of what it means to be a native speaker of a language, and that this is an observable trait. This usage indicates that there is a commonsense notion of 'native speaker' that makes it unnecessary to discuss the criteria that makes someone a native speaker. This is demonstrated in the corpus

[13] Tabaxi and Cor-myian are languages spoken by fictional races in the game Dungeons and Dragons

evidence by concordance lines where ‘native speaker’ was used to assign an attribute to a subject. In concordance line 2, ‘native speaker’ is an attribute that differentiates “she” from other interpreters of Mexican art in the clause “she is a native speaker of Spanish”. The next example indicates the finite number of native speakers, which also implies a qualitative difference between those who were socialized in the language and those who learn that language as a second language.

> 1 writers in English able to interpret Mexican art; and she is a **native speaker** of Spanish even though she communicates in English. What differentiates her from these other (COCA, 2)
>
> 2 e.g., Choctaw and Miccosukee. There are others in which the last **native speaker** of the ancestral language died within the recent recorded past, e.g., Catawba and (COCA, 12)

Furthermore, Thompson’s (as cited in Celce-Murcia, Larsen-Freeman, 1999, p. 411-412) analysis of the preposition “of” showed that it was most commonly used as “a linking element” to indicate what a subject is about, its origin, or its possession. In these instances being a native speaker is linked to a language in a way that is unchangeable and represent language as an inalienable possession.

The native speaker as a verifier

The corpus also indicates that someone who is described as being a native speaker has the authority to make judgements about language use. In these instances the native speaker is an arbiter of the language who can verify language accuracy. Concordance lines 3 and 4 demonstrate how commonplace the practice of consulting a native speaker is by asserting that “any native speaker of English will agree” and that “Often we do this”; where this refers to “consulting with a

native speaker". Additionally, the use of the determiner "any" in the third example (any native speaker of English will agree) and the indefinite article "a" in example 4 (consulting with a native speaker) convey a generic representation of 'native speaker'.

> 3 in ordinary cases, unerringly. Thus, for instance, any **native speaker** of English will agree that the sentence George had a nightmare must " logically imply (COCA, 25)
>
> 4 us. Often we do this with foreign languages, consulting with a **native speaker**, for example. In terms of vocal aspects, however, we may need (COCA, 31)

While the previous examples demonstrate an assumption about the uniformity of native speaker language proficiency the following two concordances demonstrate the belief that there is a link between language and world view. This link as part of the concept of 'native speaker' gives the term a positive semantic prosody[14] since native speakers are considered to have special insight, not only regarding the language, but also concerning the culture. Concordance lines 5 and 6 demonstrate a connection between being a native speaker and worldview in the first example and thinking, perceiving and analyzing in the next.

> 5 Arsuzi 's theory, namely, that the structure of Arabic determines how the **native speaker** of Arabic thinks and that Arabic expresses our underlying world view, finds support in (COCA, 14)
>
> 6 who posited that the grammar of any given language determines how the **native speaker** of that language thinks about, perceives, and analyzes his environment. (COCA, 15)

[14] Semantic prosody is the positive or negative connotation that a word carries because of the context it is found in including it's collocates

Similar to examples 3 and 4, examples 5 and 6 use the definite article, “the”, to convey a generic quality to being a native speaker. Hawkins (as cited in Celce-Murcia, Larsen-Freeman, 1999) notes that the definite article can also be used in a generic sense because it calls on the “hearer/reader to locate the referent in the same shared mental set of objects” (p. 279). In these concordance lines, the authors are assuming that the reader has a similar understanding of ‘native speaker’. Accordingly, the previous examples demonstrate how the assumption that native speakers possess a uniform standard of linguistic proficiency and cultural insight justifies their position as arbiters of their native language.

The native speaker as a language learning model and resource

In the eleven concordance lines that refer to learning a language, a native speaker is seen as a resource for learning and a model of the language. In lines 7, 8, and 9 ‘native speaker’ collocates with “teacher”, “teaching,” and “tutor” indicating a social practice of employing native speakers as language educators.

> 7 teachers. To become a teacher one was only required to be a **native speaker** of the language under instruction. Accordingly there was a lack of gradation in the (COCA, 7)
>
> 8 of these hours were spent in class with a tutor who was a **native speaker** of the language being studied and the rest were spent drilling in the language laboratory (COCA, 8)
>
> 9 teaching in foreign languages would be as simple as finding the next educated **native speaker** of the target language. However, **native speakers**, although fluent in the nuances (COCA, 34)

Lines 10-12 indicate how native speakers collocate with non-human resources that assist learners. In line 10 language learners are given the option to do

language drills in the lab or “with another native speaker” which implies that both options are similar. In line 11 a dictionary and a native speaker are seen as resources to be consulted, while line 12 indicates that it is “helpful to get pronunciation help from a native speaker” In all of these instances, the effect of the collocation is that native speakers are represented as useful resources which can be used in conjunction with or to replace dictionaries and language laboratories.

> 10 and the rest were spent drilling in the language laboratory or with another **native speaker**. The method was a success from the very beginning. For once, (COCA, 9)
>
> 11 a dictionary and perhaps only occasionally needing to consult an expert, well-educated **native speaker** of that language. Most European writers, or so we are told, know (COCA, 64)
>
> 12 tale. Teachers will find it helpful to get pronunciation help from a **native speaker** of Korean before incorporating the following words into a tale: PREFORMATTED TABLE (COCA, 11)

Line 13 shows how the representation of a native speaker as a resource for language learning extends beyond the classroom and influences the social practices of language learners. This is a rare example of a native speaker concordance line that uses first person. The author’s shift from a specific example of being stopped on campus so that students could practice their conversational English to the more general practice of “English corners” throughout China demonstrates the prevalence of the representation of native speakers of English as language resources in China.

> 13 met often stopped me on campus to practice their conversational English with a **native speaker**. Furthermore, most cities in China have English corners where, usually on Sundays (COCA, 27)

Lines 14-17 demonstrate how ‘native speaker’ is used to measure language proficiency. In line 14 the use of the conditional in “as you would to a native speaker” indicates that the native speaker is the model. Similarly, in lines 15 and 16, ability is linked to interaction with a native speaker, and in line 17 ‘native speaker’ collocates with “fluency”.

> 14 record the questions onto an audiotape, saying them as you would to a **native speaker**. Leave enough silence on the tape after each question for students to respond. (COCA, 1)
>
> 15 a. The ability to carry on a basic conversation with a **native speaker**. b. The ability to read basic messages, letters, and instructions (COCA, 35)
>
> 16 the communicative approach (based on ability to converse or correspond with a **native speaker**) which was taken in order to develop this curriculum and the choice of material (COCA, 55)
>
> 17 the country. In this instance, fluency is defined as being a native speaker of English or speaking English "very well." All resident parents must be (COCA, 63)

The linguistic and cultural expertise afforded to the general understanding of ‘native speaker’ make it seem natural for native speakers to act as resources for learning or teaching a language. This emphasis on native speakers as language resources indicates that native speakers are positive representations of the use of their native language that can be utilized in educational and assessment settings.

The native speaker as failing to meet expectations

While the previous examples demonstrate how contact with a native speaker is seen as an essential part of language learning, the following examples verify that there is an assumption that a native speaker has a significant level of linguistic expertise. The collocation of ‘native speaker’ with “know the language

perfectly” in concordance line 18 demonstrates not only the uniformity in native speaker skill, but the level of skill is absolute mastery. A failure to meet the expectation can result in an end to communication in that language, as in concordance line 19 where an assessment of the native speaker’s grammar as inferior results in a request to change the language that is being used.

> 18 couldn't, "I said." Anyway, you're a **native speaker**. You know the language perfectly. " She nodded. " I grew (COCA, 4)
>
> 19 an explorer like you." "Your grammar is terrible for a **native speaker** of Cor-myrian," Rayburton noted. "Do you speak Tabaxi?" he (COCA, 5)

It is interesting to note that the second concordance line contains fictional languages from the role playing game *Dungeons and Dragons*, which emphasize the extent to which negative consequences for failing to meet native speaker expectations is engrained in social practices.

With regard to language teaching there is a distinction between knowledge of the language and pedagogical expertise. Concordance lines 20 and 21 indicate that the native speaker as language teacher is not without controversy.

> 20 teaching in foreign languages would be as simple as finding the next educated **native speaker** of the target language. However, native speakers, although fluent in the nuances (COCA, 34)
>
> 21 An American priest taught at my secondary school, so I heard a **native speaker**. He wasn't a very good teacher, but he paid attention to me (COCA, 49)

In the first example, the use of “however” and “although” negate the clause “teaching in foreign languages would be as simple as finding the next educated native speaker of the target language”. Additionally, using the modal “would”

expresses a desire that native speakers should be good language teachers, rather than a certainty. In the second example, the idea that a native speaker is not a good language teacher is clearly expressed in the sentence following the occurrence of ‘native speaker’ which explicitly states, “He wasn’t a very good teacher”. These examples reveal a discrepancy between representations of ‘native speaker’, and representations of the native speaker as language teacher. This alternative discourse complicates the notion that social practices involving native speakers are always positive by showing how native speakers fail to meet expectations as language models and arbiters, as well as the corresponding consequences.

Summary of social practices and the native speaker

The analysis of the general corpus shows a dominant use of the term native speaker to differentiate a ‘native speaker’ from other speakers of a language, where ‘native speaker’ represents a person who has learned the language in question as a mother tongue. It is commonly used as a neutral descriptor; however there is an expectation that the native speaker should possess a high level of proficiency in their native language and insight into their native culture. Accordingly, they are considered the arbiters of the language, and although they are good language resources, examples 20 and 21 indicate that it does not necessarily follow that they will be good language teachers. Within the native speaker’s role as a language teacher is the possibility to disappoint non-

native speakers. The next two specialized corpora examine whether these representations of the native speaker are repeated in the field of TESOL.

The ELT Journal Corpus: does the song remain the same?

The first specialized corpus consists of 90 texts taken from the ELT (English Language teaching) Journal from 2006-2008. The size of the corpus was limited by the years that the formats of the articles were compatible with the *Oxford Wordsmith Tools* software. In contrast to the general nature of the COCA corpus, the texts in the ELT corpus are specifically aimed at the international English language teaching profession. The goal of the journal is to "link the everyday concerns of practitioners with insights gained from related academic disciplines such as applied linguistics, education, psychology, and sociology." (ELT Journal)[15]. Accordingly, the purpose of this corpus analysis is to examine how the native speaker is represented in TESOL and how it differs from its general use.

The native speaker: ideal, fixed category, language teacher, and foreigner?

In order to analyze the use of 'native speaker' a word list of the corpus was made using *Oxford WordSmith Tools*. From this wordlist, a concordance of 266 lines containing 'native' was generated from 47 of the 90 texts. In other

[15] Taken from The About this Journal section:
http://www.oxfordjournals.org/our_journals/eltj/about.html

words, slightly more than half of the articles in this corpus contained the word ‘native’. Since this is a specialized corpus, the search term ‘native’ was used instead of ‘native speaker’ because native is not used to represent indigenous people, flora or fauna as was found in the general corpus. Additionally, the collocations of ‘native’ also inform representations of native speakers and are thus relevant to the investigation. Of these 266 concordance lines ‘native’ collocated with ‘speakers’ 122 times and ‘speaker’ 80 times. Of the 202 concordance lines that contained native speaker/s, there were only 38 instances where ‘native speaker’ referred to actual people, rather than a generalized category or concept, which moves the native speaker further into the realm of theoretical discourse than the findings from the COCA corpus.

Of the remaining 64 concordance lines 21, were forms of the word ‘speak’: speaking, speakerism, and speakerist. The most common collocations of ‘native’ that did not involve ‘speaker’ still dealt with the native speaker as a model, as in the collocation “native-like”, or as a descriptor for language use, as in the collocation “native language”. For example, in the full sentence from example 22, the native speaker model is described as “complete” and “convenient”:

> 22 I will argue that a **native-speaker** model could serve as a complete and convenient starting point and it is up to the TESOL professionals and the learners in each context to decide to what extent they want to approximate to that model. (ELT Journal Corpus, 16)

Similarly, example 23 demonstrates how “native command” is seen as a necessary measure of proficiency in language pedagogy.

> 23 and teenagers can still attain very high levels of competence, and even achieve **native command** of the language, as many exceptions to the critical or sensitive (ELT Journal Corpus, 156)

These examples provide further evidence that defining the native speaker includes a uniform standard of language expertise.

However, the concept of the native speaker ideal is far from simply being a neutral measure of language proficiency. As the following examples demonstrate, the native speaker ideal is "widespread", "complex", negative and confining. This is in keeping with critical approaches which argue that the native speaker ideal creates an inequitable distribution of power by giving authority to native speakers of English (Phillipson, 1992).

> 24 ideology take place to a greater or lesser degree throughout the ELT world, the **'native speaker' ideal** plays a widespread and complex iconic role outside as well as inside the English speaking West [16] (ELT Journal Corpus, 19)

> 25 packaged as superior within the English speaking West. Such a perspective is **native-speakerist** because it negatively and confiningly labels what are in effect (ELT Journal Corpus, 39)

> 26 on, a series of things begins to make sense. The notion of (a) a chauvinistic, **native-speakerist** ideology, and a desire to correct undesirable cultural behavior (ELT Journal Corpus, 178)

This emphasis on the ideal serves as a point of departure for the use of the term 'native speaker' as a personal characteristic in the general corpus to a concept that is used to categorize people.

Note: "as inside the English-speaking West." Was added to clarify the context of the concordance

When it comes to using the term ‘native speaker’ to categorize people the critical lens used in theoretical discussion about the native speaker ideal is ignored when dividing research participants into categories of native and non-native. In 23 of these lines, the term is used to describe research participants, and from those lines, 14 include both native and non-native speakers. The following examples are representative of the use of native and non-native speaker as a way to differentiate research participants.

> 27 and may possibly create some comprehensibility problems. In this study, **native** and **non-native speakers** of English read an authentic text into a tape (ELT Journal Corpus, 17)
>
> 28 the course. Of these, 16 were **non-native speakers** of English (NNS) and 9 were **native speakers** (NS), with a total of 9 countries represented. The CMC component (ELT Journal Corpus, 120)
>
> 29 among such speakers. Participants: The participants in this study were 11 **native speakers** of English (all Americans: 5 males and 6 females), aged 21–56, (ELT Journal Corpus, 147)

Use of native and non-native categories indicates that ‘native speaker’ is represented as a fixed category such as age, gender or citizenship. This leads to a common understanding of generalized native and non-native categories.

