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Implementing Critical TEFL in a Johannesburg Private Language School

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Masters in English Language Education

By Heather Hotaling

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Declaration

I declare that this research paper is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Masters in English Language Education at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any other university.

Abstract

This classroom-based research examines what key differences occurred when a course using a critical approach to Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL), what I call *critical TEFL*, was inserted into a private English language school in place of a more mainstream conversation class based on elements of communicative language teaching. This research was undertaken to investigate what place a critical approach to language learning, an approach more commonly associated with English as a first and second language teaching, has in EFL.

The sixteen-module course specially created for the research, entitled *Language and Identity,* was conducted at International House Johannesburg, an affiliate member school of a British-based EFL organisation. The study focused on privileged, African, young-adult students and was run as part of their intensive, study-abroad English program. The course was informed by the work of Pennycook and Phillipson and focused on building learners' awareness of the political issues, power relations, and ideological process inherent in the study of EFL. The primary data was comprised of field notes from classroom observations of two separate classes (thirty-two hours in total) and interviews with the fifteen students and two teachers involved.

Drawing on identity theory, Norton's concept of learner *investment* and Bakhtin's notion of *voice*, the key finding of the research were in the areas of: levels of students' involvement and the effects of this on language acquisition; accuracy and fluency and issues around error correction; and how student were isolated or included by the materials. The research examined the implications of these findings including a need to reconcile a critical approach to TEFL with the global business of EFL and issues of customer satisfaction. I argue that despite the difficulties with this approach, with careful teaching training and materials development, there is a cautious place for critical TEFL in EFL teaching.

List of Abbreviations

CELTA ……...Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults

CLA ……...……..Critical Language Awareness

CLL ……..Community Language Learning

CLT ……...Communicative Language Teaching

DELTA ……..Diploma in English Language Teaching to Adults

DOS …… Director of Studies

EFL ……..English as a Foreign Language

EIL ……..……..English as an International Language

ELT ……..English Language Teaching

ESL ……..English as a Second Language

ESOL ……..English to Speakers of Other Languages

IH ……..International House

IHWO ……..International House World Organisation

L1 ……. First Language

L2 ……...……Second Language

LAD ……..……Language Acquisition Device

PPP ……Present, Practice, Produce

R ……... Researcher

SLA ……Second Language Acquisition

ST ……...…… Student

T ……. Teacher

TEFL ……..……..Teaching English as a Foreign Language

TESOL ……..Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

TTT ……..……Test, Teach, Test

UG ……...……Universal Grammar

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Transcription Conventions

I have used standard punctuation when possible to assist in making the transcripts more 'readable'. In addition I have used the following conventions:

//	overlapping speech or interruptions
(…)	omitted data
[ ]	additional added comments by the transcriber
[pause]	used to indicate a pause of 5 seconds or more
( )	used to include short responses within the main body of the text
…	indicates a short pause, usually for reformulation or accessing language[1]

R:	= Researcher
ST1 – ST15:	= students in the study have each been assigned a number. Class 1 students have been randomly assigned a number 1-11 and class 2 students have been assigned a number 12-15.
T1 and T2:	= Teachers of class 1 and class 2 respectively

[1] Notes on Transcription: As the learners in the study are English as Foreign Language speakers (EFL) their language may be considered 'incorrect' in terms of 'standard' English. I have attempted to write down the language exactly as it was spoken by them. This often includes hesitation and reformulation.

Chapter 1 Aims and Rationale

> ELT has… lost its innocence (Widdowson, in Canagarajah, 2006: 29)

1.1 Introduction

This research explores how a critical approach affects classroom experience and language learning in a private English language school for African students studying abroad in South Africa. This was done by way of a pedagogic intervention: implementing a critical approach to language learning in the form of a special class entitled *Language and Identity* which used specially-created critical materials. The *Language and Identity* course was run in a context where the teachers and learners are accustomed to a more mainstream, international approach to teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL), based on elements of communicative language teaching (CLT).

A critical approach is distinct from more traditional language learning approaches in that it advocates a link between language learning and social change:

> From this perspective, language is not simply a means of expression or communication; rather, it is a practice that constructs, and is constructed by, the ways language learners understand themselves, their social surroundings, their histories, and their possibilities for the future (Norton and Toohey, 2004: 1).

This critical approach is situated within the broader definition of pedagogy, 'as referring to forms of social practice which shape and form the cognitive, affective and moral development of individuals' (Daniels, 2001: 1). A critical pedagogy is generally associated with the field of education, social change, power and 'social vision' (Norton and Toohey, 2004: 1).

For this research, I use the term *critical TEFL* to refer to the focus in the *Language and Identity* course on helping learners to explore the politics of global English and their place in it. To help define what I mean by *critical TEFL* I must first discuss what it is *not*. *Critical TEFL* is distinct from other critical pedagogies such as Critical Language Awareness (CLA) which explores the relationship between language and power and how it is realised syntactically, lexically, semantically, and morphologically in discourse. Its methods of analysis focus on language items in discourse (Janks, 2000). The *Language and Identity* course does not focus on examining texts. It is not a CLA course and any focus on the features of CLA is minimal. *Critical TEFL* is also distinct from critical literacy which explores the relationship between language literacy and power. Literacy is understood to be multiple and diverse produced in contexts of power and culture. Certain features of critical literacy are present in my teaching materials, but this is not a critical literacy course.

The critical approach that this research adopts, what I call *Critical TEFL,* draws on elements of CLA and critical literacy, but its main focus is in building learners' awareness of the political issues, power relations, and ideological process inherent in the study of English as a Foreign Language (EFL). The materials used focus exclusively on empowering non-immigrant English language learners who are not from a country where English is spoken as a second or other language. Lessons on the course include discussions on how and why English has spread throughout the world and what the spread of English means for native-speakers and non-native-speakers of English. As the context is an English language school, the course materials were developed not to discourage the acquisition of the English language, but rather to add a critical element which, 'helps people to conform with open eyes, to identify their feelings about it, and to recognise the compromises they are making' (Janks and Ivanič, 1992: 318). This study investigates the ruptures that result in using critical TEFL, both in terms of

what effects it has on the classroom experience itself for both learners and teachers, and what impact this critical approach has on language acquisition.

The *Language and Identity* course itself is placed in the larger framework of the curriculum of the school. Within the private English language school environment, curriculum is traditionally viewed as 'neutral'. Topics are chosen to prompt discussion for the sole purpose of promoting language acquisition. However, as Smith and Lovat attest, curriculum is *not* neutral, but is a representation of a selection of 'skills, norms and practices available within a society' (in Lee, 2006: 1). The courses that are run and the materials used promote the hidden values and beliefs of the school and the society that it is in. The *Language and Identity* course strips away the perceived neutrality of TEFL teaching and builds learners' awareness of these hidden values inherent in English language studies.

1.2 Research Aims and Questions

Drawing from this, the aims of the research then are two-fold:

1. To investigate what happens when a critical TEFL conversation class is introduced into the mainstream curriculum in a Johannesburg private English language school.

2. To explore the curriculum and pedagogic implications of these findings for EFL teaching at International House Johannesburg.

Rephrasing the aims as questions, the research has two main questions and two sub-questions:

1. What happens when a critical TEFL conversation class is inserted into a standard TEFL curriculum in a Johannesburg private language school?

    a. What happens to learners?

    b. What are teachers' responses?

2. What are the curriculum and pedagogic implications of these findings for teaching EFL at International House Johannesburg?

1.3 Rationale for Using a Private English Language School for the Pedagogic Intervention

The teaching of English as a foreign language has become a world industry. The business of TEFL is growing every year with over 220 private schools listed to teach English in London alone and English language teaching (ELT) becoming one of Britain's largest exports (Europa Pages). According to a report by The British Council, half the world's population will be either speaking or learning English by the year 2015 (British Council).

As the business of English is on the rise, a critical approach to language learning is currently at the forefront of academic debate (Norton and Toohey 2004). Although a critical approach was documented as early as the 1920s and has been more widely discussed since the late 1970s and early 1980s (Fairclough, 1992), it seems the debate is still limited to certain sectors, including academic circles and English as a first and second language. The reason a critical approach is virtually absent from private English as a foreign language (EFL) schools is due to its absence from the popular teacher training programmes. These will now be examined.

1.3.1 Institutional context and a critical approach to TEFL

One of the biggest influences on pedagogic practices in EFL schools is the many available TEFL training courses. Of these, the most respected is the Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults (CELTA) authorised by and run in association with Cambridge University, U.K. The CELTA is a pre-service[2]one-month, highly-intensive course that offers both training sessions and a teaching component.

Also authorised by Cambridge University is the Diploma in English Language Teaching to Adults (DELTA). This eight-week intensive programme is the highest level of teacher training you can achieve in EFL teaching, barring a Masters or Ph.D. degree. The DELTA is recognised by ELT schools throughout the world and has been evaluated by the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority in England as a Diploma in Teaching ESOL (English to Speakers of Other Languages) at level 5. Credit is also given for the DELTA in some masters programmes. This course assumes you already have a good level of competence in the classroom and looks to develop your teaching skills further. The aims of the DELTA course, as listed on the Cambridge website are to:

- Deepen your understanding of the principles and practice of teaching the English Language to adults
- Examine your current practices and beliefs
- Apply the results of your learning and reflection to your current teaching position and more senior roles (University of Cambridge ESOL Examinations)

However, despite the authority of the DELTA as being comprehensive, advanced training in the field of EFL, there is no mention of a critical approach in any component on this course. Discussion of the participatory approach to language learning as advocated by Freire (in Larsen-Freeman, 2000) are included in the texts set as compulsory reading yet are not a

[2] before the candidate begins his or her teaching

component of the course itself, though other lesser-known methods are included such as the Silent Way and Community Language Learning (CLL) (Larsen-Freeman, 2000). As a result, critical TEFL or versions of it remains virtually unknown within private language schools worldwide, despite the ongoing academic debate and awareness of it in first and second language English teaching.

Why a critical approach is not part of the teacher training curriculum in these programmes is quite possibly due to its political nature. Critical TEFL opens up the classroom to challenges and questions, and presents an alternate view of teachers. The EFL industry is largely interested in quickly training up new teachers for short overseas teaching contracts. Schools are much more interested in meeting learners' pre-existing expectations, than trying to change them; and ongoing teacher training programmes generally consist of practical activities new teachers can take directly into a classroom, or developing 'solid' teaching skills in areas like grammar and vocabulary. With a large number of newer teachers in schools, it is far easier to teach 'neutral TEFL' than to deal with the more complex area of learner identities which is the domain of critical TEFL.