There are only 24 concordance lines where the collocations indicate explicit references to native English speaking language teachers. There are 17 concordance lines that refer to a specific group of teachers and there are seven that discuss them as a general group. When the concordance lines discuss specific teachers it is most commonly as research participants. Nine of the concordance lines deal with teachers as research participants: five with both native and non-native English speaking teachers and four with only native English speaking

teachers. In the remaining eight concordance lines, two of them are neutral descriptors: one refers to a native speaker of Arabic, and one describes a researcher. These classifications support the existence of a universal understanding of the criteria for being a native speaker.

The remaining six lines start to reveal a discourse that is often overlooked when considering the dominance of the native speaker model in language teaching. The following concordance line is representative of critical representations of native English speaking teachers that critique native speakers, not because of their qualifications, but because they are transmitters of Western ideology.

> 30 **native speakerism** is a pervasive ideology within ELT, characterized by the belief that 'native-speaker' teachers represent a 'Western culture' from which spring the ideals (ELT Journal Corpus, 3)

The belief that native English speakers embody and transmit native speakerism requires social practices that place them in positions of authority to do so. However, the social practice of hiring native speakers is not about placing them in positions of authority, but using them as resources to fulfill national curricular goals. Although those goals may be based on native speaker ideology, concordance line 62 demonstrates how the native speaker is portrayed as the object of a scheme.

> 31 Hong Kong, all NET schemes have only employed trained and experienced teachers. **Native speakers** in Hong Kong secondary schools common problem amongst (ELT Journal Corpus, 62)

Both native and non-native English language teachers are objectified and are not active agents from an administrative standpoint. In example 32, the use of the

NET and LET acronyms eliminate the professional and human identification of teachers.

> 32 discussed. Introduction In contemporary ELT, it is common for countries to import **native-speaking** English teachers (NETs) to supplement or even to replace local English teachers (LETs). (ELT Journal Corpus, 18)

Depersonalizing the scheme and the teachers brings into question how much influence teachers have in educational contexts, and who has the power to decide who is hired.

In addition to the depersonalization of native English speaking teachers in the previous concordance lines is the notion of the native speaker as an import which indicates a commodification of native speaking English teachers. The statement that "it is common for countries to import native-speaking English teachers" in example 32 and "the deployment of native-speaking English teachers" in example 33 accentuate the foreignness of employing native speakers.

> 33 than the other two. Some implications for collaboration and the deployment of **native-speaking** English teachers are discussed. Introduction In contemporary ELT (ELT Journal Corpus, 15)

According to the Oxford English dictionary (on-line) to import is "To bring in; to introduce from a foreign or external source, or from one use, connexion, or relation into another" and to deploy originally meant "to unfold; display", but now is used to represent spreading out resources in a military or business sense (Oxford English Dictionary). Using the noun form of deploy obscures who is responsible for the deployment. Both import and deploy represent native English speaking teachers as the objects of the action, and in these instances objects that are not considered natural to the environment: they are foreign objects.

Native speaker and non-native speaker: cooperation or competition?

Although native English speaking teachers as a foreign presence is taken-for-granted, their relationship with 'local' teachers is dubious. As stated in example 32, native English teachers are imported to "supplement" or "replace" local teachers, while example 34 indicates a relationship of "team teaching". In former example the use of "supplement" or "replace" indicates that there is a difference between the two categories of teachers, while the use of team teaching implies a spirit of collaboration.

> 34 in Hong Kong primary schools, involving team-teaching shared between imported native-speaking English teachers and their local counterparts. First it analyse (ELT Journal Corpus, 4)

Examples of these differences are demonstrated in examples 35 and 36 that compare the native speakers with their non-native colleagues. In example 35 there is acknowledgement that the native speakers are not as strict at marking. Contrarily, example 36 questions rather than asserts the difference between native and non-native teachers.

> 35 stricter markers than NS assessors. In a more recent study (Salem 2004), local native-speaker teachers (NSs of ELT Journal Volume 61/3 July 2007; doi:10.1093/ (ELT Journal Corpus, 42)

> 36 sure that it is mastered more successfully the fourth time round? Why should a native-speaker teacher succeed where a non-native has failed? The only major (ELT Journal Corpus, 114)

Example 37 is the only instance which argues that teachers cannot be ranked based on their status as a native or non-native speaker.

37 Neither native-speakers nor non-native speakers are inherently superior to the other (ELT Journal Corpus, 22)

Additionally, there is only one instance where it appears that a native speaker is engaging in any type of professional development.

38 I'm taking a pedagogical grammar course. The first response was from one of the native speakers of English: I would use: c) I'm taking a pedagogical grammar course (ELT Journal Corpus, 167)

These examples indicate that social practices place native speakers and non-native speakers together, but in distinct categories. Although the hope is for collaboration, the threat of being replaced, and comparisons between the two creates a competitive, rather than collaborative discourse. Although the last two concordances reveal a more dynamic representation of English language teachers, the dominant discourse depersonalizes and differentiates them.

ELT corpus summary of results

The findings from this corpus analysis resonate with the representations of 'native speaker' found in the general corpus. 'Native speaker' is still considered a characteristic, but in this instance it is more commonly used to categorize research participants as native or non-native speakers. The role of native speakers as language resources and models for students also reappears. However, there are two important differences in usage between the general COCA corpus and the specialised ELT Journal corpus. First, in the specialised ELT corpus there are more examples that discuss the concept of the native speaker rather than people who are categorized as native speakers. Secondly, there are no negative

evaluations of native speakers in terms of language proficiency, but there are negative evaluations of their roles as native English speaking teachers. The significance of these two findings is that they provide evidence of the possibility that the identity of native English speaking teachers is inextricably linked to discursive practices that represent and evaluate native speakers of English.

The TESOL Quarterly Corpus

The *TESOL Quarterly* corpus was compiled using *Oxford Wordsmith Tools* software and consists of 125 texts of 1,014,845 tokens (running words) taken from the *TESOL Quarterly Journal* from 2002-2006. The description of the journal found inside each issue states: “

> *TESOL Quarterly,* a refereed professional journal, fosters inquiry into English language teaching and learning by providing a forum for TESOL professionals to share their research findings and explore ideas and relationships in the field. The *Quarterly*'s readership includes ESOL teacher educators, teacher learners, researchers, applied linguists, and ESOL teachers. (TESOL Quarterly).

Similar to the *ELT Journal*, *TESOL Quarterly* is concerned with English language pedagogy, but with more emphasis on the theoretical foundations of pedagogical practices. While the *COCA Corpus* identifies different representations of native speakers, analysis of the *ELT Journal Corpus* identifies a growing divide between the native speaker as an individual and the native speaker ideal. The purpose of the *TESOL Quarterly* corpus analysis is to continue this investigation by identifying how the native speaker is referred to as a concept and a person, with special attention to the representation of educators.

The native speaker: concept, teacher, myth

This portion of the analysis includes grouping concordance lines as in the previous corpora and includes further analysis of collocations by examining the most frequently occurring clusters, as well as mutual information (MI) scores. A concordance of 385 lines containing “native speaker/s” was generated from 70 of the texts. From this data an analysis of the word clusters indicates that a fifth (N=81) of the concordance lines use native speaker/s to describe a speaker of a language: “Native speakers of English”; “native speakers of”; and “Native speakers of Arabic” were the most frequently occurring clusters at 38, 26, and 22 times, respectively. This finding is in keeping with the usage of native speaker as a characteristic that is dominant in the general corpus and appeared in the *ELT Journal* corpus.

However, the dominant discourse in this corpus invokes ‘native speaker’ as a concept. A manual analysis of individual concordances allowed lines to be categorized to indicate how many concordance lines referred to people and how many referred to the concept. Most of the discussion concerning the native speaker does not concern actual native speakers, but either takes for granted or contests using the native speaker of English as the standard for English language users. Only 48 concordances or 12% of the concordances referred to people. When discussing native speakers of English: 13 refer to research participants, seventeen refer to native speakers in positions of authority such as teachers or

administrators. The remaining concordances refer to non-native speakers of English: ten of them refer to native speakers of languages other than English, six refer to non-native speakers of English and two refer to regions of native speakers.

When looking for the voice of the native speaker in language education the examples are even fewer. This corpus, like the previous two, discusses the native speaker in third person. Similar to the *ELT Journal Corpus*, native English speaking teachers are resources that are brought in by an institutional authority. As examples 39 and 40 demonstrate it is the "scheme" or "privileged schools" that bring in native English speaking teachers.

> 39 regions. Privileged schools in large urban centers even recruit well-trained **native speakers** to teach their English classes and to upgrade the language professionals (TESOL Quarterly Corpus, 14)

> 40 scheme in Hong Kong) for about 15 years. Under this scheme, approximately 5,000 **native speakers** of English provide support instruction in the schools. (TESOL Quarterly Corpus, 351)

Few concordance lines go beyond using the native speaker as a definitive characteristic. The adjectives "well-trained" and "unqualified" accompany native speaker in examples 39 and 41 respectively, indicate some recognition of the diversity in teacher training.

> 41 Leipzig, Germany. When I began teaching ESOL as an unqualified **native speaker** teacher many years ago, most of my colleagues also lacked any (TESOL Quarterly Corpus, 293)

Example 42 does not reveal what characteristic illegitmizes her identity as a native speaker and example 43 shows that native speaker is only one aspect of the multiple identities of teachers.

42 racialization of her identity relegated Lisa to illegitimacy as an ESL teacher, as a **native speaker**, and as a Canadian. In relation to our research relationship, (TESOL Quarterly Corpus, 268)

43 interviewed by a White researcher. In viewing me as a fellow Asian, Canadian, **native speaker** of English, and ESL professional, Lisa positioned me as both a (TESOL Quarterly Corpus, 269)

Although the last 4 concordance lines present a more dynamic representation of language teachers, they are obscured by the native speaker ideal and instances where the native speaker/non-native speaker categories are taken for granted.

The more interesting data come from looking at the connection between 'native speaker' and "myth". In the cluster analysis "the myth of native speaker superiority" occurs 6 times, which may be a minimal frequency, but the mutual information (MI) score[17] of 9.153 indicates that there is a strong connection between "myth" and 'native speaker'. The MI scores also indicate that there is a strong relationship between the native speaker as arbiter of the language, but not necessarily as a real person. The MI scores for "exceptional", "superiority", and "judges" are 8.515, 8.415, and 8.192. That this superiority is questioned is also evident in the MI scores of "nonnative", "dichotomy" and "whiteness" (8.057, 7.541, 7.093). These preliminary findings are not enough to determine the attitude towards native English speaking teachers. However, they demonstrate how the term is used to: 1) describe speakers of a language; and 2) discuss the concept of

[17] The mutual information score measures the strength of collocation or the likelihood that the words occur together using the following mathematical formula: "Log to base 2 of (A divided by (B times C))where : A = joint frequency divided by total tokens, B = frequency of word 1 divided by total tokens, C = frequency of word 2 divided by total tokens" (Wordsmith Tools)

the native speaker and its place in language teaching. Unlike the general corpus where being a native speaker is presented as an easily defined characteristic, the MI score indicates that there is a discourse in the *TESOL Quarterly* that contests dominant definitions of the native speaker by mythologizing the ideal. Thus, this corpus reveals the contradictions among different representations of native speakers.

Summary: The discursive formation of the native speaker

This analysis illustrates that the use of the term 'native speaker' is not restricted to English. Even in periodicals that focus on research and the theoretical debates surrounding TESOL, the term 'native speaker' is not restricted to native speakers of English. However, it is mostly when speaking about native speakers of English that it becomes contested. The analysis of these three corpora starts to show the subtleties involved when discussing the native speaker, especially in TESOL. The findings indicate that the native speaker as language teacher has a negative connotation that is opposite to the native speaker ideal inherent to language teaching. More specifically, this analysis uncovered evidence that representing Native speaking English teachers in negative terms is a possible facet of defining native speakers.

Additionally, the findings indicate a distinction between native speakers and the native speaker ideal. As the above concordances demonstrate, the native speaker as an ideal speaker of the language creates a common understanding that they are the ideal model for language learning which positions non-native

speakers in subordinate positions where they are always trying to emulate the native speaker. There is a desire to differentiate between native speakers and non-native speakers as a way of identifying linguistic differences that can be eliminated through language teaching. Although Paikeday (1985) proclaims "The native speaker is dead!" and Davies (2003) argues that the native speaker is a myth, the concordance lines indicate other discourses. As the discourse moves from a general to a specific audience, critiques about the power of the native speaker as arbiter of the language become more apparent. In the general corpus there is a desire to identify the native speaker and know what they know. When this restrictive ideological frame is applied to TESOL, it is difficult to see how a native speaking English teacher could be subject to anything other than benefits from current understandings of the native speaker.

As previously mentioned, the objective of a corpus analysis is not to interpret the evidence, but to describe it. While these native/non-native categorizations have had negative consequences for those who do not have the criteria deemed necessary to claim being a native speaker as a characteristic, little attention is given to those within the bounds and how they are represented as educators. The efficacy of native speaker models comes into question when native speakers of a language do not exhibit the language competency that is expected of them or become language teachers. This fragmented glance at the native speaker reveals how the dominance of the native speaker ideal can restrict and reduce the representations of native English speaking teachers in language education. However, it sheds little light on the influence of definitions of 'native speaker' on

the experiences of native speakers of English. The single example of the native speaker as a developing professional is surrounded by the voices of those that debate the native speaker ideal and the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy. From three different corpora the voices hidden by the dominant discourses start to reveal themselves. Now that we have evidence of an alternative discourse we need interpretation. This analysis has taken fragments of text to illuminate different social practices. The critical discourse analysis presented in the following chapter will place these fragments back in their original context to explain the significance of these social practices.

CHAPTER 6: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The corpus analysis provides evidence to support the claim that there is more than one understanding of the term 'native speaker': a characteristic, a language model or resource, but also a potential for disappointment. From that analysis, we can see that defining the native speaker is not straightforward or neutral. The corpus analysis demonstrates that the emphasis on 'native speaker' as a characteristic makes it seem neutral because it is universal: everyone speaks their mother tongue therefore everyone is a native speaker of a language. In a positive sense, the characteristic of being a native speaker of a language also implies linguistic expertise and cultural intuition that consequently make native speakers good language models and resources. The corpus also provides evidence for the influence of the native speaker *model* on the expectations of *individual* native speakers in terms of language proficiency or language instruction.