1.3.2 An example of a private EFL school: An overview of International House World Organisation

The other main factor in the pedagogic practices at language schools is the beliefs of the school itself and the organisations to which the school belongs. In International TEFL, these are macro networks which operate as global networks. One of the largest and most respected EFL networks, International House World Organisation (IHWO) based in London, England, was founded in 1953 and is now comprised of over one hundred and thirty International House (IH) affiliates in more than 40 countries worldwide. IHWO could be viewed as a corporate investor in English language teaching with the

language of English as a global business product. IHWO has positioned itself at the forefront of English language teaching worldwide with its schools considered the leaders in innovative, quality English language teaching. IHWO is also extensively involved in ongoing teacher training both within schools and through running CELTA and DELTA training programmes. The ideology of IH schools is reflected in IHWO's mission statement:

> IHWO is the leading language solutions provider worldwide and its goal is to promote excellence in language education. It supports a network of language schools to provide the highest quality of language learning and to promote innovation and standard setting in language teaching, learning and teacher training (International House World Organisation).

IHWO encourages an exchange of ideas through its network of schools. In addition, a Director of Studies (DoS) conference is held each January in London and directors from all the affiliates are invited to three days of seminars on administrative and educational matters offered by members of other schools. All Directors are invited to present, and this open exchange fosters a creative, stimulating environment, though this decontextualised support generates a neutral 'universal' view of TEFL.

Despite these seemingly good intentions of International House to be at the forefront of English language teaching, the network does not acknowledge the politics associated with teaching English or the problems associated with many critical issues such as the spread of Western culture and values; or *choice*, purporting the spread of English as an international language to be 'natural, neutral and beneficial' (Pennycook, 1994: 9). Though it is obvious that English is a powerful language, the teachers at IH largely view teaching English as empowering the students by giving them access to 'correct' usage of a powerful, international language which has standard forms based on British and American models. Naysmith sums up the predominant feelings in this industry:

> There is a cosy, rather self-satisfied assumption prevalent at successive national and international conferences that ELT is somehow a 'good' thing, a positive force by its very nature in the search for international peace and understanding (in Pennycook, 1994: 11).

International House itself expresses these sentiments on its website, promoting the idea of language learning as something neutral that happily brings people together and develops a certain version of 'international understanding' through English. The implication is that English is the force that binds people together globally. No mention is made of the power relations built into the learning of English:

> Through our language training activities we develop communication and understanding between people across the world. Learning a language develops the process of seeing the world from another perspective - a genuine route to international understanding (International House World Organisation).

If a deeper understanding towards English language teaching is going to develop within the IH school network, it needs to start with the teachers having a greater understanding of the power and implications of what they are teaching. The reason a critical approach is not part of IH World's support programmes already may be partly due to the fact that the teachers in this organisation rose from these same Cambridge training programmes (see 1.3.1). Or, perhaps critical TEFL could be seen as detrimental to the business of the school by destroying the 'cosy' sentiment attached to their mission statement and the identity of the organisation.

1.3.3 Different perspectives on world Englishes

In the 2006 TESOL Quarterly's fortieth anniversary edition, Suresh Canagarajah provides an overview of the state of Teaching English as a Second or Other Language (TESOL) today and states, 'we have become aware that assumptions about English and its teaching cannot be based on those of the dominant professional circles or communities' (2006: 9). I would like to

question who the 'we' is in this statement, as I feel this does not describe my reality at IH, or the beliefs of the teachers at the affiliate schools. Teachers at my institution would not consider non-standard forms acceptable and would label these responses as *wrong*. Differences between the learners' language and the target language would also be viewed as deficiencies in their language knowledge. This would also have been the case, perhaps even more so, when I worked for IH Katowice in Poland as this was a very Eurocentric school, where non-native speakers were required to tandem[3] their classes with a native English speaker. From my experience with International House, I feel this is indicative of attitudes of most (at least native-speaker) English teachers worldwide.

It seems there is a divide between what is known and debated in the academic world and what is actually happening at the school level. A recent teaching-training session given at IH Johannesburg to give our teachers an introduction to the ideas involved in a critical approach was received with mixed interest, with one teacher dismissing it as 'airy fairy'. This raises big questions in terms of how EFL should be taught and what the teachers' role should be. For change to occur, a way needs to be found to implement these ideas at the classroom level. As this is a field that is so imbued with its own doctrines, finding ways to implement changes will most likely be met with teacher resistance.

[3] Non-native speakers were required to share classes, alternating with the native-speaker teacher. This was in line with the schools promise that all classes were taught by native-speaker teachers.

1.4 The Local: Rationale for an African School as the Context for the Study

The research site of IH Johannesburg was obviously chosen as it is the context in which I work. It is easily accessible to me and any results of the study will be directly relevant. But this school as a research site is interesting for other reasons: Firstly, as previously discussed, IH is a far-reaching, influential organisation within TEFL and any results found here could have larger applications; secondly, Africa is an emerging market in the world, and the next big market to be conquered by the private language schools with many of the more prolific chain schools starting to move into Cape Town. Both of these facts add to the breadth of this research.

IH Johannesburg is quite different from 'normal' IH schools on a number of levels. Firstly, we are a study-abroad school[4] where most of IH schools are in foreign countries, and we don't teach children, which is where a lot of IH schools earn their highest income. The primary differences, however, stem from the fact that we are an *African* school that caters almost exclusively to *African* students[5], with the largest number of students currently coming from Gabon, Equatorial Guinea and Mozambique. In addition to this, we also have students in smaller numbers from other countries in Africa, South America, Europe and Asia.

As we are African, we sometimes find ourselves excluded from materials produced by the organisation: The posters they provide do not depict black faces, nor do the majority of the English-produced coursebooks. The placement tests offered by IH World also do not offer a single African experience. Also lacking in the mass-produced materials is any reference to an African colonial history. These students have already been raised with one

[4] A school in the target-language country. The learner lives and studies here immersed in the target language.
[5] The only other IH in Africa is located in Durban and caters primarily to a European holiday market.

colonial language and are now adding English to this. As colonialism and the relationship between home languages and colonial languages is not something discussed in our resource materials, very little was known about students' existing feelings and attitudes about colonialism or whether or they would feel empowered or interested by discussions on this topic, or angered by being made to discuss issues of past oppression.

I do not feel that this lack of cultural support from our governing body is politically motivated to exclude us, but rather it is the end-result of a system that at best aims for bland, 'universal' TEFL materials, and at worst, neglects the countries on the periphery and produces materials with their majority European market in mind. Though we do not receive support from IH world related to our specific African context, our teachers and our institution have a sense of need for located, situated TEFL materials (Canagarajah, 2005). Towards this end our resource library offers a shelf of African resource books, we create our own Africa-centred activities, and teachers are encouraged to have their students produce posters to decorate our classroom walls.

What we do have in common with other IH schools is that we are a very expensive school, generally speaking one of the most expensive schools in the EFL market. As a result our students are generally quite privileged. The bulk of the African students are sponsored with the more well-connected, influential families being selected by their governments. The background of these particular students is also of key interest to this research: both the fact that they are from African countries, and are, as such, members of formally colonised countries with all the consequences that this carries; but also that these are students of privilege within their countries. How will these students respond to a critical approach? As discussed by Ellsworth, simply being open about the inequality associated with the English language will not necessarily lead to social change, as 'this assumption ignores the way in which people have investments in particular social positions and discourses and that these

kinds of investments are not lightly given up' (in McKinney, 2004: 65). These students in particular may not want to give up these positions as they are privileged by them and they see English as providing access to powerful jobs. Wallace stresses the need to expand a critical approach outside of the traditionally disadvantaged classrooms, stating that if a critical approach is to continue to be meaningful, 'it needs to be seen as valuable for mainstream students' (1999: 102).

1.5 Conclusion

To sum up, this research was undertaken for two primary reasons: Firstly, though there is extensive work being done in looking at the use of critical approaches to English language teaching as a first language or second Language, there is a gap in the research regarding the use of these materials in EFL, particularly in a private school, study abroad context. There are also few critical studies being done with African students from countries outside of South Africa. The students at IH Johannesburg are not the same as the students in the ESL studies and do not have the same socio-economic backgrounds. Though English may not be the colonising language of their country, they do have a colonial language and are now 'choosing' to study English in addition to this.

Secondly, related to this, critical TEFL is an area that the private language schools have largely ignored. In International House, one of the largest language school affiliations, there is no mention of a critical approach to language studies. Cambridge University, which is responsible for a large portion of EFL teacher development, makes no mention of a critical approach in their EFL teacher training courses. If there is to be a change in this field, this information needs to be disseminated to the teachers in the classrooms. For this to happen at this school, there needs to be an understanding of how both our particular students and our teachers will relate to these concepts and how

critical TEFL will affect language acquisition. Finally, since most private language schools are more interested in money than social change, a way needs to be found to incorporate these ideas without impinging on our profits.

1.6 Overview of the Study

Having presented the aims and the rationale for the research in this chapter, Chapter Two presents the literature review, giving a broad overview of the theory and past research which informs this study. Chapter Three looks at the research design including what methods were used for data collection and analysis, why they are appropriate for this research, and at the particular students and teachers involved in the study. Chapter Four looks at the context of the study, including a more in-depth look at IH Johannesburg.

The next two chapters look at the analysis of the data itself with Chapter Five examining how a critical approach impacted on the classroom and describing the difference in practice between a 'standard' CLT model class and the new critical model introduced for the study. Chapter Six looks at how using a critical approach in the classroom can lead to greater student unity but can also isolate students. Finally, Chapter Seven suggests areas for further study and implications of this research for this particular International House school, International House World Organisation and its network of schools worldwide, and EFL teaching in general.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

> English language teaching has become part of the process whereby one part of the world has become politically, economically and culturally dominated by another' (Naysmith, in Pennycook, 1994: 21).

2.1 Introduction

This investigation into the effects of what happens when a critical approach to TEFL is inserted into a mainstream international TEFL program draws on three broad areas of enquiry:

- The politics of English as an international/global language
- A critical approach to language learning
- Approaches to TEFL: teaching English as a foreign language

These are all huge fields with bodies of literature on each one. I will discuss the key debates in these fields necessary for my data analysis. Firstly, I examine the politics of English as an international and global language including the rise of English as an International Language (EIL) and the problems inherent in this, the issues of world Englishes, and which English we should teach. In addition to work in these areas informing this study, it also formed the basis of the *Language and Identity* course itself. The study then examines research into a critical approach to language learning and teaching. Finally, to better assess how this critical approach differs from and thus ruptures the 'standard' international TEFL classroom, I also examine 'traditional' language pedagogies such as communicative language teaching (CLT), and approaches to developing students communicative competence. Within this area, I look at traditional and mainstream approaches to language

study including issues to do with accuracy and fluency, theories on error correction and curriculum design, and learner styles and student motivation.

2.2 The Politics of English as a Global Language

2.2.1 The rise of English as an international and global language

Central to the rationale for this study and a basis for the content for the *Language and Identity* course are issues of globalisation and the rise of English as an international language. Though Globalisation has been viewed uncritically as somewhat inevitable and neutral, it has been problematized by Fairclough (2001), Kubota (2001), Canagarajah (2006), and Graddol (1996), among others, who view it as, 'a real but incomplete process which benefits some people and hurts others' (Bourdieu, in Fairclough, 2001: 207). Kubota describes how globalisation has led certain countries to be advantaged over others by the spread of Western values and beliefs (2001: 13), and Canagarajah discusses how globalisation has reversed the efforts made by former colonial countries to reassert their local cultures and languages:

> while non-Western communities were busy with decolonization – resisting English and other colonial languages in favor of building autonomous nation-states, and reviving local languages and cultures - globalization has made national borders almost irrelevant and reasserted the importance of English and other linguistic and cultural influences (2006: 25).

This 'reasserted importance of English' discussed by Canagarajah , and the impact of this on the rest of the world is one of the biggest scholarly debates in language study today, discussed by Pennycook (1994), Fairclough (2001), Matsuda (2003), Kubota (2001), Graddol (1996), Phillipson (1992), Kachru (1983), Canagarajah (2006), Kamwangamalu (2003), and many others. The debate centres on the power of English and whose interests the spread of English serves. The dominance of the English language aids English speaking countries in retaining dominance over the rest of the world. As Phillipson

states, 'The British Empire has given way to the empire of English' (1992: 1). Kubota further exemplifies this:

> the symbolic power attached to English as the international language reinforces the perceived superiority of English over other languages. (2001: 20).

2.2.2 Theories on the rise of English as an international language

There are several theories as to why English has become *the* international language. Colonialism has obviously played a large role in this. Pennycook (1994) and Leith (1983) both discuss how class in colonial and post-colonial countries is determined by language. Post-colonial countries who resist colonial languages become isolated and are excluded from political and economic power. Pennycook (1994) and Kamwangamalu (2003) locate the problem of the dominance of English in the African context:

> the problem that African languages are facing is an economic one in the sense that, unlike English, the knowledge of these languages does not pay off in the linguistic marketplace (Kamwangamalu, 2003: 71-2).

Alongside the issue of colonialism, Fairclough (2001) discusses how institutional practices lead to ideological power, 'the power to project one's practices as universal and 'common sense''. This power is exercised through discourse and leads to political and economic rewards:

> There are…two ways in which those who have power can exercise it and keep it: through coercing others to go along with them, with the ultimate sanctions of physical violence or death; or through winning others' consent… In short, through coercion or consent (27-8).

Phillipson (1992) and Pennycook (1994) take this notion one step further and purport the spread of English to be deliberately orchestrated by English-speaking countries (namely the U.K. and the U.S.), through organisations like the British Council and others, for political and economic reasons. This is

countered by the *grassroots theory* by Fishman, Conrad, and Rubal-Lopez which views English as a 'multinational tool' that serves specific purposes, rather than a 'vehicle of imperialism':

> The spread of English in the world today is not the product of British and American conspiracy. Rather, the language spreads because, for many different reasons, individuals opt for English rather than alternative languages (in Kamwangamalu, 2003: 67).

One of these reasons that English has been 'chosen' as a world language is its uses as a 'modern' language:

> English is assumed to be a language that is better suited for modern use, for science, technology, global communication, and so forth (Pennycook, 1999: 6).

Pennycook (1994) and Canagarajah (2005) examine this notion of choice more closely and suggest that it is not something people have 'freely chosen' but rather, 'given the broader inequitable relationships in the world, people have little choice but to demand access to English' (Pennycook, 1994: 74).

In addition to the theories that the spread of English was historically, deliberately, or practically motivated, there could be an argument made that the linguistic features of English, and the fact that English has been influenced by so many other languages, and thus familiar to many speakers of other languages, has also influenced its popularity. David Graddol, however, feels this is not the case:

> Although the structural properties of English have not hindered the spread of English, the spread of English globally cannot be attributed to intrinsic linguistic qualities (1997: 14).

2.2.3 Whose English?

Along with the spread of English, Western culture is also spread. The concept of *culture* is difficult to define as it has many different meanings. Atkinson (1999) states that in TEFL, 'it has become so loaded that the word is sometimes avoided altogether' (626-7). Walker, Williams and Worsley define culture in terms of multiple meanings; as:

> a set of superior values, especially embodied in works of art and limited to a small elite; culture as a whole way of life the informing spirit of a people; culture as a set of values imposed on the majority by those in power; and culture as the way in which different people make sense of their lives (in Pennycook, 1994: 62).

The teaching of English is closely tied to culture. Firstly, though some have suggested otherwise, it is impossible to 'just teach the language' of English. Pennycook (1994), Fairclough (1992, 2001), Janks and Ivanič (1992), Gray (2001), and Kumaravadivelu (1999) among others have all argued that the language itself is inexorably bound to the politics and belief systems associated with it. Therefore, teaching the language of English means teaching the culture of English as well. This is infused in all aspects of English language teaching, from the teachers' view of the world to the pedagogy itself, 'Every pedagogy is imbricated in ideology, in a set of tacit assumptions about what is real, what is good, what is possible, and how power ought to be distributed' (Berlin, in Pennycook, 1994: 167). A critical approach also examines the cultural values disseminated by the popular EFL coursebooks such as the *Cutting Edge* series[6]:

> Although coursebooks are designed explicitly for the teaching of English language they are also highly wrought cultural constructs and carriers of cultural messages (Gray 2001: 152).

Ngũgĩ (in Pennycook, 1994) has suggested that it was through this same area of culture that the colonialists maintained their control:

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> its most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonized… To control a people's culture is to control its tools of self-definition in relationship to others. For colonialism this involved two aspects of the same process: the destruction, or the deliberate undervaluing of a people's culture, its art, dances, religions, history, geography, education, orature and literature; and the domination of a people's language by that of the colonizing nation (61-2).

Kubota (1999) examines the discourse of colonialism and how 'the colonizer has constructed the artificial *Other* as being what the colonizer is not, as having negative qualities such as backwardness, opacity, and a lack of reason constituting a depersonalized collectivity' (Memmi in Kubota, 1999: 17). The notion of the *Other* is linked into cultural stereotypes. Pennycook (1994), Kubota (2004), Kumaravadivelu (1999), and Atkinson (1999) all discuss how the common practice of looking at the cultural differences between the target language and culture and the learners' first language and culture is problematic for two reasons. Firstly it views the target language as the ideal and the mother tongue language as deficient. Secondly, this practice essentializes the learners, reducing them to static, cultural stereotypes instead of individuals who change and grow.

Kubota adds to these issues the attitude of *liberal multiculturalism* which is prevalent in mainstream EFL classrooms. This is defined as a perspective which is accepting of a diversity of racial, ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. It appreciates different cultural backgrounds and regards all people as equal. These liberal, well-intentioned (perhaps naïve) ideals, she feels, lead to the idea that 'each individual's academic and economic success is dependent upon his or her own effort', and can lead to blaming the 'victim' for their unequal status in society:

> Issues in multicultural education are much more complex than simple respect for cultural difference, appreciation of ethnic traditions and artefacts, or promotion of cultural sensitivity (Kubota, 2004: 31).

2.2.4 Which English?

As the discussion so far has centred on English as an international language, this notion must now be examined more closely to determine exactly which form of English this should be. The history of a 'standard' English is discussed in Pennycook (1994), Fairclough (2001), and Leith (1983) and viewed as a random choice based on politics and economics and linked to the rise of the merchant class. Traditionally, English had been viewed as belonging to native speakers of English. Non-standard varieties were seen as inferior and teachers were afraid that allowing use of these dialects could lead to interference with the acquisition of the 'standard'. Labov refutes both of these points, arguing that non-standard forms are 'rule-governed legitimate languages and are in no way intrinsically inferior to the standard' (in Siegel, 1999: 702). He also cites several studies where students being allowed to study in their own dialect led to higher scores including those of 'standard' English. Fairclough (1992) also discusses at length the idea of *appropriateness* and which English should be taught. He examines models of language teaching which allow for language variation from the 'standard' in different social situations, and questions whether these more 'liberal' methods still 'operate with a normative and concealed notion of what is right and proper' (in Pennycook, 1999).

Along with the idea of a 'standard' English, is the practice of teaching English as an *inner circle language* as coined by Kachru. Kachru's notion of the three circles includes the *inner circle,* belonging only to native-English speakers, the *outer circle,* comprised of speakers of English as a second or other language, and the *expanding circle* made up of English as a foreign language speakers (Jenkins, 2006). With the rise of postcolonial communities and expanding circle and outer circle speakers of English now out-numbering the native speakers, Kachru (1983) and others including: Canagarajah (2005, 2006), Kubota (2001), Matsuda (2003), Pennycook (1994), Phillipson (1992), Jenkins (2006), and Warschauer (2000) question the ownership of English. Matsuda

looks at current practices in Japan, and how currently there is 'a strong preference for American and British English because they believed American and British English were *pure* and *authentic*' (2003: 721). Both she and Kubota discuss how this leads to the 'native-speaker myth – the idealization of a native speaker as someone who has perfect, innate knowledge of the language and culture and thus is the best teacher of English' (Kubota, 2001: 21).

Kachru (in Jenkins, 2006), Matsuda (2003), Pennycook (1994), Jenkins (2006), and Kubota (1999) among others, look at how an inner circle English affects power relations in different ways. Matsuda (2003) and Pennycook (1994) discuss how teaching inner circle English does not allow for discussion of power relations in language, thus preventing the learner from having ownership of English and putting them in an inferior position:

> An inner circle-based curriculum fails to open the topics of the history and politics of the English language around the world. A curriculum that teachers EIL, in contrast, must address the colonial past … and the power inequality associated with its history … Without the awareness of such potential power struggles… learners may internalize a colonist view of the world and devalue their own status in international communication (Matsuda, 2003: 722).

This EIL curriculum could include discussions about the spread of English and the politics involved. International English coursebooks could also be written to include outer and expanding circle characters (Matsuda, 2003: 724-5).

2.2.5 English as a *Killer Language*

In addition to the discussion around the ownership of English and the unequal power relations perpetuated by its dominance, other languages of the world are threatened (Pennycook, 1994: 14). This has lead Kamwangamalu (2003) and Graddol (1996) to label English as the *Killer Language* and Day (in Pennycook, 1994) to label this threat to minority languages *linguistic genocide*.