These aspects of 'native speaker' indicate that the social practices involving individual native speakers of English are partially influenced by the discursive formation of the native speaker concept. Accordingly, to move forward in answering the third research question about how native speaking English teachers are represented in different texts, this part of the analysis moves from how 'native speaker' is defined to investigating the social practices involving native English speaking teachers. In this part of my investigation, examples of academic discourse from the *TESOL Quarterly* and *ELT Journal* corpora are analyzed to examine how native speakers are represented in discourse about the native speaker in theory, in teacher education, and in classroom practices.

This chapter focuses on representations of native speakers of English as language educators relying on van Leeuwen's network for role allocation of social actors (1996). The first two sections explain how the six journal articles were selected and give a brief summary of each article. This is followed by an overview of the methodological framework and the role allocations most frequently used throughout the articles.

The analysis demonstrates how representations of native speakers involve social practices that place limitations on their participation as educators. One way of looking at these social practices is to arrange them to demonstrate how social practices solidify certain representations of the native speaker of English from theory to practice in each article. While this clarifies how many different social practices are used to allocate roles within each article, it becomes challenging to discern which types of role allocation are dominant. Therefore, this analysis is organized based on the social practices most frequently indicated to emphasize the most commonly used social practices and their connections to other social practices in van Leeuwen's network.

Data Sources: Selecting the Articles

This section provides a brief overview of the six articles that were analyzed, followed by a summary of each article. In order to determine what social practices language educators were involved in it was necessary to pick a sample of articles from the discourse. The articles were selected using the frequency of the term 'native speaker' and relevance to teacher identity as criteria.

First, ten articles were selected from both the *TESOL Quarterly* and *ELT Journal* corpora based on the frequency of the term 'native speaker'. Five of the top ten articles in the *ELT Journal* corpus were studies conducted about language usage comparing students' English language use to native speakers or a native speaker model, while the other two articles contain discussion that resist native speakerism. Similarly, four of the top ten articles in *TESOL Quarterly* deal with specific aspects of language use such as: students' pronunciation or perceptions of pronunciation, word forms, and English as a lingua franca. These articles indicate that the categories of native speaker and non-native speaker create a largely uncontested dichotomy in language research.

Since the focus of this study is on native English speaking language teachers, three articles that focused on English language educators were selected from each list. The articles illustrate how native English speaking educators are represented in terms of theory, teacher education, and classroom practice. These three categories were selected based on my understanding of how pedagogical practices are influenced by the dominant theories in the field and also influence teacher training and classroom practice. I also realize that the intent of the authors of these articles is to improve the quality of English education by promoting equality and opportunities for TESOL educators. As such, they critique the dominance of native speaker models and native English speaking language teachers. However, some of the representations of educators in these examples of academic discourse identify areas where representations of language educators

indicate social practices that unintentionally maintain the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy the field is trying to deconstruct.

A Summary of the Articles

The first two articles are examples of the critical perspectives that dominate the ideological discussions of the native speaker. From a theoretical perspective, the native speaker symbolizes the native speaker hegemony that privileges White native speakers in TESOL (Lin, Kubota, 2006; Holliday, 2006). Consequently, non-native speakers and native speakers who do not fit the idealized image face discrimination. The teacher education articles reflect the desire to overcome the discrimination that non-native English speaking educators feel by demonstrating their effectiveness in the field as student teachers (Nemtchinova, 2005) and the positive effects on non-native speakers confidence when opportunities are created for them to negotiate meaning with their peers (Hirvela, 2006). The last two articles present a more complex perspective of how the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy operates in terms of the professional development of ELT professionals. Carless (2006) maintains the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy and argues that this professional division can be positively incorporated in different English language learning contexts. Contrarily, Simon-Maeda (2004) provides opportunities for educators to discuss the multiple subject positions they occupy and different forms of exclusion. These six articles provide a sample of how teachers are placed in academic discourse from theory to practice.

In *"Race and TESOL: Introduction to Concepts and Theories"*, Angel Lin and Ryuko Kubota set out to introduce a special issue of TESOL Quarterly entitled *Race and TESOL* by first defining what they identify as key concepts in this area. Before they define these terms they start with personal narratives. After these narratives, the authors divide their discussion of key concepts into the following sections: 1) Race, ethnicity, and culture; and 2) Racialization and racisms. Next, they discuss "Theoretical orientations for investigating issues of race in teaching and learning English" (p. 481) and finally they summarize the articles in the issue and give their conclusion. They argue that the field is plagued by epistemological racism that privileges whiteness, and structural racism which unfairly promotes hiring white native speakers of English.

Similar to the Lin and Kubota article in *TESOL Quarterly*, Adrian Holliday gives an overview of the negative effects of the native speaker construct. In *"Native-speakerism"*, an article from the *ELT Journal*, Holliday (2006) defines "native speakerism" as a key concept in ELT. He defines it as "a pervasive ideology within ELT, characterized by the belief that 'native-speaker' teachers represent a 'Western culture' from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology (p. 385)." He argues that the native/non-native speaker dichotomy is an "ideological construction" that privileges Western culture while presenting perspectives outside of Western ideology as inferior. He concludes that "[t]he undoing of native-speakerism requires a type of thinking that promotes new relationships." (p. 386). These two articles are representative of how the concept of 'native speaker' is constructed to

convey the negative consequences faced by those who interact with native speakers of English and/or do not fit into the native speaker category.

While the first two articles represent native speakers of English as dominating theoretical discussions about race (Lin, Kubota, 2006) which contributes to native speakerism (Holliday, 2006), the next two articles represent the role of the native speaking English teacher in terms of teacher education. The first article is *"Host Teacher Evaluations of Non-native English Speaking Teacher Trainees"* (Nemtchinova, 2005) and the second article, *"Computer-mediated Communication in ESL Teacher Education"* (Hirvela, 2006), examines the influence of computer-mediated communication on students taking a pedagogical grammar course. These two articles were selected because they demonstrate ways in which the native/non-native speaker dichotomy and resistance to the native speaker ideal are represented in teacher education discourse.

In the first article, Nemtchinova reports on the results of a survey conducted with 56 host teachers of Non-native English speaking (NNES) trainees to reveal their hosts' perceptions about their "personal qualities", "command of the language", "teaching organization", "cultural awareness", "feedback to students", and "self-evaluation"[18]. The impetus for the study was the difficulty that practicum coordinators faced when placing NNES trainees because host teachers felt that these trainees lacked the necessary English proficiency and/ or ESL students' preference for native English speaking teachers. The results of the study indicated that host teachers thought that NNES trainees did well in their

[18] This refers to the ability for NNES teacher trainees to evaluate themselves.

placements based on the aforementioned criteria. Only 3 of the 56 placements were consistently negative. In general host teachers comments indicated that most of the problems the trainees faced were due to being neophytes rather than non-native speakers of English. The author concludes that this proves that NNES trainees are capable in the classroom and host teachers should not be apprehensive. She also recommends that the findings should be considered when planning teacher education for NNES trainees.

Hirvela's (2006) article, *"Computer-mediated Communication in ESL Teacher Education"* examines the influence of a listserv dialogue on students in an ESL/EFL teacher education program. The course is a pedagogical grammar course, and he is interested in how the computer-mediated communication (CMC) enhances their learning experience. More specifically, he is interested in how using CMC presents opportunities for the students to negotiate meaning and build a learning community. He concludes that "co-constructing knowledge and understanding through the listerv may have helped the students expand their professional boundaries" (p. 240).

The final two articles examine the role of native speakers as language educators. In *"The Complex Construction of Professional Identities: Female EFL Educators in Japan Speak Out"*, Simon-Maeda (2004) problematizes the roles allocated to language educators and the social practices that accompany them. Conversely, Carless (2006) in *"Collaborative EFL Teaching in Primary Schools"* categorizes language teachers into two categories to show how native speakers can be properly utilized. These articles were selected because they both

demonstrate the constraints placed on the social practices of English language teachers because of the adherence to native speaker/non-native speaker categories.

In the first article, Simon-Maeda (2004) shares the narratives of nine female English language educators who work in Japan in order to draw attention to the challenges that face women in English language education, regardless of whether they are native or no-native speakers of English. She discusses the three most significant themes which influence the construction of their professional identity: “personal biographies”, “ways of dealing with (cross-cultural) conflicts in work environments”, and “attitudes toward students and professional practice” (p. 411). Giving the participants the opportunity to voice their individual experiences highlights the marginalization of women in ELT, but also brings attention to the discriminatory effect of other dominant discourses, such as White native speakerism. She concludes that narrative research is essential in order to understand “…the field’s political and ideological underpinnings and rework them toward more progressive ends…” (p. 431). She further argues that narrative inquiry provides a form of research which reveals the dialogically constructed nature of identity that has to be considered in discussions about teacher education and professional practices.

Contrary to Simon-Maeda, Carless (2006) explicitly divides native and non-native educators into two distinct groups and emphasises their differences. *“Collaborative EFL Teaching in Primary Schools”* provides an overview of how native English speaking teachers are incorporated into English education in Hong Kong. Carless (2006) outlines the development of NET (native English teacher)

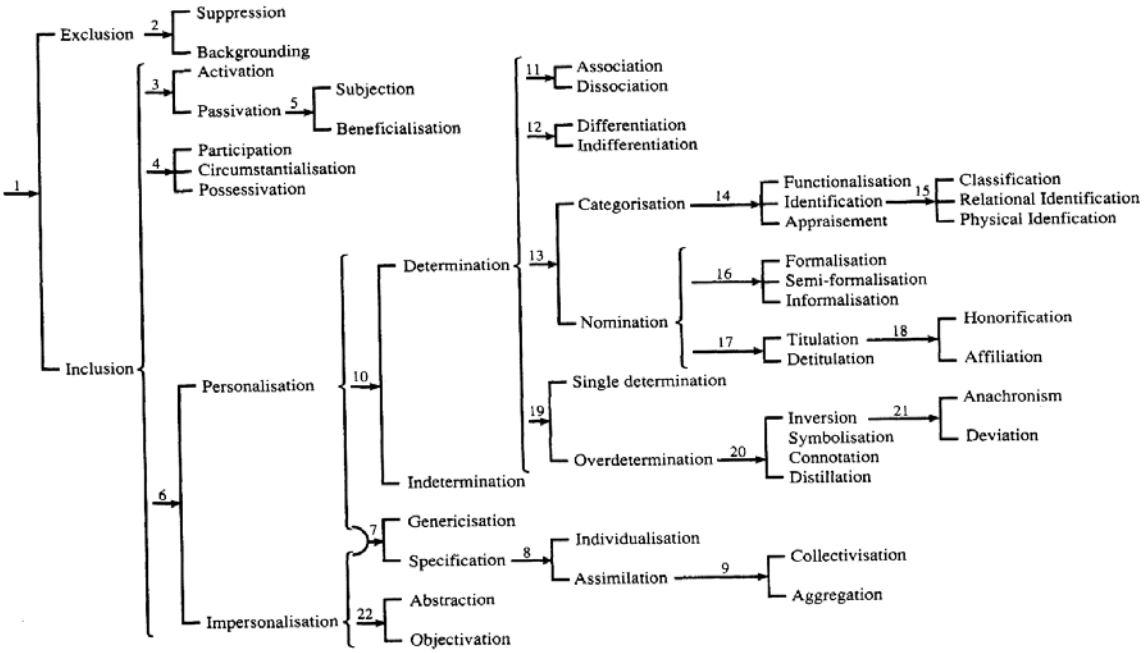
programs in Hong Kong, then focuses on the implementation of collaborative teaching between local English Teachers (LETs) and NETs in the primary school with emphasis on the challenges of moving from a 40 school pilot program to serving the 800 primary schools. The three main goals of the pilot program are to: 1) "develop models of innovative teaching" (Carless, 2006, p. 330), 2) "have a positive influence on students" (Carless, 2006, p. 330), 3) "provide professional development opportunity for all teacher participants" (Carless, 2006, p. 330). The evaluation of this project was mostly positive. Carless (2006) collected 47 open-ended questionnaires from LETS, conducted interviews with 12 NETs, LETs, and 3 "key personnel involved in primary NET schemes" (p. 329); and did six classroom observations. He concludes that the collaboration is worthwhile considering the positive impact it has on students and the increase in reflective practice among teachers. However the increase in "innovative teaching" and professional development of LETs did not see huge improvements. He argues that collaboration must include specific training and plans for implementation and the participants need to be willing to collaborate and compromise. He also suggests that the primary level is an excellent place for collaboration because there is less exam anxiety and the focus of English at that level is on interaction.

What's in a Role? : An Overview of van Leeuwen's Network of Role Allocation

The aim of this critical discourse analysis is to examine how native English speaking teachers are situated in the academic discourse of English

language teaching. Van Leeuwen (1996) proposes a network that identifies how social practices are linguistically realised to include or exclude social actors in different ways. As van Leeuwen notes, the purpose of the network is not to place social actors in discrete roles, but to provide "a set of relevant categories for investigating the representation of social actors in discourse." (p. 33). Analysis using these sociolinguistic categories incorporates the structure of linguistic analysis that includes the social context in order to provide an interpretation of social practices. He notes that these categories demonstrate "how representations include or exclude social actors to suit their interests in relation to the readers for whom they are intended" (p. 38). The following figure (van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 66) represents the possible roles a social actor can inhabit in a discourse and shows the relationship between them. The curly brackets indicate where there are possibilities for social actors to be represented in more than one role, while the square brackets indicate roles that can not be inhabited simultaneously.

Figure 1: van Leeuwen's Network of Role Allocation for Social Actors



taken from van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 67

With regard to exclusion, his categories are straightforward: social actors can be *suppressed* or *backgrounded*. *Suppression* is a social practice where there is no mention or reference to the social actors in the text, while *backgrounding* means that their participation in an activity is implied by reference to the particular social actor somewhere else in the text. The methods of inclusion are much more intricately detailed where social actors can be allocated more than one role which demonstrates the complexity of the social practices of representation. In general, social actors can be represented as active or passive, individualized or collectivized, and impersonalised or personalised with subtle differentiations within each category and subcategory. The purpose of this analysis is to see which strategies for representing native speaking English teachers as social actors are commonly utilized and how these strategies construct both the possible and impossible in terms of their interaction in the ELT community.

Although the primary focus of this study is native English speaking teachers, attention is also given to the role allocation of administrators, institutions and non-native English speaking teachers, which allows for a broader understanding of the social practices that are being described in the six analyzed texts. The following section defines the social practices that were used in the text. Then, the analysis focuses on how role allocation reveals social practices that limit how native speaking English teachers are defined and participate in English language teaching. The discussion further problematizes native speaker privilege by focusing on how role allocation is used in these articles to solidify the native speaker/non native speaker dichotomy.