In Africa in particular, English is a global commodity and other languages do 'not pay off in the linguistic marketplace' (Kamwangamalu, 2003: 72). Boahen discusses how the use of European languages as the national languages 'had the most regrettable effect of preventing the development of an official African language as a lingua franca…' (1987: 107), and Pennycook discusses how resistance of Muslim countries in Northern Africa to English resulted in, 'a degree of isolation and their slowness in gaining power after independence while English or French-speaking African elites gained ascendancy' (Laitin, in Pennycook, 1994: 17).

2.3 A Critical Approach

2.3.1 A critical approach to language learning

A critical approach to language teaching arose out of critical pedagogy in response to the widespread use of English coupled with the massive inequality that it fostered.

> When organizations such as TESOL speak happily of internationalism… they tend to do so without considering the massive inequalities inherent in that term (Pennycook, 1994: 39).

This is currently a developing area being debated by Pennycook (1994), Fairclough (1992, 2001), Janks (1995), Janks and Ivanič (1992), Luke (2004), Norton and Toohey (2004), and Gee (1990), among others. Research in a critical approach to language learning is important to this study as previous studies in this area helped in the development of materials for the *Language and Identity* course as well as helping to interpret the data. A critical approach draws on work by Freire and critical pedagogy which looks at unequal power relations manifested in the school systems, and 'aims to raise students' critical consciousness about various forms of domination and oppression and to help students become active agents for social change' (Kubota, 2004: 37). Freire

states that transformation of the standard system is up to the teachers and students involved:

> If teachers or students exercised the power to remake knowledge in the classroom, then they would be asserting their power to remake society (1987: 10).

Along with concerns over unequal power structures, a critical approach is also closely tied to the notion of *identity* with one's identity being partially derived from the language he or she speaks. The notion of identity is key to a critical approach and touches on many aspects. Norton (2000) and Luke (2004) examine how traditional language teaching programmes fail in terms of learner identity. Norton (2000) examines the role of identity in traditional approaches to language learning and notes how existing methods such as the communicative approach, 'do not address relations of power between language learners and target language speakers' (138). She discusses the need for language teachers to recognise the impact the 'historically and socially constructed identities' of the learners has on the learning process and 'the learners' investments in the target language and their changing identities' (137). Luke also looks at the construction of identity in traditional language instruction and discusses how English language teaching is not the same as educating a group of mainstream, homogeneous, idealised students, 'TESOL is a pedagogical site and institution for educating the racial and linguistic Other' (2004: 25).

Also related to identity, Canagarajah (2004), Gee (1990), Janks and Ivanič (1992), Cleghorn, and Rollnick (2002), and Luke (2004), among others discuss how learning a language means learning a new set of values along with it and how this can be problematic for the learners involved in relation to their identities. Finally, Luk investigates how classroom activities that allow the learners a chance to express themselves leads to the notion of *voice* as

developed by Bakhtin. This is distinct from the empty *noise* usually found in EFL classrooms (2005: 256).

A critical approach to language learning addresses these issues of power and identity missing in mainstream TEFL methodology. Norton and Toohey define this approach as:

> interested in relationships between language learning and social change. From this perspective, language is not simply a means of expression or communication; rather, it is a practice that constructs, and is constructed by the ways language learners understand themselves, their social surroundings, their histories, and their possibilities for the future. (2004: 1)

Janks and Ivanič (1992), Kubota (1999), and Pennycook (1994) all clarify that this critical approach does not ignore the acquisition of the dominant discourse, but rather it highlights the 'standard' and instructs learners how to 'conform to conventions', but adds a critical element which:

> helps people to conform with open eyes, to identify their feelings about it, and to recognise the compromises they are making (Janks and Ivanič, 1992: 318).

In this way, instead of contributing to domination, English can be used to foster social change. Likewise, Gee (1990) describes how language students are typically colonised into a Discourse[7]. He describes how the job of the EFL teacher is to help students overcome this colonisation by making them aware of how power structures are perpetuated through language study (158-9).

Also challenging this perspective of global, neutral ELT, Canagarajah (2005) asserts the importance of *the local*. He defines this as, 'A process of negotiating dominant discourses and engaging in an ongoing construction of relevant

[7] Discourses, as defined by Gee (1990) are '…ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking and often reading and writing that are accepted as instantiations of particular roles by specific groups of people…' (viii).

knowledge in the context of our history and social practice' (13). This entails focusing on our own position in the world and approaching language learning from this alternate view rather than from the usual position of the of the English-speaking world which makes 'standard' English desirable and everything else as deficient to it.

2.3.2 Problems with a critical approach

Though a critical approach does address power inequalities and the learners' local identity with a purpose of empowering learners, this approach can still be problematic. McKinney (2004) cites work by Britzman et al. (1993), Ellsworth (1989), Lather (1991) and Janks (2001) which:

> problematize the assumption underlying most critical literacy approaches that revealing social inequalities to people will necessarily bring about change, whether personal, or collective… this assumption ignores the way in which people have investments in particular social positions and discourses and that these kinds of investments are not lightly given up (65).

Pennycook (1994) and McKinney (2004) both discuss possible problems associated with a critical approach to language studies and Pennycook discusses how awareness alone is not enough:

> Work that aims to make people more aware of their own oppression can often be pessimistic and patronizing, especially if it is only a top-down attempt to get people to see how they are oppressed (1994: 336).

Despite the ideals of a critical approach, Pennycook (1994), Cleghorn and Rollnick (2002), Wallace (1992), and Graddol (1996) all discuss the need for these issues to get down to the policy and teacher education level. While the need for a critical approach to language learning is being debated in the academic world, these debates are not changing the way teachers are trained or how students are taught:

> the role of language and culture in education and in individual and societal development is not getting through to those who establish language policies or decide what pre-service teachers should know (Cleghorn and Rollnick, 2002: 348).

The fact that a critical approach has not yet become part of mainstream TEFL practices is, in all probability, due to its political nature. This approach opens up the classroom to challenges and questions and presents an alternate view of teachers. Its aims of transformation and fostering social change may either be viewed by EFL teachers as outside of their job, or teachers may not feel it is within their rights 'to challenge the status quo' (Pennycook, 1994: 298- 300). Ellsworth, (in Pennycook, 1994) also criticizes a critical approach for being 'too abstract and utopian' (300). Pennycook challenges these beliefs by his statement that all education is political:

> No knowledge, no language and no pedagogy is ever neutral or apolitical. To teach critically, therefore, is to acknowledge the political nature of all education (1994: 301).

2.3.3 A critical approach to language learning: Research studies

A critical approach to language learning is a growing area but little has been done so far in EFL globally or in Africa in particular. The vast majority of critical language research has been in the area of English as a second Language (ESL) rather that EFL teaching. This is a small but crucial distinction as the teaching context surrounding ESL is often very different to the normal study-abroad EFL context. Instead of immigrants and speakers of other languages in formally colonised countries, EFL teaching, particularly in a private language school context, caters to the wealthier more privileged students. In non-English speaking countries a lot of English teaching is EFL (e.g. France). Fairclough (2001) feels a critical approach is more prevalent in ESL teaching due to the fact that these teachers already see their role as helping to empower their students who usually come from disadvantaged backgrounds:

> Thus ESL is one instance where the idea of developing a critical consciousness of discourse as a basis for a mode of discoursal ideological struggle is already established to some extent (194-5).

Though little research to my knowledge has been done in the African context, there are numerous critical studies in other areas that have helped me to situate this research and on which it draws. First and foremost, Norton's (2000) case-studies of five immigrant women from different social-economic and cultural backgrounds living in Canada was extremely useful in its examination of English language studies and how the role of identity is usually ignored by mainstream English language teaching practices. Her notion of *investment* in language studies as distinct from the more common view of learner *motivation* was key to analysing the students' engagement with this course.

Luk (2005) also examines different aspects of identity in her study of the use of CLT in a Hong Kong school with Chinese students and native-speaker teachers. She contrasts two different classes using CLT methods: one where students were given a traditional CLT information gap activity[8] and one where the teacher asked the students to give their real opinions on local topics. She argues that a crucial element to success in classroom speaking activities is the opportunity for the students to genuinely express themselves. She also discusses Ellis's role of the teacher as *cultural mediator* to ensure language activities are culturally appropriate.

McKinney's (2004) study on student resistance in a South African university was also helpful in looking at moments of student resistance during this study. McKinney taught a class on critical reading to a group of primarily white Afrikaans and English first language first-year undergraduate students in South Africa. From discussing the white students' discomfort with some of the readings and the way they felt positioned by them as 'white' and thus

[8] Students each have one-half of the information and have to work together to complete a task.

negatively linked to the apartheid past, she uncovers how critical literacy may work to disempower certain groups of students rather than empower them.

Also working in an ESL, South African context, Janks's research on critical language awareness materials was important to this research. In looking at materials available for critical language studies, Janks (1988) critiques the critical language awareness materials available in Britain. She demonstrates the failings of the materials on offer for not acknowledging the link between language and the values and culture transmitted through it, and discusses the role critical language awareness could take towards social change in South Africa. Janks (1995) observed the use of critical language awareness materials developed specifically for South African learners. These materials were trialled through action research, examining students' responses. Janks's finding that the students' responses were multiple and non-homogeneous informed this study. The materials Janks developed through this research also provided the basis for several lessons on the *Language and Identity* course.

I also drew on Lancaster and Taylor's (1992) case study of a comprehensive school in a working class area in England. Their study focused on raising students' awareness that language is socially produced and controlled and included activities such as having students reflect on different accents and dialects and their different status in society and possible reasons for this. They also carried out a language survey in the school thus giving value to some students' first languages. Some of the methods used in my study were from Lancaster and Taylor's but were adapted to help African students consider the complex relationship between their mother tongue languages, their colonial language and their more recent relationship with English.

Finally Morgan (2004) explores how to incorporate a critical pedagogy and issues of identity into a traditional grammar lesson with a group of recent immigrants to Canada by using the sociocultural context of the Quebec

referendum on sovereignty to teach modal verbs. My study was informed by the view of what form a critical approach could take when incorporated into a lesson focused on clarifying meaning and providing practice on grammatical items.

2.4 Approaches to English Language Learning and Teaching

As this critical approach was inserted into a 'mainstream' private English language school, this study is also interlinked with theories on language learning and second language acquisition (SLA), and as such it draws on several approaches to language learning including: communicative, content, task-based and participatory approaches. In the following section I briefly contextualise these mainstream language learning and teaching approaches with reference to first and second language acquisition theories. A key focus in this section is the role of accuracy and fluency and grammar in language learning.

2.4.1 Influential language learning theories

Behaviourism is one of the earliest theories behind first language acquisition. This theory has its roots in psychology and was very popular in the 1940s and 1950s. Behaviourists believed that languages, like any other behaviours, were learned through 'imitation, practice, feedback on success, and habit formation.' (Lightbown and Spada, 1999: 9). In first language acquisition, children imitate the sounds made by their parents and others in their environment. The good imitations are rewarded and encouraged and so are repeated until they form habits of correct use of language. Behaviourism gave rise to the audio-lingual approach to SLA which focused on grammar over vocabulary and presented language in the form of pattern drills. Errors were viewed as bad habits and were not tolerated (Larsen-Freeman, 2000: 36-47).

In reaction to theoretical problems in behaviourism, the linguist Noam Chomsky proposed innatism. Chomsky felt that 'children come to know more about the structure of their language than they could reasonably be expected to learn on the basis of the samples of language which they hear' (Lightbown and Spada: 1999: 15). The input the children receive is full of incorrect information and is not comprehensive. In addition, not all children are corrected on incorrect utterances and when corrections are made, they tend to focus on meaning rather than form yet children still develop accurate grammar usage.

To deal with this discrepancy, Chomsky proposed that all languages are similar on some very basic level and that children all have a special ability or a *Universal Grammar* (UG) to unlock the rules to their language system. This ability was initially referred to as a *language acquisition device* (LAD). By being exposed to samples of language during a *critical period*, this device was activated and children would be able to discover the rules to their grammar system by matching this innate knowledge with the language around them (Lightbown and Spada, 1999:16). When this theory is carried over into SLA, there is debate over whether or not this can apply as these learners are past the *critical period*.

2.4.2 Krashen's hypotheses

Krashen's five hypotheses were developed in response to innatist theories of second language acquisition (SLA). These are comprised of: the acquisition-learning hypothesis, the monitor hypothesis, the natural order hypothesis, the input hypothesis, and the affective filter hypothesis (Lightbown and Spada, 1999: 38-40).

The acquisition hypothesis distinguishes between learning and acquiring a language, with the latter being more useful for natural, fluent conversation.

Language is acquired by being exposed to understandable examples of the second language. Learned language, through more traditional grammar instruction, is utilised in the monitor hypothesis. These learned grammar rules are not readily available for use as fluent speech, but can be used to 'polish' the acquired language and to judge its correctness. The natural order hypothesis draws on the fact that learners seem to acquire grammatical features of the second language in a similar order regardless of when the rules are taught. The input hypothesis builds on the acquisition-learning hypothesis and states than the input a learner must receive to learn a language, must be 'comprehensible' to the learner at the level of *I + 1* containing language just beyond the learners current competency level. Krashen's final hypothesis accounts for why learners may not acquire language when comprehensible input is available. The *affective filter* is 'an imaginary barrier' which is raised thus blocking out input when the learner is tense, or uncomfortable, etc. The filter is lowered when the learner is motivated and relaxed (Lightbown and Spada, 1999: 38-9).

2.4.3 What type of input?: The interactionist view

Interactionists agreed with Krashen's comprehensible input hypothesis, but they differed on the definition of what comprehensible input was. To the interactionist, it is the interaction between the child and the others around them that results in language acquisition. One of the biggest promoters of interactionist theory was the psychologist Vygotsky who agued that 'in a supportive interactive environment, the child is able to advance to a higher level of knowledge and performance than he or she would be capable of independently'. This he referred to as the child's *zone of proximal development* (Lightbown and Spada, 1999: 23). Some interactionists also believe that children need modified input directed at their level of understanding in order for acquisition to occur, however there is evidence that when modified input is not available, acquisition will still take place provided there is verbal

interaction and opportunities for clarification (Lightbown and Spada, 1999: 24). When transferring this theory of first language acquisition to SLA, conversational interaction takes the place of child-directed speech. Long feels that it is not modified input that is necessary for acquisition, but rather, 'an opportunity to interact with other speakers, in ways which lead them to adapt what they are saying until the learner shows signs of understanding' (Lightbown and Spada, 1999: 43).

2.4.4 Communicative language teaching

From these theories of first and second language learning, many approaches and teaching methods have been developed. I will discuss the ones which relate most directly to how we teach at IH and the issues which relate to the *Language and Identity* course. The most mainstream approach to TEFL teaching today is communicative language teaching (CLT). From the early 1970s the field of language learning began to question the usefulness of the more structured views of language learning advocated by methods such as audio-lingualism and considered how best to teach communication. It was noted that, '…being able to communicate required more than linguistic competence; it required communicative competence' (Hymes in Larsen-Freeman, 2000: 121). To address this, the field shifted away from a linguistic approach towards a more communicative approach to language learning. Communicative language teaching is a broad term that can be broken down roughly into a *weak version* and a *strong version* of CLT as distinguished by Howatt in *A History of English Language Teaching* (in Ellis, 2003: 28).

Weak CLT takes a functional view of language. Here language learning is not seen as merely mastery of structures, but rather a mode of expressing functional meaning. Communication needs are stressed over grammatical structures (Richards and Rodgers, 1986: 17). Lessons are organised around lists of functions and notions (e.g. agreeing/disagreeing; duration) which are

presented and practiced. The weak form of CLT is not such a radical departure from audio-lingualism as grammatical structures are often taught alongside functions and notions, and language is still analysed and controlled (Ellis, 2003: 28). Typical lesson shapes for this method are the Present Practice Produce model (PPP)[9], and the Test Teach Test model (TTT)[10] (Scrivener, 1994: 114, 135).

In contrast to *weak CLT*, *strong CLT* sees language as a means of social and transactional relationships between individuals. Teaching content can be specified according to the type of interaction required and the patterns of the interaction (e.g. negotiation), or left more open to be determined by the students (Richards and Rodgers, 1986: 17). Rather than being first presented with the language and then given a communicative activity in which to practice it, advocates of the strong version of CLT believe that language systems will be discovered during the process of communication.

Class time is spent completing tasks, and projects with a focus on pair and group work. Language that arises from this is discussed rather than the language being pre-selected by the teacher (Ellis, 2003: 28). One of the main functions of the teacher is to 'establish situations likely to promote communication' (Larsen-Freeman, 2000: 127). Error correction can be included in this approach, however teachers are more tolerant of learner errors and see them as, 'a natural outcome of the development of communication skills'. Teachers may note errors during fluency practice and come back to them at a later time (Larsen-Freeman, 2000: 127). It has been questioned whether or not students acquire incorrect language from other students as a result of this approach, but past research does indicate that these fears are unfounded and the students' progress is not impaired (Richard and Rodgers, 1986: 79).

[9] The teacher pre-selects a list of functional language, lexical items or a grammatical structure to present to the students and then provides them with a series of controlled and less controlled practice activities.

[10] TTT is similar to the PPP model but uses the first T as the diagnostic stage where students attempt a communication task and the teacher assesses their language use.

There are valid reasons for the adoption of both strong and weak forms of CLT. *Weak CLT* still attempts to arrange language acquisition sequentially and blends the line between the older more traditional grammar-based lessons. SLA research indicates that language is not acquired this way. Instead language learning is a process and language learners pass through a series of stages, restructuring their *interlanguage* as their knowledge increases (Ellis, 2003: 28-30). Though modern developments in SLA indicate otherwise, this remains a popular approach as it gives teachers something to organise their classes around and also provides some sense of accomplishment for students. *Strong CLT*, however, attempts to address the developments in SLA further and builds on Krashen's view that language acquisition is an unconscious process facilitated by using the language for real communication (Richard and Rodgers, 1986: 72). Wilkins also discusses the dangers of protecting learners from real language use:

> As with everything else he will only learn what falls within his experience. If all his language production is controlled from outside, he will hardly be competent to control his own language production. He will not be able to transfer his knowledge from a language-learning situation to a language-using situation (Wilkins, in Bygate, 1987: 6).

A pure *strong CLT* approach can be problematic as it is a larger departure from 'traditional language teaching'. Some students have difficulty accepting their teacher in a 'facilitator' role and may not feel a sense of progress.

2.4.5 More recent approaches to language learning

Task-based learning is most commonly associated with Prabhu. This approach is very similar to a strong version of CLT with students being asked to complete tasks. The resulting interaction provides the learners with opportunities for a natural exchange of language. The learners must work together to negotiate meaning and be understood. This main difference between the task-based approach and CLT is the overall language focus of the

lesson. While in CLT the lesson focuses on a communicative function (e.g. giving instructions), in task-based learning it does not focus on any particular form or function (Larsen-Freeman, 2000: 144-6).

Another approach to language learning which is similar to the strong version of the communicative approach is the content-based approach. This began in the 1970s and integrates learning a language with the learning of another subject, usually for academic purposes. Content-based language learning is built on the principle that students' motivation will be higher when the content is of interest and relevant to the students. A content-based approach teaches language through communication as it arises for communicative needs. If a student is unable to articulate a concept the teacher will supply the missing language. This approach has been widely discussed with second language immersion programmes in Canada (Larsen-Freeman, 2000: 137-141). Saville-Troike, in favour of a content approach, noted that language learning alone is not sufficient:

> What is needed is an integrative approach which relates language learning and content learning, considers language as a medium of learning, and acknowledges the role of context in communication (in Richards, 1990: 146).

However, studies on immersion approaches indicate that, 'interaction with native speakers provided input that sometimes leads to language learning but interaction guaranteed neither grammaticality nor idiomaticity' (Richards, 1990: 78).

The participatory approach has its origins in the 1960s with the work of Paulo Freire and pre-dates the content-based approach, though it did not become widely discussed in the language learning literature until the 1980s. Again it takes meaningful content as a basis to learning with the language emerging from it. The difference in a participatory approach is that the language must be based on 'issues of concern to students' (Larsen-Freeman, 2000: 150).

> The goal of the participatory approach is to help students to understand the social, historical, or cultural forces that affects their lives, and then to help empower students to take action and make decisions in order to gain control over their lives (Wallerstein, in Larsen-Freeman, 2000: 150).

In the participatory classroom, teachers are co-learners with the students and the students assume more responsibility for their progress. This jointly constructed knowledge between teacher and students helps 'students find voice and by finding their voices, students can act in the world' (Larsen-Freeman, 2000: 154). The curriculum is not pre-determined, but develops throughout. Linguistic form is focused on within the content of what develops (Larsen-Freeman, 2000: 153-4). This approach is not widely used in the private EFL classroom but is most similar to the critical approach adopted by this study.

2.4.6 Fluency vs. accuracy and the role of error correction

In developing learners' communicative competence, the importance of methodology which promotes accuracy and that which promotes fluency has been much debated. The term *accuracy* is generally unproblematic as the history of English language teaching is rooted in a concern for grammatically 'correct', appropriate speech, but the term *fluency* tends to be more difficult. As this study focus's exclusively on fluency in the skill of speaking, Fillmore's definition is useful. He (in Brumfit, 1984) distinguishes four types of fluency:

- To fill time with talk
- The ability to talk in coherent, reasoned and semantically dense sentences
- The ability to have appropriate things to say in a wide range of contexts
- The ability to be creative and imaginative in …language use (54)

While Fillmore's definition is helpful in pointing out the 'interaction between language and knowledge of the world in the development of fluency', Brumfit questions if these points can be taught in a language

class, stating, 'Fillmore's categories seem to relate to an interaction between the language system that we operate and other personality characteristics' (1984: 54).