Defining Roles

As mentioned in the previous section, there are a variety of roles that can be allocated to social actors. In the interest of clarity, only the role allocations used in this analysis are defined. Van Leeuwen's use of the term 'social practice' describes the use of different types of role allocation in the discourse to stress the effects of using specific linguistic features on the discourse. This is reminiscent of Foucault's (1972) use of *discursive practice* where the repetition of linguistic features of the discourse becomes implicit conditions of the discourse that establish hidden borders for what is considered appropriate.

The most common social practice in these texts is *categorisation*, which occurs when social actors are grouped according to functions they share (van Leeuwen, 1996). Van Leeuwen (1996) recognizes two types of categorisation: *functionalisation* and *identification.* The former is when social actors are

categorised by what they do and this is usually evidenced by converting verbs into nouns using suffixes, such as the use of –er in teacher or speaker. The latter is when social actors are categorised by what they are, using relational, physical or other characteristic as a means of classification. In this sense the term 'native speaker' uses both methods of categorization since the noun 'speaker' assigns a function and the adjective 'native' assigns an identity. The authors of the six articles use the terms 'native speaker' and 'non-native speaker' to represent two options for categorizing speakers of English, including references to English language teachers.

The second most common social practice is *genericisation*, which is when social actors are represented as an example of a particular category, rather than having an individual identity. For example, when a social actor is referred to as a 'native speaker' in the text there is an assumption that their actions are representative of individuals categorized as native speakers, rather than an individual who happens to be a native speaker. In addition to *genericisation*, the authors use *overdetermination*, a social practice where "social actors are represented as participating, at the same time, in more than one social practice"(van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 61). The combination of these two social practices defines how the native speaker is represented and the social practices they are involved in.

While the use of *genericisation* and *overdetermination* create a sense of homogeneity between individuals, the use of *differentiation* as a social practice aims to separate social actors by using pronouns such as 'they' or determiners such as 'other' or 'another' to emphasize that there is a difference between two or

more social actors. The social practice of *differentiation* "explicitly differentiates an individual social actor or group of social actors from a similar actor or group, creating the difference between the 'self' and the 'other', or between 'us' and 'them'" (van Leeuwen, p. 52). This analysis focuses on how the interplay between *genericisation, overdetermination,* and *differentiation* establish native and non-native categories and the differences between them.

The authors of the six articles also use other forms of role allocation to emphasize the division between social actors to position readers. *Nomination* and *association* are not as commonly used, but add to the generic, passive role of native English speaking teachers. *Nomination* is when a social actor is identified by proper nouns, such as their first and/or last name. *Association* is when social actors are identified as a group by using "and" or being listed with other social actors without conjunctions, which is referred to as parataxis. The analysis also revealed how the discourse interprets the interrelationship between social actors by using opposing role allocations to strengthen the perception of difference and allocate authority.

While *genericisation, categorisation,* and *differentiation* are social practices that function to restrict the characteristics that define native speakers and non-native English speaking educators, the use of *impersonalisation* and *passivation* are social practices that limit how social actors are represented as participants in social practices. According to van Leeuwen (1996) the social practice of *impersonalisation* is when social actors are "…represented by other means, for instance by abstract nouns, or by concrete nouns whose meaning does

not include the semantic feature 'human'" (p 59). This is usually achieved by metonymical reference, which is replacing direct reference of social actors with an object or place associated with them. For example, in "the pen is mightier than the sword", 'sword' and 'pen' represent the people who use them. *Passivation* occurs when social actors are seen as being the beneficiaries of an activity or undergoing one, rather than active participant.

Examining how roles are allocated adds dimensions to the interpretation of texts that are not readily apparent. The next section discusses how language is used in the articles I analyzed to blur the distinction between 'native speaker' as concept and individual. The analysis starts with a focus on *genericisation* to highlight how the native speaker identity is essentialized. This is followed by examples of *overdetermination* that indicate how the distinction between the ideal and individuals becomes blurred. Then, examples of *differentiation* demonstrate how the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy is perpetuated by representing native speakers and non-native speakers as distinct categories. The examples of *impersonalisation* of 'native speaker' problematize how the concept of 'native speaker' influences the perception of native English speaking teachers. The last set of examples demonstrates how using *passivation* to represent native English speaking teachers diminishes their participation. From the combination of these types of role allocations emerges an overall picture of the role of the native English speaking teacher.

Genericisation of the Native Speaker

The corpus analysis established that in the ELT corpus native speaker was used as a generic category in 81% of the instances it occurred and 88% in the TESOL Quarterly corpus. This part of the analysis presents specific examples of how ELT researchers and research participants use the term native speaker in a generic sense, which indicates that there is an implicit understanding of what makes the native speaker distinct from the non-native speaker. However, the social practices used in conjunction with the terms 'native' and 'non-native', even when contested, result in adding another dimension to how the categories are different rather than diminishing the distinction.

This section begins with an examination of how the use of *genericisation* and *categorisation* defines the native speaker and simultaneously establishes a distinction between the categories 'native speaker' and 'non-native speaker'. This distinction is further emphasized by using *differentiation*. The combination of these three social practices not only divides social actors, but creates a sense of homogeneity within each category**.** This analysis also includes examples of how other forms of role allocation are used to represent other social actors, and how these additional social practices function to intensify the effects of the main ones. Van Leeuwen (1996) defines *genericisation* as " a view of reality in which generalized essences, classes, constitute the real, and in which specific participants are 'specimens' of those classes" (p. 46). He adds that this is linguistically realised by using plurals without the article or with articles, such as in the use of the terms 'native speakers' or 'the/a native speaker'.

Examples 1 and 2 demonstrate how *genericisation* maintains the distinction between native speakers and non-native speakers even though they represent opposing discourses about the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy. In the first example the terms 'native' and 'non-native' are used as categories that divide the students who are research participants. The second example disputes the assumption made in the first: that there is a distinct, observable difference between the two groups. However, what they both share is the use of the genericised terms with no other point of reference. The study in the first example continues to emphasize similarities within each category and assumes that these participants are representative of the larger group of native or non-native speakers of English.

> Example 1:
> …25 students joined the course. Of these, 16 were non-native speakers of English (NNS) and 9 were native speakers (NS)… (Hirvela, 2006 p. 235)

In the second example the quote the author selects does not discredit the use of the terms, but uses a quote to contest current notions of difference while still maintaining difference. This is partially achieved through *genericisation* and also by where the quote starts: in the original sentence Davies uses the indefinite article 'a' for both the native and non-native speaker, but Nemtchinova starts the quote after the article and changes it from 'a' to 'the'. This difference is subtle, but changes the original intent of representing the native speaker and non-native speaker in the same way. Celce-Murcia & Larsen Freeman (1999) note that the use of the indefinite article can be used to distinguish the object as a member of a certain category, while the definite article makes the noun seem more like an

abstract concept. In this case ‘a non-native speaker’, implies anyone from the category “non-native speaker”, while generic use of the definite article ‘the’ in “the native speaker” makes ‘native speaker’ seem more like a concept than an individual.

> Example 2:
> Davies (1991), for example, rejects the idea that the “native speaker is uniquely and permanently different from a nonnative speaker” (p. 45). (Nemtchinova, 2005, p. 237)

Additionally, the legitimacy of her argument is enforced through use of *formal nomination* and *association*. Nomination is when a “unique identity” is given to social actors by using proper nouns (van Leeuwen, 1996). The *formal nomination* of Alan Davies at the beginning of the sentence is a social practice that asserts his authority and the use of the phrase “for example” associates his opinion with other authorities in the field that hold the same opinion. Nemtchinova’s (2005) argument then provides reasons why non-native speakers make better language teachers; a form of differentiation which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Examples three and four indicate the limitations of the ‘native speaker’ category as challenges faced by educators who are categorized as non-native speakers because of the *genericisation* of the native speaker. These examples demonstrate how the term ‘native speaker’ is genericised in a way that excludes individual native speakers of English as active participants in the discourse. These examples also use the social practice of *suppression*, a type of *exclusion* where the social actors are not mentioned. In the fourth example, the native speakers that Simon-Maeda (2004) refers to are not specified leaving it unclear whether the native speakers in question are also her colleagues.

> Example 3:
> Mariah: Because the announcement said “native speaker,” but I tried. I mean, in the Philippines, English is our official language, so everything is in English, policies, newspapers, etcetera... (Simon-Maeda, 2004, p. 421)

In the third example, Mariah explains how she was rejected as a suitable applicant for an English teaching position since she was not considered a native speaker because she is Filipina. In this example, “the announcement” replaces a human being as the grammatical participant, obscuring the identity of the person or institution that created the announcement. Furthermore, it is logical for the audience to assume that someone who was recognized as a native speaker was hired for the position. Additionally, the author, Simon-Maeda, uses quotations to emphasize native speaker, which emphasizes the social construction of the category that restricts belonging into the native speaker category by nationality. Similarly, Holliday (2006) puts the terms ‘native speaker’ and ‘non-native speaker’ in single quotes “… in recognition of their ideological construction” (p. 385).

> Example 4:
> Mariko: Getting the doctorate was a way to establish myself, an indirect way of fighting against those guys [her male superiors in her department]. Because those teachers who taught before me, they were the ones who taught communicative English; that was their territory. So looking at me talking better than they could with native speakers, they felt jealous. (Simon-Maeda, 2004, p. 427)

In the fourth example, the teacher comments on how her association with native speakers creates tension with her Japanese colleagues demonstrating how the linguistic category becomes a professional division. In this example the mention of native speakers is a way to assert Mariko’s linguistic competence, rather than

identify native speakers as social actors. It is also worth noting that in this example, it is Mariko's Japanese colleagues who respond negatively to her interaction with native speakers.

The fifth example of *genericisation* is from the perspective of Julia, a research participant who is considered a native speaker of English.

> Example 5:
> The Japanese faculty in the English department think that anybody, foreigners, native speakers, that, you know, teaching English, is, you know, you've got to have an M.A., but basically when it comes right down to it, anybody can teach as long as they've got an M.A. We all feel that the Japanese feel that way. (Simon-Maeda, 2004, p. 420)

In addition to *genericisation* of native speakers this research participant uses other forms of role allocation to describe the social practices at the institution where she works and to emphasise the separation between Japanese and non-Japanese instructors. The *genericisation* of native speakers is emphasized by the use of further discursive devices known as *association* and *indetermination*. *Association* is usually linguistically realized through parataxis as in this text where "anybody, foreigners, native speakers" form a group that can teach English. The use of "anybody", which occurs twice in this example, is a form of role allocation van Leeuwen refers to as *indetermination* which represents the social actors as anonymous, and is used in this case to imply that the hiring practices are indiscriminate. Furthermore, Julia's use of *specification* to identify "the Japanese faculty in the English department" as the social actors in authority emphasises her position as a nameless, powerless teacher under their authority. She also uses *differentiation* to indicate that her opinion is different from her Japanese

colleagues. In the phrase “The Japanese faculty in the English department think…” Julia represents the Japanese faculty in the English department as unified in their opinion that any native speaker is able to teach English. The sentence “We all feel that the Japanese feel that way” reiterates that she is commenting on what they think, not what she thinks.

Additionally, in the last sentence Julia uses *association* to represent her affiliation with her non-Japanese colleagues by using the pronoun “we” to emphasize that she is not the only one who holds the opinion that the Japanese faculty think that any native speaker can teach English.

These five examples illustrate how the social practice of *genericisation* is dominant in discourse surrounding the native speaker and the effect it has on teachers’ professional identities. Examples one and two demonstrate how *genericisation* of the native speaker is pervasive when identifying research participants, as in example one, or critiquing the dominance of the native speaker, Examples three, four, and five indicate how language teachers respond to genericised representations of native speakers, whether they are considered native or non-native. In example three, Mariah complicates the geographic limitation of who is considered a native speaker by emphasizing her exposure to English because English is an official language in the Philippines. Similarly, Mariko asserts her linguistic expertise by her ability to communicate with native speakers. These responses support the research that shows the restrictions faced by ‘non-native’ teachers of English because of the limitations of how ‘native speaker’ is defined. In contrast, Julia’s response reveals the limitations she faces because of

generic representations of native speakers. The assumed homogeneity of representations of 'native speaker' overshadows individual identities, which may privilege unqualified native speakers, but also makes it difficult to gain recognition for qualifications. Accordingly, *genericisation* of 'native speaker' is problematic for all teachers, not only those who do not fit within the limitations of the definition. The next section discusses the effect of the characteristics associated with the genericised notion of 'native speaker' and how it places more restrictions on how native English speakers are defined.

Overdetermination of the Native Speaker

The following examples demonstrate how *overdetermination* is utilized to clarify Holliday's (2005), Kubota and Lin's (2006), and Nemtchinova's (2005) views about the roles of native speakers. As previously mentioned *overdetermination* occurs when social actors are represented as fulfilling multiple roles simultaneously. Associating these social practices to a genericised role, such as 'native speaker', is what van Leeuwen refers to as *distillation*. As a social practice, *distillation* limits the scope of social practices involving native speakers and connects them to ideologies concerning the role of native speakers. These abstractions are then seen as the defining attributes of individuals who belong to the category 'native speaker'. Examples 6 through 8 are examples of the social practices associated with 'native speaker' throughout academic discourse in English language teaching.

In example 6, ‘native speaker’ is associated with the concept of native-speakerism and also the social practices of representing ‘Western culture’, and determining English language ideals and teaching methodology. However, the social actors who promote native speakerism are not explicitly mentioned. As a result, since ‘native speaker’ is the only social actor mentioned and is the term used to categorize a group of teachers, the reader connects Western culture, English language ideals and current methodologies to social practices determined by any teacher belonging to the group ‘native speaker’, but only with regard to English.

> Example 6:
> Native-speakerism is a pervasive ideology within ELT, characterized by the belief that ‘native-speaker’ teachers represent a ‘Western culture’ from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology(Holliday 2005). (Holliday, 2006, p. 385)

Example 7 asserts that anyone belonging to the category ‘native speaker’ has “a privileged status in employment”, especially if they have white skin. How this privileged status is actualized and who does the privileging is not made explicit. Exclusion of the authorities that bestow the privilege on native speakers shifts the focus of the statement to “privileged status” as a defining characteristic of white native speakers of English in, seemingly, any employment situation. The long list of references also implies that this is a widely accepted perspective.