Whether or not it's truly possible to develop a student's fluency, the notions of *fluency* and *accuracy* are central to modern teaching methodology. Within these concepts, there are issues of formal instruction and how, when and if to correct learners' errors. As demonstrated in this chapter (see 2.4.1-2.4.5), pedagogical views on language input and error correction are strongly linked to language acquisition theories. Ellis divides the positions into three groups:

- The non-interface position
- The interface position
- The variable position

Krashen (see 2.4.2) is most closely associated with the non-interface position, believing that the only role of grammar instruction in the classroom is to 'monitor' fluent speech. In the interface position, overt grammar and language instruction is viewed as contributing to communicative ability. Finally, the variability position asserts 'the importance of matching the learning process to the type of instruction' (Ellis: 1985: 243-4).

Scrivener discusses how the prevailing attitude towards learner errors has changed from being a 'bad' thing to an indication of progress being made (1994: 109). Scrivener's feelings are in line with the notion of the *interlanguage continuum.* This is the point of the speakers' competence between their first language (L1) and their second language (L2). 'Any difference between their output and standard British or American English are to be regarded as errors caused mainly by *L1 interference*' (Jenkins, 2006: 167). Kachru, Nelson, and Sridhar argue against this *interlanguage* theory by stating that it is not outer circle English speakers' intention to reproduce inner circle English:

> Such norms, they contend, are irrelevant to the sociolinguistic reality in which members of the outer circle use English, and attempts to label the English of whole speech communities as deficient and fossilized are thus unjustifiable because these labels ignore the local Englishes' sociohistorical development and sociocultural context (in Jenkins, 2006: 167).

Though Kachru's argument is of significance, these ideals are not yet part of classroom methodology which generally views non-standard language as 'incorrect'. Error correction from Scrivener's point of view (1994: 109) is seen as 'progressive' though its overall focus remains on accurate, 'standard' language use. Here error correction has several aims including:

- Building confidence
- Raising awareness
- Acknowledging achievement and progress
- Helping students to become more accurate in their use of language

Though much contemporary language teaching methodology has a strong focus on fluency (see 2.4.4–2.4.5), there is sufficient evidence that a focus on communication exclusively, with no attention to form results in inappropriate sentences both grammatically and sociolinguistically (Richards, 1990: 78-9). In line with this finding is a need for a focus on both *fluency* and *accuracy* with error correction still remaining an important component of the language learning process. When to correct, as Scrivener notes, is often linked to whether the aim is to develop the students' fluency or accuracy, with corrections coming after the activity is finished for the former and during the activity for the later (1994: 110).

However, even with all the theories of language learning and the debates around input and error correction, there is still little conclusive proof or agreement about how best to teach a second or foreign language. Today's classrooms generally compensate for this by using an *eclectic approach* to

language learning, containing a mixture of past and more contemporary methods (Richards and Rodgers, 1986: 158).

2.4.7 Focus on the learner

Along with theories and beliefs on how language is best taught, there are other factors which affect learners' acquisition of new language including: learner motivation, anxiety, preferences and beliefs.

Gardner and Lambert's research into motivation is the most widely known. They break *motivation* down into two types: *Integrative* and *instrumental*. *Integrative motivation* is when the learner wants to, 'identify with the culture of the L2 group…*Instrumental motivation* occurs when the learner's goals for learning the L2 are functional. For instance, learning directed at passing an examination, furthering career opportunities, or facilitating study of other subjects' (in Ellis, 1985: 117). There has been quite a lot of research into the effects of motivation on language learning, but though findings demonstrate that high motivation and success in language learning are related, it is unclear whether success leads to motivation or vice-versa. A new theorisation of *motivation* in a critical approach views it as linked to issues of power, culture, identity and context (Lightbown and Spada, 1999: 56-7).

Bonny Norton critiques the notion of the motivated 'good language learner' stating that while theorists like Krashen and Ellis do recognise that language learners come from different backgrounds and experiences:

> Such heterogeneity has generally been framed uncritically. Theories of the good language learner have been developed on the premise that language learners can choose under what condition they will interact with members of the target language community and that the language learners' access to the target language community is a function of the learner's motivation' (2000: 5).

Norton expands this notion of *instrumental motivation* to learners' *investment* in the target language which takes into consideration the 'socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice it' (2000: 10). This is tied to Bourdieu and Passeron's notion of *cultural capital* defined as, 'the knowledge and modes of thought that characterize different classes and groups in relation to specific sets of social forms'. In learning English, students are hoping their *cultural capital* will be increased 'giving them access to hitherto unattainable resources' (Norton, 2000: 10). This includes linguistic, economic and cultural rewards.

In addition to learner motivation, Krashen's affective filter hypothesis (Lightbown and Spada, 1999) also relates to how the learners themselves influence the teaching outcomes. Through this theory, learner anxiety is often cited as a reason for students' failure to learn despite the presence of solid teaching methodology. Norton also extends this theory to include the notion of *identity* and suggests that it is more than simply related to issues of motivation and anxiety but 'that a learner's affective filter needs to be theorized as a social construction which intersects in significant ways with a language learner's identity' (2000: 18).

Finally, in addition to learner motivation and anxiety, learners also have preferences and beliefs about how to be taught a language. Learner preferences refer to 'an individual's natural, habitual, and preferred way of absorbing, processing, and retaining new information and skills' (Reid, in Lightbown and Spada, 1999: 58). There is a need for much more research into this area, but as students' learning preferences do vary, it is difficult to believe that one method is good for every student.

Along with learning styles, learners' beliefs about what constitutes good teaching, usually based on past experiences, could influence their learning.

Pennycook (1994), Kumaravadivelu (1999), Barkhuizen (1998), and (Li 1999) discuss how there is an attitude in TEFL that a Western, communicative approach to language is best for any culture despite the students' more locally constructed preferred learning styles and methods. Students who receive instruction contrary to their own beliefs could be left unmotivated and disorientated. A survey done in a highly communicative programme that focused solely on meaning and communication found students were unhappy with their instruction particularly with the lack of attention to form and teacher-centred instruction (Lightbown and Spada, 1999: 59). A survey conducted in China with involving three-hundred students and fourteen expatriate teachers showed that although the teachers felt the communicative approach was beneficial to the students, the students' dissatisfaction with the Western style of instruction increased each year (Li, 1999).

2.4.8 Curriculum and course development

As the *Language and Identity* class was inserted into the curriculum in place of a general conversation class at IH Johannesburg, the research involves issues of curriculum design and how a critical approach 'fits into' the broader picture of the school curriculum. In designing a school curriculum, the classroom methodology and the needs and expectations of the learner must all be considered. Other components include: goal setting, syllabus design, and testing and evaluation. Taba's model of curriculum processes consists of:

Step 1: Diagnosis of needs
Step 2: Formulation of objectives
Step 3: Selection of content
Step 4: Organisation of content
Step 5: Selection of learning experiences
Step 6: Organisation of learning experiences
Step 7: Determination of what to evaluate and means to evaluate

Of these, steps 3 and 4 make up the syllabus, which is concerned with 'the choice and sequencing of instruction content' (Richards, 1990: 8). Though there are many types of syllabi used in EFL including: structural[11], functional[12], and topical[13], there is little evidence to conclude that one type is more effective than another (Richards, 1990: 9-10).

Within the curriculum, the concepts of *classification* and *framing* can be used to uncover the social divisions within a school system. *Classification* refers to the relationship between different categories. Bernstein distinguishes between *strong classification*, where categories are sharply distinguished between one another, and *weak classification* where boundaries are less clear (Daniels, 2001: 136). *Framing* refers to the social relationships between those analysed. In the case of a school this would include relationships between teachers and students:

> Where framing is strong the transmitter explicitly regulates the distinguishing features of the interactional and locational principle which constitute the communicative context…Where framing is weak, the acquirer is accorded more control over the regulation (Bernstein, in Daniels, 2001: 137)

Daniels describes how an analysis of classification and framing practices within a school can reveal the power and control exercised within the institution (2001: 137).

2.4.9 The conversation class as part of a language school curriculum

The 'Conversation Class' is a regular feature of a language school curriculum. Generally a conversation class follows a CLT approach and aims to provide the learners with as much practice as possible in the speaking skills with a focus on both accuracy and fluency. Specifically what a conversation class is

[11] Organised around grammar and sentence structure
[12] Organised around communicative functions (e.g. agreeing and disagreeing)
[13] Organised around themes or topics

comprised of is left undefined as it will assume different forms in different schools and from class to class and teacher to teacher. Richards discusses how the conversation class could be anything from 'unstructured free discussion' to 'situation dialogues such as "At the bank"' (1990: 67).

Rivers and Temperley clarify the difference between processes that *are skill getting*, such as situation dialogues designed to reinforce the knowledge of grammar rules, and those that are *skill using*. *Skill getting* activities are usually rigidly controlled practice activities for functional language, while *skill using* activities focus on real communication and the expressing of personal meaning. In *skill using* activities the language used is not pre-selected by the teacher (in, Bygate, 1987: 55).

The long-term goal of the conversation class is to assist the learner towards being an autonomous user of English. This is accomplished when they are fully able to express their personal meaning. Rivers and Temperley maintain:

> Student must learn early to express their personal intentions through all kinds of familiar and unfamiliar recombinations of the language elements at their disposal. The more daring they are in linguistic innovation, the more rapidly they progress (in Bygate, 1987: 59).

2.5 Conclusion

The aim of this study is to investigate what happens when a critical approach to language learning, what I call *critical TEFL*, is inserted into a mainstream TEFL curriculum in a private language school in the African context. These findings have implications for how to incorporate critical TEFL into private language schools in Africa. In order to support this investigation, I have drawn on three intersecting fields of enquiry. English as an international/global language is important for this research because it provides the rationale for the study as well as forming the basis of the *Language and Identity* course itself. The background to a critical approach is

essential as the research draws heavily on research in this area to both create materials for the study and to help interpret the data. Finally, an understanding of the different approaches to TEFL is important as this forms the context for the pedagogic intervention. The specific design of this intervention is discussed in Chapter Three.

Chapter 3 Research Design

> Research constructs reality…there are multiple ways of doing so (Knobel & Lankshear, 1999: 89).

3.1 Introduction

Having already examined the aims and the rationale for the study, this chapter looks at the methods involved in the research itself: the methodology behind it, what tools were used for both data collection and analysis and why they were appropriate. It also looks at the participants in the study: how they were selected, the power relationships between the participants and the researcher, and their possible effects on the research.

3.2 Research Approach

The research utilised a classroom-based, qualitative approach. This was comprised of certain elements of an ethnographic style of approach including field notes, tape recordings and interviews. As discussed in Hammersley (1994), ethnography is a difficult term to define and 'this diversity and looseness of terminology reflects some dissensus even on fundamental issues among advocates of these approaches' (1). For the purposes of this research, however, I accepted to a degree the following features of 'ethnography' as set out in Hammersley (1994: 1-2):

1. It is concerned with analysis of empirical data that are systematically selected for this purpose.

2. Those data come from 'real world' contexts, rather than being produced under experimental conditions created by the researcher.

3. Data are gathered from a range of sources, but observation and/or relatively informal conversations are usually the main ones.

4. The approach to data collection is 'unstructured', in the sense that it does not involve following through a detailed plan set up at the beginning; nor are the categories used for interpreting what people say and do pre-given or fixed.

5. The focus is a single sitting or group, of relatively small scale; or a small number of these.

6. The analysis of the data involves interpretation of the meanings and functions of human actions and mainly takes the form of verbal descriptions and explanations, with quantification and statistical analysis playing a subordinate role at most.

This qualitative, ethnographic style of approach was chosen for several reasons. Firstly, this approach was more suited to open-ended research questions (Swann 1994). Secondly, it was appropriate as the study involved noting naturally occurring student responses to specific materials, in this case the experience of the *Language and Identity* course. This would not have been possible through quantitative measures. As Richardson (in Knobel and Lankshear, 1999) argues, 'Lab research cannot access or produce this kind of data and thus field research approaches often hold more powerful insights into an event or practice' (86). Finally, this approach was appropriate as it took into account the context of the research including the type of school and the socio-economic status of the students (Knobel and Lankshear, 1999).

Taking an interpretive stance on the data, the research did not begin with a specific hypothesis to test. It instead took as a starting point the issue of how a critical approach being used in a study-abroad EFL classroom would affect the classroom experience and language learning. The exact focus of the research was more carefully honed throughout and upon completion of the project (Hammersley, 1994).

I acknowledge that validity is often called into question within qualitative field research and there can be a tendency towards 'anecdotalism' (Silverman,

2000: 10). This study, however, accepts Knobel and Lankshear's view that good research is dependent on sound arguments and plausible findings rather than the laboratory research concepts of more quantitative approaches:

> It is also important to ensure that one's account of field research findings is 'believable' and that it contributes in some way to furthering one's own – and hopefully others' – knowledge and understanding (1999: 89).

3.3 Methods and Techniques for Data Collection: Student Responses

3.3.1 Classroom-based observations

On the spot classroom observation was the primary research method, with the researcher not teaching the classes but acting strictly as a non-participant observer (the specific information of the classes is discussed in Chapter Four). Having obtained permission from the Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of the Witwatersrand, two classes were observed daily over a four week course with thirty-two classes observed in total. Extensive descriptive field notes were taken during the observations focusing on students' engagement with the materials used and how this was different to that in a standard IH Johannesburg conversation class. Notes included both verbal and non-verbal communication and looked at critical moments of classroom interaction following Maybin's model[14] (see Swann, 1994: 31-2). Though an observation schedule was not used, there are some broad categories that were anticipated to be of interest during observations including:

[14] Maybin's model separates notes (what actually happened) from commentary (questions, reflections, interpretations).

- How do the students respond affectively to the materials used? Do they resist? Are they excited? Depressed?
- What happens when students become aware of the discrepancies in the power of languages?
- How does this impact on their identity?
- How does it change how they relate to this course?
- How does this course contribute to the development of their communicative competence?
- How does teaching this course affect the teachers?

Points of difference between the *Language and Identity* class and the standard conversation class that arose during the observations were followed-up with questions during the interview stage to ascertain the reason for specific student responses and to investigate these areas further.

In addition to the interviews, all written products of students' classroom tasks were collected to assist in understanding the students' engagement with the issues presented. As part of their written class work, on day one of the class, students were asked to produce a one-page written response as to why they were learning English. This was done to ascertain the students' current knowledge of the issues dealt with in the class and their relationship with English language studies and formed part of the data collection (see Appendix J).

Audio recordings were made of all classes. This was to provide a permanent and accurate record of the interactions for the purposes of transcription and to support the observation. The researcher acknowledges the restrictions of using audio recordings including the inability to capture nonverbal responses and classroom dynamics (Swann, 1994).

Recording classes did not prove too difficult or intrusive as each classroom was already provided with a tape recorder and students are occasionally recorded in classes. Students were grouped around tables with approximately one tape recorder to five students. After the first day, most students seemed at ease with the tape recorders, even pointing out to the teacher if they stopped or the tape needed to be turned over. However one student (ST13) mentioned in his interview that he sometimes did not want to answer because he did not want his words 'on the record', so this undoubtedly did affect the class interaction in some way. Videotaping was not used as it was felt to be too intrusive and could have had an even greater negative impact on student discussion.

3.3.2 Interviews

Students participating in the study were interviewed at the end of the course using a combination of group and individual methods. These interviews were then compared against the teacher interviews and their written responses. Using this *triangulation* approach and providing multiple perspectives on the phenomena helped to limit the subjective nature of qualitative research. It also provided an interesting point for analysis when the data between the sources did not agree (Gillham, 2000: 13). All interviews were semi-structured to ensure key points were covered but allowed for digressions if productive. I again attempted to remain detached, however my relations with the participants undoubtedly also affected the results of the interview phase. This is acknowledged, and interviews are viewed, as described in Fontanta and Frey, as 'negotiated accomplishments of both interviewers and respondents that are shaped by the contexts and situations in which they take place' (2000: 663). Interview questions attempted to clarify key moments of classroom observations (See Appendix G for specific interview schedules). The two interview types are now discussed in more detail.

All students were interviewed in groups. The students from Class One were divided into two groups of six and five students, and Class Two was interviewed as a whole (four students). The interview questions were based on these students' responses and engagement with issues raised and other areas of interest that arose from the class observations. The group interview was employed to gauge and stimulate recall of the collective experiences of the group and to allow students to reflect and respond to one another (Fontana and Frey, 2000). The teacher was not present during the interview to allow the students' responses to be less inhibited. The interviews were tape recorded to allow for complete transcripts to be made of the interview for analysis.

Even though group interviews are an economic way of gaining group insight, as Fontana and Frey (2000) discuss, there are some difficulties with group interviews and care must be taken to obtain responses from the group as a whole, and not just from more vocal students. Additionally, group discussion may lead to *groupthink* and not allow for individual expression. Finally, students may be reluctant to discuss certain sensitive topics that may have arisen in class in front of other students. To help counter these problems and to ensure students felt secure in responding, semi-formal, face-to-face individual student interviews were also conducted with each of the students in the study (fifteen in all). Questions focused on developing key areas of interest that emerged during observations (see Appendix G).

3.4 Methods and Techniques for Data Collection: Teacher Responses

3.4.1 Written responses

Upon completion of the course, each teacher was asked to write a two-page response to their experience teaching the course. They were provided with some prompts for possible areas to discuss, but left free to comment on what

they felt were key issues and areas of interest. These were written within a week of the end of the course to allow for optimal recall of experiences.

3.4.2 Interviews

All teachers were also interviewed in two areas:

a) Their perception of the students' experience
b) Their own experiences teaching the course

These interviews were employed to provide another opinion to support or refute the observation and interpretations of the researcher and to explore what impact using a critical approach has on the teacher.

3.5 Methods and Techniques for Data Analysis

Data was comprised of the following:

- Researcher's field notes from all sixteen classes on the course
- Audio recordings of interactions during all classroom observations
- Focus group student interview transcripts
- Individual student interview transcripts
- Teacher written two-page responses
- Individual teacher interview transcripts
- Artwork and written class work of students

The main form of data analysis was thematic content analysis by examining the key themes and patterns emerging from the texts. Many issues arose from the data (e.g. shifts in students' identities throughout the course, the different ways teachers responded to errors in the students' written work vs. speaking

practice); however, I decided to focus on three key areas that I felt were most interesting and relevant to implementing a critical approach in a private English language school. These key areas will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five. Once the areas were selected, coding was used to identify these patterns and themes throughout the following texts:

- The field notes
- The teachers' written two-page responses
- The transcripts from the student focus group interviews
- The transcripts from the individual student interviews
- The transcripts from the individual teacher interviews

This was done by highlighting the references to these areas with an assigned colour. These were then summarised and organised into a table under headers using key quotes. The students' artwork and written work was not analysed, but drawn on to support the findings. This *triangulation* process, utilising data from different sources, allowed me to establish the relations and connections, as well as the differences across the data. This assisted me in interpreting the data. The categories for interpretation were not pre-selected to allow for flexibility to focus on key areas as they develop (Hammersley, 1994 and Knobel and Lankshear, 1999).

3.6 Research Participants: The Learners

3.6.1 Learner backgrounds

As a critical approach involves issues around learner identity, the ethnic and economic backgrounds of the learners are significant in that they may have influenced the ways in which they responded to the materials and their involvement in the class discussions. As the table indicates, the backgrounds of the students were quite similar in many respects:

Table 3.6.1 Learner backgrounds

Student	Nationality	Age	Sex	Government Sponsored	First Language[15]
ST 1	Gabonese	Early 30s	Female	Yes	French
ST2	Gabonese	Early 20s	Female	Yes	French
ST3	Equatorial Guinean	Early 20s	Male	Yes	Spanish
ST4	Congolese	Early 20s	Female	No	French
ST5	Equatorial Guinean	Early 20s	Male	Yes	Spanish
ST6	Gabonese	Early 20s	Female	Yes	French
ST7	Gabonese	Early 20s	Female	Yes	French
ST8	Equatorial Guinean	Early 20s	Female	Yes	Spanish
ST9	Gabonese	Early 20's	Female	Yes	French
ST10	Gabonese	Early 20s	Female	Yes	French
ST11	Equatorial Guinean	Early 20s	Female	Yes	Spanish
ST12	Gabonese	Early 20's	Male	Yes	French[16]
ST13	Equatorial Guinean	Early 20s	Female	Yes	Spanish
ST14	Congolese	Early 20s	Female	No	French
ST15	Gabonese	Early 20's	Female	Yes	French

All were African from a similar region: eight of the fifteen students were Gabonese, five were Equatorial Guinean, and two were Congolese; all but one participant were in their early 20s; ten students spoke French and five spoke Spanish as a first language; finally, all but two were sponsored by their government or an independent company. These students tend to be more privileged as the government sponsored places at IH Johannesburg usually go to students from families of influence. Though these similarities exist, each student is, of course, an individual, and as such had different responses to the material.