> Example 7:
> It has been pointed out that native speakers of English have a privileged status in employment, a privilege that is increased by having White skin (Amin, 1999 , 2004 ; Golombek & Jordan, 2005 ; Lee, in press ; Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997 ; Rampton, 1990). (Kubota, Lin, 2006, p. 479)

Similarly, example 8 demonstrates how the author arranges the points of two other sources to overdetermine the authority of native English speaking teachers. Nemtchinova (2005) links Widdowson's assertion that "there is no doubt that native speakers of English are deferred to in our profession" (1994, p. 386) with the social practice of using native speaker proficiency as a point of reference for second language teaching (Stern 1983). Although Stern (1983) was referring to models used in all instances of second language teaching, including English, its inclusion in this discourse restricts this statement to teachers of the English language. Nemtchinova (2005) then returns to Widdowson's discussion about how reliance on native speaker expertise is invalid, especially in terms of teaching. The *overdetermination* is the representation of all teachers who are native speakers of English as: being deferred to, serving as language models, and acting as the arbiters of what is considered "proper" English and teaching. It is also *overdetermination* because it places emphasis on these practices by native speakers of English, as if these actions are not taken up by language educators who are non-native or who teach other languages.

> Example 8:
> In a widely cited article, Widdowson (1994) points out the dominant trend when he states that "there is no doubt that native speakers of English are deferred to in our profession. What they say is invested with both authenticity and authority" (p. 386). To provide just a single example, Stern (1983) emphasizes that "the native speaker's 'competence' or 'proficiency' or 'knowledge of the language' is a necessary point of reference for the second language proficiency concept used in language teaching" (p. 341).1 Widdowson goes on to expose the fallacy: "Native-speaker expertise is assumed to extend to the teaching of the language. They not only have a patent on proper English, but on proper ways of teaching it as well" (pp. 387–388)… (Nemtchinova, 2005, p. 238)

These representations of ‘native speaker’ as arbiters of language and culture that afford them a privileged status overdetermine the authority of native English speaking teachers. This is not to say that there are not native speakers that are privileged and/or become role models and arbiters of the language. The problem is when these social practices are represented as being restricted to and unanimously applied to a particular group of language teachers makes it seem that inequities would disappear if native speakers of English did not have such authority or if they were not part of the English language teaching profession.

In this section the examples illustrate how the social practice of *overdetermination* restricts representations of native English speaking teachers by assigning social practices to them that are not universal: not every native speaker of English or native English speaking teacher is privileged or considered a good language model. Furthermore, being considered a good language model can apply to a language teacher, whether s/he is a native or non-native speaker of the target language, be it English or any other language. Similarly, there are other situations that can lead to being privileged and other social actors that can be seen as being in a position of privilege. The next section shows more explicitly how native and non-native speakers are represented as different. The parameters placed on ‘native speaker’ by *genericisation* and *overdetermination* make it easier to separate ‘native speaker’ from another category.

Differentiation between Native and Non-native Speakers

Differentiation is an extension of the *genericisation* of ‘native speaker’ and the *overdetermination* of social practices linked to ‘native speaker’ as English

language teacher. As previously mentioned, *differentiation* is a social practice that separates groups or individual social actors by creating a sense of us and them. Examples 9 to 13 illustrate how native and non-native speakers are differentiated in the field of TESOL by a variety of stakeholders including non-native speakers of English and teacher educators. These examples explicitly demonstrate how social practices are not aimed at critiquing adherence to the essentialized categories of native and non-native speaker, but are concerned with which category consists of better, more qualified teachers, and appropriate distribution of authority.

The most explicit example of *differentiation* is example 9 where the assertion that non-native speakers of English are better English teachers is made through direct comparison. In the sentence, "…the experience of having consciously learned English makes nonnative speakers better qualified to teach the language than those who are born into the culture" (p. 237), Nemtchinova's (2005) use of the conjunctive particle "than" after the comparative "better" is used to differentiate non-native speakers from native speakers, limits the point of comparison to whether one is a native or non-native speaker, and highlights her opinion that non-native speakers are more qualified than native speakers to teach English. It is interesting to note that she argues that the attributes native speakers have can be acquired by non-native speakers, while the reason that non-native speakers are better is inherent to their language learning experience and cannot be taught to native speakers. Additionally, she uses *formal nominalization* by

referring to Robert Phillipson and his book to indicate expert opinion that validates her claim.

> Example 9:
> In his influential book, Linguistic Imperialism, Phillipson (1992) contends that the notion that the native speaker is a superior language teacher lacks scientific validity, labelling the notion "the native speaker fallacy" (p. 195). He argues that the attributes the native speaker brings to the classroom (e.g., cultural familiarity, fluency, idiomaticity, and dependable acceptability judgments) can be developed through teacher training. In addition, the experience of having consciously learned English makes nonnative speakers better qualified to teach the language than those who are born into the culture (pp. 194–199).(Nemtchinova, 2005, p. 237)

Example 10 is from a narrative Angel Lin wrote about her discriminatory experience as a non-native English speaker. While she argues against racial identifications later in the text, she identifies herself informally as "Angel" or by her qualifications and the other two social actors: her program leader and her colleague, by their nationality and race respectively.

> Example 10:
> One day, my program leader, who is Chinese, told me that he would like to appoint my colleague (a Caucasian, native English speaker who did not have a doctoral degree, as I did) as the deputy program leader to boost the public profile of our program in the local communities.(Kubota, Lin, 2006, p. 471)

Lin uses "did" and "did not" to differentiate her qualifications as better than her colleagues because she has a doctoral degree. Associating her colleague's race with his/her lack of qualifications emphasizes the native speaker privilege mentioned in previous examples. Later in her narrative she states, "I held nothing personal against my Caucasian colleague or program leader, and they both remain good friends of mine." (p. 471). While this represents her as a dynamic character, she never discloses her colleague's reaction. I do not dispute her claim of

discrimination; however, it is important to note that the native speaker is only represented by race and as a static, passive character in her narrative.

Examples 11 and 12 also differentiate between native speakers and non-native speakers but do not make a direct comparison like in the previous examples. The use of *differentiation* in these examples reveals the disjuncture between native and non-native speakers.

> Example 11
> NETs are helpful in thinking through, planning and carrying out some new ideas and activities which we local teachers are not confident to try in the classroom. (Carless, 2006, p. 333)

In example 11, which is quoted from a research participant in the Carless (2006) article, *differentiation* is realized by using the categories "NETs" and "local teachers". The distinction is emphasized by the pronoun "we" which precedes local teachers. Not only does this research participant differentiate between the two groups s/he does it through two different types of categorizations. For the native English teachers, s/he uses the NET acronym. In contrast when referring to the group s/he is associated with s/he does not use the LET acronym, but refers to "local teachers" which emphasizes their function as teachers and identity as local. This type of categorization is repeated in example 12, which is from the same text: first as "NET" and "local teachers", then as "NET" and simply "teachers", and lastly as "NET" and the pronoun "I".

> Example 12:
> Other LETs phrased the situation more negatively: 'If the NET is energetic it is worth collaborating, otherwise they are a burden to local teachers' …A recurring theme amongst LET responses was that collaboration within the NET scheme was time-consuming, for example, 'It costs too much time for teachers and the NET to communicate and co-

> plan before team-teaching' or more baldly, 'I don't like to use my free periods to plan lessons with the NET'. (Carless, 2006, p. 334)

These two examples of the social practice of *differentiation* indicate social practices where native English teachers are not only differentiated from their non-native speaking colleagues, but also genericised, and not recognized as legitimate teachers. These examples also present local vs. foreign as another type of relationship between native and non-native speakers, which complicates the notion of native privilege since both native and non-native speakers of English can lay claim to being native. The native speaker of English is a native with regards to the target language, and the non-native speaker is a native in terms of the educational context.

The *differentiation* in example 13 is not as explicit as the previous examples, but the way the author differentiates between the native and non-native English speaking student reveals how differentiation becomes a social practice in teacher education at the pre-service level. In this example the native speaker of English is referred to as "one of the native speakers of English" and is the only native speaker whose response was used in the article. The author emphasizes her identity as a native speaker by again identifying herself as "a native speaker of English" and then representing her response as typical of native speakers of English. Contrarily, the non-native identity of the next participant is deemphasized by using the abbreviation NNS, instead of non-native speaker and acknowledging her status as a student.

> Example 13:
> The first response was from one of the native speakers of English: …Her status as a native speaker of English is also worth noting in the sense of

> her admission that she couldn't cite formal grammatical rules and relied instead on intuition….
> A response which came shortly after, from an NNS student, resorts to a firmer and more formal tone, but not in a heavy handed way: (Hirvela, 2006, p. 237)

Although examples 9-13 emphasize a difference between native and non-native speakers, the critical discourse analysis also revealed a few examples showing a possibility for other ways of categorizing teachers that transcend the boundaries of native and non-native. At the end of her study, Nemtchinova (2005) recognizes that the non-native English speaking pre-service teachers were categorized as novice teachers by their host teachers rather than by their linguistic background.

. Example 14:
> Host teachers recognized NNES teacher trainees' novice status in the profession, but they did not differentiate them from inexperienced native speaking teachers, (Nemtchinova, 2005, 241)

Similarly, in example 15, one of the teachers from the Simon-Maeda research project emphasizes that teachers should be evaluated according to their "teaching capabilities" rather than other inherent characteristics such as race or linguistic background.

> Example 15:
> Se-ri insisted later during the interview that a person's English teaching capabilities should not be judged according to ethnic or racial background and that "one day we really should erase the categorical names like native or nonnative." (2004, p. 421)

The examples in this section focus on the social practices used to differentiate native English speaking teachers from non-native English speaking teachers. In examples 9 and 10 differentiation is used to assert a qualitative difference between native speakers and non-native speakers in terms of qualifications. The social practice of differentiation in examples 11 and 12

indicates social practices where native and non-native teachers in the same teaching context do not see themselves as unified as teachers, but separated by cultural and linguistic background. Example 13 shows how 'native speaker' surpasses other possible forms of identification thus making native speakers appear static compared to their non-native counterparts.

Impersonalisation in Theory and Practice

Although the corpus analysis revealed a distinction between the use of 'native speaker' as a concept and reference to native English speaking individuals, the distinction between concept and individual is blurred when analyzing the discourse. As Lin & Kubota (2006) note "Critics have discussed how the myth of the native speaker influences hiring practices and the construction of students' view of the ideal speaker of English" (p. 481). However, little consideration is given to how the 'native speaker' concept being linked to native speakers of English affects their interaction with students and their non-native English speaking colleagues. In the following three examples, 'native speaker' is used as an attributive adjective phrase that precedes the nouns 'ideal', and 'model'. This type of *impersonalisation* is what van Leeuwen refers to as *objectivation* which occurs "when social actors are represented by means of reference to a place or thing closely associated either with their person or with the activity they are represented as being engaged in" (p. 59). In the following three examples, *objectivation* is utilized when the authors personify an abstract concept, which obscures the social actors responsible for spreading the concept. Accordingly, the

term ‘native speaker’ is used to associate attributes of native speakers to an ‘ideal’ or a ‘model’ when discussing native English speakers.

> Example 16:
> “…the ‘native speaker’ ideal plays a widespread and complex iconic role outside as well as inside the English-speaking West.” (Holliday, 2006, p. 385)

> Example 17:
> The native speaker model in language teaching is deep rooted and the covert assumption that nonnative speakers make inferior language teachers compared with their NES colleagues is strong. (Nemtchinova, 2005, p. 238)

> Example 18:
> De-idealizing the native speaker model and “going beyond the native speaker in language teaching” (Cook, 1999, p. 204) involves reevaluating the attitude toward NNES[19] teachers.. (Nemtchinova, 2005, p. 238)

Example 19 demonstrates how this link between concept and native speaker influences social practices. It is clear from the example that the program leader holds a belief about native speakers and that is what influences his decision. The *objectivation* of ‘native speaker’ in the phrase “perceived superiority of White native speakers” links the native speaker to power without referring to her colleague.

> Example 19:
> The belief held by my program leader was well-intentioned, but he had let the perceived superiority of White native speakers exercise its power, and he was unaware (or refused to be aware) of the injustice done to me through reproducing this ideology. (Kubota, Lin, 2006, p. 471)

In these examples, the consistent use of the term ‘native speaker’ to describe these abstract concepts makes it difficult not to attribute the responsibility for

[19] NNES –non-native English speakers

dissemination of the beliefs underlying the native speaker concept to native speakers of English.

The next five examples show a shift from *impersonalisation* of native speakers by being linked to a concept, to *impersonalisation* of 'native speaker' in an educational setting. In example 20, native speakers of English undergo *impersonalisation* in the discourse through *nominalization*. Although native speakers are mentioned, they are not represented as social actors. The *nominalization* of the verb 'import' puts emphasis on the action they are subject to, rather than their actions. Additionally, 'import' refers to the movement of goods rather than people, which further distances native English speaking teachers from human characteristics.

> Example 20:
> Examples of the importation of native-speakers of English to schools include Eastern Europe and the Asia Pacific region. (Carless, 2006, p. 329)

Examples 21 through 23 are taken from the same text as example 20 and show how the use of the acronyms 'NET' and 'LET' to represent language teachers removes the human quality and agency of these social actors. In example 21, the native English speaking teachers are subject to being imported by a scheme, rather than specific social actors. In example 22, 'NET' and 'LET' are used to describe the types of partnerships desired in the classroom. In examples 23 and 24 it is the scheme and the methods that are evaluated rather than the actions of the teachers.

> Example 21:

> The first large-scale scheme to import NETs into secondary schools was launched in 1987 with 91 participants. (Carless, 2006, p. 329)

> Example 22:
> …to avoid efforts being spread too thinly and enable teachers to get to know their pupils, NET and LET partnerships should not be involved at more than two different year levels and should not teach any class for less than four lessons per week. (Carless, 2006, p. 330)

> Example 23:
> For example, school principals had a high degree of autonomy and this sometimes resulted in NETs' efforts being dispersed throughout the school rather than focused on particular year levels. In this way, some of the problems of secondary school NET schemes, discussed earlier, were repeated. (Carless, 2006, p.331)

> Example 24:
> Observing NETs carrying out different teaching methods in the classroom may serve as a catalyst for future change, if the methods are seen to be effective. (Carless, 2006, p. 333)

In Example 25, a research participant, Se-ri, who is not a native speaker of English, explicitly states that the representation of native speakers as White results in White native speakers being objectified by college administrators.

> Example 25:
> Se-ri: They [college administrators] want to have fresh faces because they only look at you as an object, like a *kazari* [ornament], *akusesarii mitai nee* [like an accessory, right]; native speakers, White Caucasian, with blonde hair, blue eyes is the symbol of internationalization. (Simon-Maeda, 2004, p. 421)

These examples demonstrate how *impersonalisation* leads to a depersonalized discourse surrounding native English speaking teachers that makes it easier to represent them as passive participants.

Passivation

As previously mentioned *passivation* occurs when social actors are seen as subject to an action. In example 26, native speakers are represented as

beneficiaries of the native speaker ideal, but not necessarily responsible for it. In example 27, the use of more English in the classroom is not linked to native speaker instruction, but merely their presence. Similarly, in example 28, the effect of native speakers on their local colleagues is achieved by their presence, rather than their interaction.

> Example 26:
> Another reason host teachers cite for rejecting NNES teacher trainees is that ESL students prefer to be taught by native speakers. (Nemtchinova, 2005, p. 235)

> Example 27:
> Learners are exposed to more English when the NET is there, the presence of the NET makes us less likely to switch to the mother tongue. (Carless, 2006, p.332)

> Example 28:
> Overall, in terms of innovative teaching methods, there was no clear evidence that the presence of NETs was leading to widespread implementation of progressive ideas outside the team taught lessons. (Carless, 2006, p. 333)

At first these examples might seem to represent the power of the native speakers, however examples 29 and 30 indicate how the native speakers hold passive roles and the allocation of authority is bestowed on the local teachers and the students. In examples 29 the evaluation of the NETs conducted by local teachers indicates that their presence is unwanted. While example 30, shows how students positively evaluate them.

> Example 29:
> A small minority of LETs presented less positive views and this was often focused on communication problems; for example ‘for less able pupils, they don’t like the NETs since they can’t understand what the NETs say and can’t express themselves in English’. (Carless, 2006, p. 332)

> Example 30:

> Our pupils love having NETs; most of them are looking forward to his/her lessons. (Carless, 2006, p. 332)

These examples reveal the tension that native English speaking teachers negotiate considering the contradiction between their passive and objectified roles and the power and privilege commonly associated with native speaker of English.

Critical Discourse Analysis Summary

An overall summary of the academic discourse supports the findings in the corpus analysis that there is a negative perception of native English speaking teachers. Unlike the corpus analysis, the extent is clarified by the role allocation in context, rather than the frequency. Throughout these articles, the most common rationalisations for critiquing the validity of native English speaking educators are that they represent a majority which champions Western ideology and whiteness. Furthermore, these teachers are represented as lacking in qualifications or being less qualified compared to non-native English speaking teachers, and as culturally insensitive. This is emphasized by associating the native speaker/non-native speaker with other essentializing dichotomies such as domestic/international, foreign/local, and white/non-white.

Examples 1 through 8 focussed on how the use of three social practices limits representations of native speakers. First, from use of *genericisation* emerges ‘native speaker’ as an overarching category that is represented as homogenous. The use of *overdetermination* adds social practices that are restricted to the ‘native speaker’ and universal to all its members. The examples of *differentiation* indicate a consistent division of native speakers from non-native

speaker in discourses that contest the 'native speaker' concept. When *impersonalisation* occurs native English speaking teachers are not represented as individuals, but as instruments for carrying out the native speaker ideology. Given their objectified role, it is not surprising that *passivation* is also used to represent their lack of participation in educational contexts. Examples 14 and 15, represent the host teachers in Nemtchinova's study (2005) and the female teachers in Simon-Maeda's study (2004) who are voices from the field that illustrate the possibility of evaluating teachers based on their qualifications and experience rather than linguistic background.

Since one of the aims of the deconstruction of the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy is a more equitable distribution of power, native speakers are often represented as beneficiaries of native speakerism who need to relinquish authority. However, one of the aims of critical applied linguistics is allowing educators to voice their experience in order to resist essentialized identities. This should hold true for all educators. When native English speaking teachers are given individual voices it is through a subject position that is already established as being subject to discrimination. The few opportunities that native English speaking educators have been given in the academic discourse to voice their opinions and experience problematize the simplified notion of the native speaker as always being in a position of authority and/or transmitting Western ideology.

They are also differentiated from their non-native English speaking colleagues through the assignment of different acronyms: NESTs, non-NESTs,

NETs and LETs. These acronyms work to further objectify both sets of educators by removing the human element from their representation which makes it easier to assign static characteristics to both sets of teachers. In theory, native speakers and non native speakers are pitted against each other, such that one's gain is the other's loss. Lin's (2006) example of her native English speaking colleague getting promoted instead of her, implicitly asserts that native speakers of English are given jobs at the cost of a job for a non-native speaker. Similarly, in Hirvela's (2006) article, the championing of non-native English speakers in teacher education is represented as co-occurring with diminishing native speaker authority. In research, the distinction between native and non-native English speaking teachers is also perpetuated by using 'native' and 'non-native' speaker categories to represent data even though the research participants argue that it is not a significant distinction (Nemtchinova, 2005). In the field, Carless, (2006) asserts that the local teachers have a better attitude than the native English speaking teachers, even when the local teachers make negative comments. The locals' complaints are represented as challenges that emerge from the educational context, while the foreign teachers' complaints are attributed to cultural insensitivity. These examples indicate that what is needed is a paradigm shift that seeks to redefine or eliminate native and non-native as categories.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

To return to the original questions that guided my research is to return to the nature of that question. To what extent do current representations of the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy influence the professional development and identity of native English speaking language educators? The methodologies I have employed to answer this question reveal how this dichotomy is defined and the influence it has on social practices. Currently, critical theorists equate the colonial spread of English to a colonial agenda whereby the native speaker is an unwanted, foreign entity and non-native speakers are victims of native-speaker dominance. Native speakers are represented as unfairly privileged, giving experiences that resist this representation little authority and the formal and informal professional development of native speaking English *teachers* little legitimacy.

The lack of native speaker narrative in academic literature echoes the resistance I have experienced when presenting the narratives of my research participants. Corpus analysis was not originally a part of my research design, but I was told that my story had been told again and again. My original research design was to collect narratives of native speaking English teachers and discuss the negative implications of being classified as a native speaker of English within English language teaching, but I realized that it is difficult to tell a native speaker story because it represents both the grand narrative of English language domination and Western ideological hegemony. This has been my legacy as a

native speaker: receiving resistance to listening to the narratives of native English speaking educators in TESOL.

The first stage of data collection examined the narratives of three native speakers' professional development. These narratives demonstrated the possible conflicts and opportunities that emerge from a native speaker's lived experience within the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy. Next, a corpus analysis gave an overview of how native speakers are represented in the popular lexicon before turning to representations within TESOL. This data demonstrated that representations of the native speaker as a resource for language learning needed further interpretation. Accordingly, the next level of data collection focused on how native English speaking language teachers are represented through analysis of articles from the specialized corpora that discuss the roles of English language teachers. Although this analysis indicated that there was a possibility that the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy is problematic for native speakers, as well as for non-native speakers, there was no discussion with native speakers about their professional development. The following discussion summarizes the findings from the research and then discusses the theoretical and pedagogical implications for deconstructing the native speaker/non-native speaker distinction.

The Professional Development of Native Speakers: Lived Experiences within the Dichotomy

The professional development of native English speaking teachers is often excluded because their professional identity is represented as being inextricably linked to being a native speaker. The native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy is predicated on the general perception of: 1) the native speaker as naturally fluent; 2) language as transmitting culture; and 3) native speakers as the best model of a language. When these perceptions are filtered through colonial history into the field of *English* language teaching, the result is the native/non-native speaker dichotomy. Critical theorists such as Alistair Pennycook (1994), George Braine (1999), and Nuzhat Amin (1999) have increased awareness of the negative effects of this dichotomy on non-native educators and native speakers who fall outside the stereotype through critiques of the native speaker construct and narrative research. However, the voices and experiences of native speakers who fit neatly into the native speaker category have been largely ignored because of their native speaker status.

In order to examine the role being a native speaker plays in professional identity, three narratives of native English speaking language educators revealed both problems and possibilities. As with other teacher narratives, our personal biographies before becoming language teachers influence our professional identity and development.

Eric's journey from becoming monolingual to multilingual gave him language learning experience that positively shaped his view of language and language learning. His professional development is a combination of informal collaboration with colleagues and formal certification. He realizes that not

everything he needs or wants to learn happens in the classroom. With regard to professional identity, this participant realizes that this depends more on who he is interacting with than on his professional development. His *story to live by* resists an identity that revolves around what he does and, as such, resists any type of professional categorization.

Similarly, Liz' overseas experience made her more cognisant of the complexity of language teaching in terms of context and power. Initially, her *story to live by* was to gain independence by becoming an experienced traveller and skilled teacher. As her narrative unfolds she realizes how important it is to be accepted as a member of the community where she lives and works. Her struggle to make meaningful contact with South Koreans and to be seen as more than a foreigner gave her the lived experience of being a minority. While she still strives to be a skilled teacher by pursuing a graduate education, she also realizes that it is important to understand the human experience that emerges from the historical, political, and social context where language learning takes place. To travel this path as a language educator guides not only her teaching, but also her professional identity.

My *story to live by* focuses on building community as an important component of professional identity. Unlike, Eric and Liz, I have always been a minority whether I am in my birthplace, the homelands of my parents, or teaching in another country. In my narrative, the first step towards being accepted in any community has always been overcoming difference, and an important aspect of achieving this is not to live in absolutes. In the vulnerability of exposing ourselves

by sharing our secret stories emerges an authenticity of experience that creates understanding among individuals regardless of how a person is initially categorized. Respect for different interpretations, different experiences, and different ways of knowing invites individuals, rather than representations, to join in the task of building a professional community.

Accordingly, we do not define ourselves as native speakers. Our narratives speak to alternative possibilities for native speakers. Instead of being a resource, we were active participants in our professional development and did not take advantage of our privileged status as native speakers of English. We saw teaching English abroad as a chance to learn about other cultures and languages, not to transmit our own. For example, when Eric acknowledged that he was in a position of privilege it was not his native English speaker status that made him a legitimate candidate for the job; it was because of his cultural sensitivity and linguistic ability in Japanese. He was critical of the structural racism that diminishes opportunities for collaboration and he refused to inhabit one side of the dichotomy. Similarly, Liz distanced herself from situations where she was not seen as an individual. Although she was willing to enter into interactions that are initially based on her native English speaker status, once she was in a relationship she tried to move past the stereotype. As an educator, she constantly reflected on her teaching and constantly sought opportunities to increase her knowledge of the local context in order to achieve a sense of belonging in and out of the classroom. As a native English speaker in a foreign country, my narrative adds further resistance to the notion that native speakers of English are impervious to their

teaching context. I learned to negotiate between my experience as a foreigner and my students' perceptions of native English speakers in order to look for common ground. Our narratives indicate ways of challenging stereotypes about native speakers and how this can lead to professional growth.

While the two participants in my research expected to negotiate the difference between foreign and local, they did not anticipate the hostility that they received from fellow native speakers of English. The way Eric's private life was scrutinized in Japan shows how he was considered a representative of difference. The disapproval of Eric's Australian colleague because he changed his teaching style and learned more of the Japanese language and culture demonstrate how Eric resisted pressure to represent the culturally insensitive native speaker. Although he does not identify himself as a native speaker of English, he realized that being a white male native speaker of English came with preconceptions about his legitimacy as an English language teacher. This lack of legitimacy created a lack of legitimate participation that interfered with his professional development and classroom practice. His perception that he was not looked upon favourably by his professors in his graduate program could be interpreted as the professors' resistance to native speaker privilege. Liz's negative experience with Canadians teaching in Seoul was an isolated incident that did not take place in a professional setting, so it did not impact her in terms of her professional identity. However, it did make her realize that essentialized representations of Americans existed among Canadians. While she expected Canadians to befriend Americans because both groups were outsiders in South Korea, she found that the Canadians she met

felt that there was a national difference which impeded the possibility of friendship. These experiences further highlight the heterogeneity within the native speaker category and the complexity of power dynamics within communities of native speakers of English.

An Overview of the Corpus Analysis: Representations of 'Native Speaker'

The common belief in TESOL is that the dominance of English equates to the privileging of native speakers of English. To gain insight into the ideology behind this claim entailed discovering how 'native speaker' manifests in everyday usage through a corpus analysis. The COCA corpus of four hundred million words indicated that *native speakerism* that is contested in TESOL is relatively rare in the general corpus. When it is used, it is typically used to describe a native speaker of any language, *not solely or even mainly English*. The attributes that commonly accompany native speaker status are seen as a measure of linguistic competence and cultural knowledge that makes them excellent resources for language learners and social scientists to gain insight into the language and culture. The general corpus research also indicates that native speakers can fail to live up to the expectations reserved for native speakers by using what others deem to be improper use of the language. The judgement about native speakers complicates the power of the term 'native speaker' because this discourse indicates that it is expertise that predicates the authority, and when the expertise is

judged as insufficient, the legitimacy of native speaker authority comes into question. Thus, it is not an absolute.

More specifically, the general corpus revealed a gap between the notion of the native speaker as a good language resource and the reality of the native English speaker as language teacher. The negative representations of native English speaking language teachers indicate that there is recognition that *teaching* a language requires more than simply *knowing* a language. This reiterates that authority is granted to native speakers when they are judged to have linguistic expertise and when native speakers are language educators, there is also an expectation of *pedagogical* expertise.

The analyses of the specialized corpora reveal a greater divide between the ideal and the reality. In both the *TESOL Quarterly* and the *ELT Journal* corpora, there was an increase in the use of the term 'native speaker'. In the *ELT Journal* corpus that consisted of 91 articles, there were 266 concordance lines containing native, and in 202 of these 'native' collocated with 'speaker' or 'speakers'. Of interest is that in these 202 concordance lines only 38, approximately 20% of them, referred to people. The other 80% referred to the *concept* of the native speaker. Similarly, in the *TESOL Quarterly* orpus, only 81 out of 385 concordance lines containing 'native speaker/s' involved references to speakers of a language rather than the concept. Furthermore, a closer analysis revealed that only 48 of those 81 concordance lines referred to people rather than a generalized group of language speakers. The fact that the majority of references to the native speaker concerns 'native speaker' as a concept implies that interpretations of the

actions of native English speaking teachers will be evaluated within the boundaries of the native speaker concept.

Currently, individual native speakers are seen as belonging to the category 'native speaker', which is theoretically represented as possessing all of the characteristics of the native speaker concept and where the opposite category is 'non-native speaker', which has characteristics that differentiate these individuals from individuals classified as native speakers. The corpus analyses indicate that there are two dominant discourses related to the native speaker concept. The collocations in the *ELT Journal* concordance lines that dealt with the concept highlight the tension in the field regarding the dominance of the native speaker concept. In a positive sense, the native speaker ideal is regarded as "complete" and "convenient". In a negative sense, it is regarded as "confining" and "chauvinistic". However, Deleuze (1994) recognizes the evaluation of the real against an ideal as a form of difference. Separating what he refers to as the 'virtual' from the 'actual' emphasizes that real native speakers should not be evaluated as incomplete copies of the ideal native speaker. Similarly, one of the arguments used to deconstruct the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy in ELT is that a non-native speaker is not merely a substandard native speaker. Thus, the representation of native speakers of English as inadequate representatives of the native speaker ideal should also be challenged.

Furthermore, the *TESOL Quarterly* corpus was analysed using mutual information (MI) scores to indicate the strength of the relationship between two words: the stronger the relationship is between two words, the more likely that the

concepts that the words represent are connected in the discourse. In keeping with the collocations from the ELT journal corpus, the MI scores indicate that parallel to the discourse that grants authority to the native speaker is a discourse that critiques it. The MI scores for 'exceptional' and 'superiority' are 8.5 and 8.4 respectively, while the MI scores for 'dichotomy' and 'whiteness' are 7.5 and 7.0. The strongest MI score was between 'native speaker' and 'myth' at 9.153. These findings indicate that within the academic discourse about the native speaker the superiority of the native speaker is dominant, but the critique of the native speaker ideal has removed this ideology from a central position in the field. In fact, the critique of the native speaker is itself increasingly becoming a dominant discourse.

The existence of these two opposite discourses explains how 'native speaker' and 'non-native speaker' can be contested terms yet remain active categories by means of which to classify research participants and to separate teachers. In the *ELT Journal* corpus, 23 out of 38 concordance lines used the term native speaker as a descriptor for research participants and 14 of those divided the participants into native and non-native categories. The *TESOL Quarterly* corpus had only 13 concordance lines that used 'native speaker' as a category to describe research participants. This use of the term to describe research participants indicates that transmission of the ideology asserting that there is a quantifiable difference between native and non-native speakers of a language is being taken-for-granted in research practices. From a positivist perspective, the native speaker comprises a necessary model for language learning. From a critical perspective,

the native speaker is a questionable resource. However, what this corpus shows is an alternative discourse whereby native speakers are subject to the ideal rather than perpetuators of it. The possibility that the native speaker may be an unwilling participant or even suffer from the maintenance of the native speaker ideal is one that needs further exploration.

How Roles are Allocated in Representations of Native Speaking English Teachers

The different representations of native speakers found in the corpus analysis uncovered distinctions between representations of the native speaker in general discourse and how the native speaker is represented in academic text. This overview of how the native speaker is defined in the corpora highlights how the attributes assigned to native speakers of any language become contested in English language teaching. This stage of investigation turns from analysing native speakers as a broad category to focusing on representations of native English speaking teachers using critical discourse analysis. Van Leeuwen (1996) provides a network of role allocations that was used to focus the analysis on the roles given to language educators. This focus provides an interpretation of text without disregarding the negative impact that the *native speaker fallacy* (Phillipson, 1992) has had on non-native speakers of English. The fact that non-native speakers of English have suffered discrimination because of the *native speaker fallacy* is well documented. Yet there is little recognition of how this fallacy *also* affects native English speaking educators. An aim of critical discourse analysis is to examine

how social relationships are revealed in the discourse of a text. The critical nature of this analysis examines the dynamics at play within the discourse *without* seeking to create a continuum of oppression, but rather to explore how representations of native speakers as educators emerge from the discourse.

In Chapter six, the analysis is arranged according to the frequency of a specific type of role allocation. This discussion is organized according to article themes to emphasize how the representations of 'native speaker' are repeated at each stage. Accordingly, the critical discourse analysis starts by investigating how the native speaker was represented within discussion surrounding the concept of the native speaker. The aim of both texts is to provide a common critical understanding of the "native speaker construct" (Lin, Kubota, 2006) and "native speakerism" (Holliday, 2006). Although the concepts they critique have different names, both terms recognize the essentializing nature of the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy and the need to recognize experiences that problematize the linguistic, racial, and cultural binaries that accompany it. While this endeavour acknowledges the negative impact of the dominance of Western ideology in Lin and Kubota's (2006) discussions of "Whiteness" and Holliday's (2006) discussion of "cultural reduction", the privilege of the white native speaker of English as a language educator is still taken for granted. The impact is only measured in terms of those who do not fit the common representations of native speakers of English due to factors such as culture, gender, or linguistic background. As a result, representations of native and non-native speakers are increasingly diverse, but

professional representations of those considered to be the stereotypical white native speaker remain essentialized.

In examining how native English speaking teachers were represented in teacher education, both of the articles analyzed; Nemtchinova's (2005) study about nonnative English speaking trainees and Hirvela's (2006) discussion of computer mediated communication (CMC) in a pedagogical grammar class, use the 'native' and 'non-native' descriptors to categorize the research participants. The division echoes the implicit and explicit discourse about native speakers, non-native speakers, and the relationship between them that was defined in the Lin & Kubota's (2006) and Holliday's (2006) theoretical discourse. In the context of her study, Nemtchinova (2006) provides an overview for the reasons that non-native educators face discrimination and emphasizes the importance of her study in contributing to its elimination. She explicitly acknowledges the need to "de-idealize" the native speaker model by promoting the strengths that non-native speaking educators bring to the classroom, such as "empathy" and their "conscious knowledge of grammar" (p. 238). She calls this the *difference approach* whereby non-native speakers of English can be as effective as native speakers, but with different characteristics. She goes even further by asserting that Phillipson (1992) argues that non-native speakers are better teachers than native speakers because of these differences. Ironically, Hirvela's (2006) study occurs in a pedagogical grammar class with native and non-native speakers. Although there are courses in teacher education that provide native speakers with, or make them seek out, conscious knowledge of grammar (because native speakers' grammar

knowledge is represented as largely intuitive and unconscious), seeking any form of professional development is construed as evidence of pedagogical incompetence. Hirvela's (2006) discussion about the non-native speaker does not focus on discrimination. Instead, he seeks ways to encourage students' participation in the discourse. He argues that CMC will encourage non-native speaking students to increase their interaction with their classmates, which will in turn provide more opportunities for them to negotiate meaning. At the same time, he essentializes the native English speaking participants by including only one example from a native speaker and claiming that this is representative of all the native speakers' responses.

Eliminating discrimination and increasing interaction are the explicitly stated goals, but nevertheless, Nemtchinova's (2005) and Hirvela's (2006) articles include an implicit maintenance of the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy. Nemtchinova (2005) does not present the host teachers as a diverse group and her initial discussion of native speaker dominance implies that the host teachers are a homogenous group of native speakers. In the implications, she indicates that it was difficult to get background information from host teachers and suggests that it could be due to their "discomfort in openly addressing a controversial topic on which their institutions and superiors may hold divergent views" (p. 255). This indicates a possibility that the perceptions she seeks to dispel can be found in a place where teachers feel they have no authority. Hirvela (2006) also plays into the common understanding of the native speaker as someone lacking formal grammatical knowledge in his single example of a native

speaker response. He equates the respondent's response of "… (here I am relying on intuition)" (p. 237) as evidence that native speakers lack formal knowledge of grammar rules, rather than focusing on the student learning those rules. Additionally, his discussion uses this as a positive example of how the native speaker relinquishes authority. Conversely, in the five examples of non-native speaker responses he argues that a benefit of CMC is how it allows non-native speakers to assert their authority in different ways.

The roles allocated to native English speakers in the articles concerning teacher education add a layer of depersonalization to the essentializing discourse that emerges in the theoretical articles. In the theoretical articles, the role of native speaker was mainly allocated through use of *overdetermination*, a discourse practice that results in implicating all native speakers in every action that perpetuates the inequality between native and non-native speakers of English. The use of *differentiation* as a form of role allocation results in native and non-native speakers being represented as essentially different in character and status. The native speaker of English has intuitive knowledge that results in privilege, while the non-native speaker of English has acquired knowledge that results in discrimination. Although the character and status of the native speaker has been questioned, the character and status of the non-native speaker has not. This is evident in the role allocation in the teacher education articles where the non-native speakers of English are also differentiated from native speakers. This *differentiation* gives the appearance that the solution to the inequality non-native speakers of English face is through the *passivation* of native speakers of English.

The native speakers of English are not represented as active individuals, while the non-native speakers of English are. Consequently, the role allocation indicates that the way of representing difference between native and non-native speakers has changed: non-native speakers are no longer represented as passive subordinates to native speakers of English. However, it is still a differentiating discourse that leaves the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy intact.

The next two studies that were analysed interpret how the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy emerges in the lived experiences of teachers. Carless (2006) is an example of upholding the colonial view of the role of the native speaker as making up for the lack of Western pedagogical knowledge and linguistic expertise found in their non-native counterparts. Oppositely, Simon-Maeda (2004) resists the native/non-native speaker dichotomy by changing her focus from linguistic background to gender. In her study, she collects the narratives of female teachers in Japan to emphasize the challenges they face as females and their struggle to overcome them. Briefly, Carless (2004) argues for equality but still maintains difference, while Simon-Maeda's (2004) focus on similarities among female educators inadvertently reveals how educators - both native and non-native - are affected by the dichotomy.

When analyzing the discourse using role allocation, the impact of the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy in depersonalizing educators became more apparent and reveals other power dynamics at play. In both articles, the methods of role allocation most commonly used with regard to native English speaking teachers were *passivation* and *impersonalisation*. These educators were

selected and directed by administrators to engage in teaching collaborations that represent them as transmitters of western culture and language. Carless (2004) assigned educators to NETs (native English teacher) or LETs (local English teacher) categories and argued that NETs are foreign resources that can be successfully deployed. The participants in Maeda's (2004) study problematize the 'native speaker' as foreigner construct by showing how it results in structural racism. The participants' narratives show how native speakers are passive participants in a discourse that represents them as foreigners or "accessories". As a result, the *differentiation* between native and non-native English speaking educators is maintained and the analysis indicates that there are other dichotomies at work when investigating how native English speaking teachers are represented. The distinctions between administrators and educators, foreign and local, non-essential and essential, add complexity to how the native speaker fallacy plays out in educational contexts.

The role allocation assigned to native English speakers in theoretical discourse maintains a native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy that is evident in articles that discuss teacher education, and articles that examine the educational settings where native English speaking teachers are employed, even when a critical perspective challenges taken-for-granted parameters and the power dynamics. The *overdetermination* of native speakers of English in the theoretical discussions is used to represent the power of the native speaker and to critique the prevalence of the native speaker concept. The discourse of diminishing the power of native speakers of English is demonstrated in teacher education by

impersonalisation and *genericisation* of native English speaking teachers and *genericisation* and *passivation* of language education students who are native speakers of English. These types of role allocation are further used in research about the experiences of English teachers to demonstrate that teachers, whether they are native or non-native speakers of English, lack authority. Furthermore, the *objectivation* of native English speaking teachers clearly demonstrates their role as commodity in the commodification of English. Therefore, the critical discourse analysis shows how the discourse in ELT leaves little room for native speakers to be active participants in resisting or changing the dichotomy since it exists in the broader context of English as a global language.

Turning Representations into Reality: A Discussion of how Social Practices are influenced by Representations of the Native Speaker

In answer to my main research question, the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy contains negative representations of native speakers that may not necessarily impede their access to professional development, but can still make it difficult to establish a legitimate professional identity. The data illuminated the discord between dominant discourses and the lived experience of teachers. Instead of starting with the dominant definition of native speaker, I sought to find evidence of alternative discourses. To explore these issues, three narratives were used to emphasise, not only the connection between life narrative and professional development, but also the construction of personal and professional identity. Clandinin & Connelly (1999) use *stories to live by* to

represent how teachers weave together their personal and professional experiences to create continuity in their story of professional development. This continuity has to incorporate the multiple subject positions that teachers occupy and how these influence ways in which their professional identity is perceived and lived in and out of the classroom.

Using corpus analysis, I searched for different definitions of native speaker to bring to the surface the limitations of the dominant definition, but this is not an end point. The corpus analysis identified multiple meanings of native speaker, which dislocated the neutrality of the term, but did not explain the impact of these definitions on educational practices. With alternative definitions came alternate ways to reread the representations of native speakers while still remaining cognisant of the colonial past of the spread of English, its role in globalization, and its symbolic capital. A critical discourse analysis that focused on the role allocation of educators, especially native speakers, within the dominant critical discourse provided a different interpretation of the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy. This analysis illuminated the social practices that inadvertently reinforce the dichotomy by depersonalizing native speaking English teachers. This recognition that these educators are mostly talked *about* rather than talked *with* created a space for questions of professional development and identity to be heard.

The themes that repeat through the three stages of analysis are: native speaker as concept; native speaker as oppressor; native speaker as foreign; and native speaker as passive/static. These representations are not exclusive: they

emerge from the ontological and epistemological values related to language learning. When being a native speaker is represented as being predicated on upholding native speaker superiority, native speakers become an oppressive force. They become excluded from the dialogue because they are represented as unwilling to give up their power, and as such, unwilling to change. This is problematic. As Smith (1999) notes "…while the configuration of identities has been changing, to be more inclusive, more pluralistic, the consequences still seem full of pathos, because somehow the social grammar has remained the same." (p. 14). Therefore a critical discussion of the dominance of the native speaker model in English language teaching must acknowledge the origin of the concept in linguistics and foreign language education and consider a variety of perspectives to account for its pervasiveness.

Deconstructing the Native Speaker as Concept: Unfinished Business

The native speaker as the ideal for language learning and research has its origins in beliefs about the naturalness of language. Coulmas (1981) argues that *native speakerhood* is central to human experience and the study of language. This benign proposition has become the cornerstone of the reification and subsequent contempt for native speakers of English. The reification occurs when elevation of the ideal is equated to the real and the contempt occurs when the real becomes a simulacrum of that ideal. From this reification emerges a hierarchy where native speakers are viewed as being closest to the ideal. From this

hierarchy emerges a dichotomy where native English speaking and non-native English speaking language teachers have distinct characteristics. In this type of discourse, it is easy to identify the native speaker/non-native speaker as a dichotomy that needs to be eliminated in order to bring about equality for non-native English speaking language teachers. The question then, is why does it remain so pervasive? The answer is not as simple as native speakers of English hold the power.

I argue that the failure to deconstruct the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy is a result of the native speaker concept being maintained by both native and non-native speakers of English. According to Derrida (1978), one of the aims of deconstruction is erasing difference by identifying the how the system perpetuates this difference. Part of this process is to identify and reverse the hierarchy. However this reversal is not the endpoint (Culler, 1982). On the one hand, the ways in which the concept of native speaker has led to discrimination has led to questioning the naturalness of native speaker expertise. It is no longer taken for granted that native speakers are the best language teachers. Smith notes that, “Deconstruction aims to bring that which is lost into the same domain of discourse as what has traditionally been accepted as found” (p. 133). This is evidenced by the difference in meaning of ‘native speaker’ found between the general discourse and the specialized discourse of ELT. No longer is the native speaker conceptualized as the arbiter of language or even the window into language and culture, but a contested term that is used to rationalize

discriminatory practices. This changes representations of the native speaker, but does not work towards eliminating the actual dichotomy.

The critical perception of the native speaker denies the possibility of the proposition that we began with: *native speakerhood* is central to human experience. In that sense every non-native speaker is a native speaker, and within every native speaker is a non-native speaker. Therefore, creation and critique of the native speaker concept also summons a non-native speaker concept that exists in opposition. This calls not only for critique of the native speaker concept, but recognition that traces of the native speaker fallacy exist in the discourses of and about non-native speakers. Positing that the non-native speaker is the best teacher because of inherent characteristics employs the same ideology used to secure native speaker dominance. The polarities that stem from both concepts are evident in the way research is conducted with native and non-native speakers. The polarity between the native speaker and the ideal is evident in how many scholars evaluate experiences with and of native speakers through the lens of the native speaker ideal, resulting in the actual native speaker being portrayed as inadequate. Utilizing native speakers' inadequacy to measure up to the ideal has been an effective way of demystifying the fallacy, and in turn, working to change the hierarchy. But is changing the hierarchy the end of the process? In deconstruction it is not, but the discourse in the field indicates otherwise.

An aim of deconstruction is to generate instability by demonstrating the multiplicities of meaning and interpretations that cannot be captured in words. Derrida (1978) argues that difference must be acknowledged, but one must remain

aware of the irreducible difference, which is a shade of *différance*. In this sense, narrative research shows the diversity of non-native speakers of English in ELT, and their struggle to be seen as more than a teacher who has not learned English as a first language. However, in emphasizing the attributes of non-native speakers of English an idealizing discourse emerges where non-native speakers are represented as having homogenous characteristics that are in opposition to those of non-native speakers.

The Hegemony of Critical Theory: Native Speaker as Oppressor

There is also a need to further examine the epistemological foundations of the theoretical perspectives and research methods that dominate the field of ELT. The field still seems grounded in a Chomskian notion of ideal speakers that supports the native speaker fallacy and modernist perspectives that search for singular solutions. While critical theorists continue to deconstruct the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy they need to recognize the native speaker tendencies in all of us that are tied to ethnocentrism and national identity.

Emphasis on the dichotomy between native and non-native speakers has meant a lack of recognition of the duality of being both a native speaker and a non-native speaker. While post-colonial views link native speaker superiority with the dominance of Western ideology, the corpora demonstrate that ‘native speaker’ is not restricted to English speakers, but is applied to speakers of any language. Even Phillipson (1992) in his discussion of *linguistic imperialism* realizes that the *native speaker fallacy*, the belief that the native speaker is the ideal teacher, is a

tenet of all foreign language education not particular to English. When this is coupled with the histories of colonial languages, then those colonial languages become the languages of oppression and native speakers become the instruments of oppression. This adds another layer to the dichotomy of oppressor and oppressed. The injustice that follows is clear, and non-native speakers' efforts to diminish the authority of individual native speakers are seen as resistance to the native speaker ideal. This tenet of many theoretical discussions filters into teacher education programs and the lived experience of native speakers as pre-service and in-service teachers. In representing the native speaker as the oppressor, practices that would normally be considered discriminatory are framed as resistance to the native speaker ideal. Conversely, representing the non-native speaker as victim leaves their practices unquestioned. Thus, the field will remain divided as long as the resistance to native/non-native categorization is framed as a struggle for equality that does not include the possibility that native speakers of English can also be victims.

One of the key arguments supporting the employment of non-native speakers is mapping 'local' and 'foreign' onto the dichotomy. This is an example of native speaker ideal permeating the non-native concept, for they become arbiters of their own cultures. In the imagined community of the local, the non-native speaker is empathetic and possesses a cultural awareness that a foreign native speaker can never possess regardless of how long s/he lives in the country where s/he is a teacher. It is a strange place for the native speaker to inhabit, to be deemed foreign and native at the same time. The oxymoron of the foreign native

invites a moment of pause of how we are the Other for each other and how this influences an individual's identity construction. Therefore, we need to question if these practices are solely rooted in resistance to the native speaker of English. Would a non-native English speaking teacher from a country outside the local context be as highly regarded as a local teacher? Simon-Maeda's work indicates that this is not the case.

Native Speaker as Foreigner

A recurring theme in educators' narratives is the notion of the foreigner. In both the native and non-native speaker narratives, the isolation of being foreign is accompanied by lack of legitimacy. This raises the question about who is hired in terms of geographical location. Although Carless (2006) frames native English speaking teachers as "imported" and "deployed", there is also the possibility that these teachers consider themselves residents of the country that they are teaching in and have experience living as a minority in other countries. Simon-Maeda (2004) realizes "Teachers' professional identities develop within a network involving macrolevel sociocultural circumstances and ongoing microlevel private and public interactions inside and outside of the classroom." (p. 409). For example, Janet, a research participant in the article by Simon-Maeda (2004), is a native speaker of English who has lived in Japan for half of her life and realizes that she will never stop being considered "foreign" or "culturally insensitive". In my own personal experience as an EAP teacher in Canada, international students

have referred to me as the foreigner because representations of native speaker as foreigner are ingrained in their language learning experience.

Differentiating native English speakers from non-native speakers of English by representing the former as foreigners seems to accompany the commodification of English. As noted in Carless (2006), "Pupils find it interesting to have a foreigner as a teacher so it can raise their learning motivation" (p. 332). However, as Simon-Maeda (2004) argues, being represented as foreign results in exclusionary social practices.

> …the non-Japanese educators encountered additional crosscultural complications in their host country. In the interviews, they often described disempowering experiences as women or a sense of alienation as *gaijin* (foreigners), but they struggled to transform these problems into stories of individual solutions. (Simon-Maeda, 2004, p. 417)

This excerpt demonstrates how native and non-native speakers of English are socially constructed as non-native if they are not considered 'native' to the educational context. As mentioned previously, Eric also realized that his role as foreigner inside and outside of the classroom was to demonstrate difference. When asked "How do you think the community expected you to behave when you were in rural Japan and why?" He responded "As a foreigner…meaning different than them. Not necessarily in a negative way either. They wanted me to be me but also recognize that I was in Japan." This demonstrates his recognition that as a foreigner in Japan, his actions are informed by Japanese expectations.

The maintenance of difference in Japanese society also had implications for his professional relationships. As noted in chapter four, the more immersed he became in Japanese culture the more the tension increased between him and his

Australian colleague. Maeda's (2004) research shows how this designation as foreigner becomes the foundation for structural racism in Japan that contributes to feelings of being objectified:

> In most Japanese colleges and universities, Japanese professors usually teach the seminar class, and it is accorded more academic prestige than courses like English Communication, which are reserved for the foreign instructors. In light of this situation, Janet later expressed the sentiments of many non-Japanese EFL teachers who feel that "we are only there to be parrots, walking tape recorders." This one-dimensional view of the foreign teacher's role also surfaced in Julia's account of her college teaching job interview:
> Julia: "Well, we expect you to be 100% American when you come here." (Simon-Maeda, 2004, p. 420-421)

While this excerpt demonstrates the effect of being seen as a foreigner who has less prestige than local teachers on professional identity, the following excerpt from Liz's narrative in chapter four demonstrates the affect of being constantly foreign on her personal identity:

> I had come very far with my Korean classes, but I suddenly felt that despite all my efforts, I wouldn't be accepted into Korean society… I remember feeling trapped, like there was nothing I could do. I was stuck in an obsession that would never benefit me. I was suffering, not being welcomed somewhere where I was so keen to go.

All these examples, point to a different discourse where the native speaker of English is not in a position of power. These examples show that when native English speakers are teaching overseas, either as neophytes or experienced university instructors their identity as foreign highlights issues of marginalization. Issues of systemic racism and exclusion that are also present in the narratives of non-native English speaking teachers indicate that the designation of native or non-native extends beyond the English language.

Native Speaker as Static

Like a skip in a record, the representations keep repeating. The native speaker of English will always be found lacking: their public professional identity stagnated by lack of recognition for their informal and formal professional development and their own sense of professionalism suffering from their challenges not being recognized. Concept; Oppressor; Foreigner – as long as these representations exist so will the divisive focus on the native/non-native dichotomy that limits the potential contribution of native speakers who were educated in critical, post-colonial classrooms. According to the literature, this is a small minority that needs to remind the profession that the elimination of the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy improves language education.

Implications

The uncovering of ways in which representations influence professional identity is particularly salient when discussing theoretical implications, future research, and pedagogical practices. This investigation reinforces the importance of discourse and how each repetition of a representation creates a more fixed identity that inevitably influences social practice. Pedagogical practices in language and teacher education are influenced by how traces of representations are brought into the classroom. Consequently, the dichotomies of myth and reality, foreign and local, oppressor and oppressed that are layered onto the native

speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy are indicative of the need for further examination of the theoretical tensions in the field. These explorations must consider the ways we conduct research and who has the authority to tell their stories.

Pedagogical Implications: From Teacher Identity to Student Expectations

The pedagogical implications of my research are a starting point rather than an end-point. The way that the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy is socially constructed divides language teachers into discrete categories and has a direct influence on how students construct their own identities as language learners. In the classroom the teacher is the primary authority, and a division of the curriculum that explicitly cultivates different professional identities for native and non-native speakers harms students. Even if students perceive the non-native teacher as more knowledgeable when it comes to grammar and localized pedagogy, but still as someone who will always face discrimination, how will students ever feel empowered? If students perceive their native English speaking teachers as culturally insensitive, lacking pedagogical skills, and with only an intuitive knowledge of the language, how does this foster cultural understanding? The limitations of representations of teachers decrease the possibilities for students to see themselves as legitimate speakers of the language.

A Curriculum of Difference

Students may not be aware that it is structural racism that accounts for the different ways that their instructors are utilized. The structural racism discussed by Lin and Kubota (2006) leads to administrative decisions that are not communicated to students, but that emphasize the differences between their teachers. The critical discourse aimed at displacing the native speaker fallacy is also present in the classroom in ways that maintain native speakers as foreign. The search for difference discourages collaboration, and English communication becomes even more of a tool for international trade than a way of coming together. Cultural sensitivity is reserved for the locals, regardless of other socioeconomic factors that may put teachers at odds with their students. Even when anti-racism is included in the curriculum, there is little discussion about the pedagogical skills needed to deliver such a curriculum. It is assumed that the students are always in the non-native position and must strive to be included. While critics have problematized the natural linguistic expertise of the native speaker, little has been done to examine how teachers develop cultural sensitivity as a part of their professional lives, whether they are native or non-native.

Selling English

The reality of English as a tool in the global market is not lost on administrators and students. Students want to learn English because they are told it will provide them with better career opportunities and local administrations are eager to take advantage of consumer demand. What is seldom revealed is how native and non-native speakers are utilized in the transmission of English as a

global commodity. Block (2002) applies Ritzer's concept of *McDonaldization* to language teaching which he describes as *McCommunication*. He argues that adopting the business principles of calculability, predictability and standardization to a language learning setting "…ultimately dehumanizes a social/psychological phenomenon that deserves a broader frame" (p. 132).

Pedagogical practices that require native speakers to reinforce stereotypes of Western affluence and ethnocentrism in the name of language teaching should cease. Not every non-native speaker in English language education is oppressed, and not every native speaker is unfairly advantaged. Liz's and Angel's superiors utilized the market value of native speakers of English to place them both in positions that blocked their professional development. Liz was not given a work schedule that would allow her to develop her students' language skills on a consistent basis and Angel was passed over for promotion because a native speaker of English would "boost the public profile" (Kubota & Lin, 2006, p. 471) of her university. The insistence that native speakers teach English because they are taking advantage of a system that privileges English native speakers; coupled with the omission of why non-native speakers of English are interested in ELT reinforces the social injustice of commodification because it lacks examination of capitalist desires that commodify individuals who speak English.

Theoretical Implications: Moving Beyond Power and Difference

Critical or post-colonial, there is still something inherently inherent about pedagogical practices based on theories that rely on difference. As Willinsky

(1998) notes “Care needs to be taken in assessing English’s ascendancy around the globe its opening of doors to the future while holding the keys to the past, so that one does not lose sight of that history even as one seeks to move beyond the attitudes associates with that history.” (p. 207). A constant desire to define power as belonging to a particular group can never result in collaboration. Locating power in terms of native and non-native has been problematized by researchers who have examined women, visible minorities, and native speakers with non-standard accents, but little has been done to investigate the alternative experiences of white native speakers who are assumed to have authority. Moving on will mean inclusion of other ways of theorizing human experience, language, and pedagogy. Therefore, critical theorists should make room for alternative ways to negotiate difference.

Conducting Research We can Listen to

When I noted at the beginning that the native speaker has to be talked to instead of talked about it also includes identifying the ways that we exclude each other because we feel that the Other is not capable of understanding our experience. The way to proceed is not by discounting the potential of native speaker contributions, especially in a time where post-colonial and critical theory is increasingly incorporated into Western educational systems. These theories invite students to examine different interpretations of historical events that previously had no authority. Although these approaches incorporate the stories of others, they still maintain a hierarchy. Hermeneutics seeks to interpret experiences

rather than rank them. The discussion needs to include dialogue about facing the native speaker superiority within oneself instead of always turning discussion away from oneself. When discussing non-native English speaking educators the duality of being native and non-native is heralded as an advantage, but for the native speaker it is a disadvantage because they are unwelcome foreigners. Lingis (1994) wrote: “The community that forms in communicating is an alliance of interlocutors who are on the same side, who are not each Other for each other but all variants of the Same, tied together by the mutual interest of forcing back the tide of noise pollution.” (p. 81) Placing more emphasis on professional identity shifts our attention from the essentializing of native speakers to differences between them. Questioning whether privileging the native speaker ideal influences native speaking English teachers widens the discourse surrounding professional development and shaping professional identity. The hope is that giving voice to native speakers’ professional experience in the context of explicit assumptions and existing dichotomies will create a space for change.

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