[15] As listed on the students' interview form when they first started classes at IH Johannesburg
[16] ST12 discussed in class that he had originally stated French and Arabic as his first language and was asked by the teacher who interviewed him to choose 1 – he subsequently chose French.

3.6.2 Learner experience at International House

The learners involved in the study were all long-stay study-abroad students, staying for periods of nine months to one year, most with the aim of going on to study at South African universities. At the time of the research, these students had been at the school for six months or more. As a result they knew each other and the teachers well and would be generally comfortable discussing most issues in classes. Though rapport between students and teachers is good, after students have been studying for over six months, they tend to grow tired of classes and become less motivated. The Equatorial Guinean and the Congolese students usually live with host families, but the Gabonese students frequently live with friends and eating habits may be poor. This is the first time some of these students have been away from home and most do not see any family during their studies and become homesick. Students' attendance and punctuality at this time can become problematic despite the fact that sponsored students are required to attend eighty-percent of all classes. Teachers sometimes have difficulty trying to *teach* something in these timeslots and not merely entertain the students.

3.6.3 Learner selection

I chose to focus my study on Upper-Intermediate students and above. This was done for two reasons: Firstly, these levels were anticipated to have larger numbers of students at that time, but perhaps more importantly, it was anticipated that a higher level of English would better facilitate discussion of these issues. Students whose English level is lower than this have difficulty discussing more complex, abstract ideas.

All students at this level could choose between the standard conversation class and this *Language and Identity* course. Students were informed that participation in the course involved participation in the research. They were

informed verbally and in writing that if at any time they wished to withdraw from the course, they would be allowed to do so. With my encouragement, all students chose to take the special class and the general conversation class was not offered. No students asked to be removed from the *Language and Identity* course during the length of the study.

After they had agreed to participate in the study, the students were divided into two classes: Class One which consisted of Upper-Intermediate A through Pre-Advanced A[17] (ST 1 – ST 11); and Class Two which was comprised of Pre-Advanced B through Lower-Advanced (ST 12 – ST 15). Due to one student taking an unplanned holiday and two students ending their studies early, the higher level class had only four students. Class One had eleven students. A total of fifteen students attended the classes.

As the class numbers were relatively small, all students on the course were included in the study. Individual interviews were conducted with each member of both classes. Focus group interviews were also done with all students. Class Two was interviewed as a whole, while Class One was broken into five and six member focus groups.

3.6.4 Researcher-student relationship: Effects on the research

The fact that I was already known to the students and had taught some of them previously may have helped with rapport. However, my position in the school as Director of Studies (DoS) could also have had a negative effect as I am responsible for the students' educational development and frequently have to take on a disciplinary role.

[17] 'A' students are taking this level for the first month while 'B' students are on their second month at that level.

To counter this, the role of the researcher was made clear on the first day of classes. The students were informed that I would have absolutely no disciplinary responsibility in the events of this class and the Deputy Principal would assume the role normally occupied by myself. Any complaints or problems that arose during class should be taken to him by both the students and the teachers involved. In that way I tried to maintain neutrality and was able to separate myself into both DoS and researcher. I did not participate in class or discuss the events of the class with the students until the final day. However, even with attempting to remain as unobtrusive as possible, students still turned to me or attempted to bring me into discussions at certain points during the class and I am sure that I impacted on the behaviour that took place simply by being present (Swann, 1994).

3.7 Research Participants: The Teachers

3.7.1 Teacher backgrounds

In addition to the student participants, the teachers chosen had an important influence on the outcomes of the course. Here too, their backgrounds are significant in that they would have impacted on their responses and reactions. This can be summarized by the following:

Table 3.7.1 Teacher backgrounds

Teacher	Highest Level of Teacher Training	Nationality	First Language	Age
T1	DELTA Masters in English Literature	Bulgarian	Bulgarian	Mid-30s
T2	CELTA Masters in Applied English Language Studies in progress	South African	English	Early-30s

3.7.2 Teacher selection

I chose teachers for the study for three reasons. Firstly, I chose teachers with high levels of teacher training who I felt were already strong teachers in the standard IH classes and would be comfortable experimenting with new materials. In addition to experience and teaching ability, I wanted teachers who demonstrated an interest in a critical TEFL and who saw this as a valid approach to language learning. Finally, I wanted teachers from different ethnic backgrounds as I felt this could influence the way they responded to the course and the way the learners would respond to them teaching it. It would have been ideal to have a black African teacher teach one of the classes, as race could prove significant in the way teachers and students relate to these materials, though, unfortunately this was not possible at the time of the study. The participation of the (white) teachers in the research was voluntary and consent was obtained from both teachers prior to the commencement of the study. Both teachers are permanent staff members and guaranteed full-time teaching hours; if a teacher had preferred not to participate, they would have been assigned to a standard course. Both of the teachers I initially chose for the study were interested in participating, and, though sometimes frustrated, never asked to be removed from the course.

3.7.3 Researcher-teacher relationship: Effects on the research

The fact that I am the DoS in charge of both these teachers and I observed every class obviously impacted on the way these teachers ran the course. Both teachers commented in their feedback that they would have adapted the lessons more if I wasn't watching and T2 commented that she was being 'unofficially observed everyday'.

At IH Johannesburg the teachers are observed quarterly as part of their development. I initially felt that their being accustomed to observations may make my observations of the class less obtrusive. At least with T2 this seems to have had the opposite effect, as she equated my observations for the purposes of field notes with my observation and critique of her teaching ability.

These are some of the constraints of the research process. I have tried my best to minimalise these effects, but I have to acknowledge that the power relations implicit in my institutional position could not be put aside. I have built these factors into my interpretations of what happened on the course.

Chapter 4 The Teaching and Learning Context of the Research

> SLA theorists have struggled to conceptualize the relationship between the language learner and the social world because they have not developed a comprehensive theory of identity that integrates the language learner and the language learning context (Norton, 2000:4).

4.1 Introduction

Having already given a broad overview of IHWO and within this organisation, IH Johannesburg, this chapter looks more in depth at this school as the research context. It describes the methodology of IH and how this influences the course context and curriculum at the local level, including an examination of the features of a standard TEFL conversation course at IH Johannesburg. Finally it introduces the critical TEFL course as devised for this curriculum innovation. It describes the course materials themselves and how the creation of this course differed from the standard conversation class model.

4.2 The Research Context: Approaches to Curriculum and Pedagogy at International House

4.2.1 Approach to language teaching

The language learning and teaching methodology promoted through IH Worldwide and used at IH Johannesburg is a *principled eclectic* approach to language learning with an emphasis on CLT. This eclectic approach entails a mix of styles and approaches used in the classroom from audio-lingual methods to CLT. We feel that all approaches are valid as long as the teacher is able to justify why he or she chose it. Teachers do recognise and consider the

learners' expectations when choosing methods appropriate for a student group but a teacher may also choose to use a method unfamiliar to students if they feel it is in their best interest. There is an underlying belief that students sometimes need to be 'educated' into more 'modern' methods of language learning. As this is a multilingual school, English is generally the only language of instruction.

4.2.2 Teacher/student roles

Within IH World the relationship between teachers and students in adult classes is believed to be that of equals. The teacher is viewed more as 'facilitator' and CELTA training sessions stress teachers sitting with the class when possible rather than standing over the class in the traditional teacher role. Classes are also generally arranged in more circular configurations, though the class arrangement is ultimately at the discretion of the teacher. Looking at the classroom relationship through Bernstein's model (in, Daniels, 2001: 136), the framing is fairly weak, though the level of control does differ between teachers. At IH Johannesburg, the majority of our students are younger and though they are in their twenties and technically 'adults' we find that many times we have to take a more disciplinarian role and the teacher must assume more traditional 'teacher' role more consistent with strong framing. The extent of this is usually based on the age and maturity of the students involved.

4.3 School Logistics at International House Johannesburg

To have a full understanding of the research course that was run, it is necessary to have an overall understanding of the way IH Johannesburg operates and its standard curriculum. IH Johannesburg is run independently to other IH schools and operates differently from most other schools in the network which operate in non-English speaking countries and teach students

a few hours a week after working hours. As previously mentioned, our student body is comprised of study-abroad students who attend classes from a period between one month and one year. In addition, we also have a small number of foreign students who live and work in Johannesburg. Classes at IH Johannesburg operate on a four-weekly basis with full-time students advancing one level (e.g. Elementary, Intermediate) every two months (see Appendix A). All study-abroad students study intensively for six hours a day. This consists of both morning and afternoon classes with students reselecting and teachers being reassigned classes for each new course. Students have different teachers for the morning and afternoon classes.

For students at Upper-Intermediate level and above, a full-time table consists of (see Appendix A): three hours in the morning of general English classes using a British coursebook[18]. This is considered the main class of the day and the only one that is formally assessed each month (i.e. written exam). This is followed by an extension class that focuses on a language skill: reading, writing, vocabulary, or grammar, then a self-access period where students work independently in the library and computer laboratory, and finally another one-hour extension classes with a speaking focus. Occasionally a more 'fun' course is offered in place of the standard model conversation class, such as *Drama* or *Music and Video*. As discussed, the *Language and Identity* course was run as one of these classes, using a critical approach. The students were offered a choice between it and a standard conversation class. While the morning classes follow a coursebook and syllabus, the afternoon extension courses do not and the teacher is responsible for the course content. To examine how this *Language and Identity* course was visibly different from the general conversation class, the components of a 'standard' conversation are analysed and then compared with the components of the critical model.

[18] Coursebooks for Upper-Intermediate – Advanced classes are chosen from: *Cutting Edge* (2005) Pearson Ed. Ltd.; *Inside Out* (2001) Macmillan Ed.; *FCE Gold* (2000) Pearson Ed. Ltd.; or *Think FCE* (1996) Addison Wesley Longman Ltd.

4.4 A Standard TEFL Conversation Class at International House Johannesburg: Model A

In order to highlight the differences between the *Language and Identity* course and the general conversation class it replaced, it must first be established what the 'standard' is. As the conversation class is weakly classified (Daniels, 2001) with the teachers at IH Johannesburg being given a lot of freedom, this is difficult to measure, though some generic features can be identified.

The conversation class at IH Johannesburg is primarily viewed as 'skill-using'. The main purpose is to ensure that students develop their speaking skills, which consists of both fluency and accuracy. The majority of class time is usually devoted to more fluency-based free-speaking practice in English only, but CELTA teacher training stresses that all skills lessons should have some language element. In conversation classes at Upper-Intermediate level and above, this generally takes the form of an error correction slot done at the end of the lesson. This also serves to focus on the students' speaking accuracy.

In order to engage the students and ensure ample speaking opportunities, the teacher attempts to find topics of interest to the students to prompt discussion. This may take the form of an oral or written text, a quote, a news item, etc. The conversation class does not use prescribed books and the teachers select from materials in the resource library of primarily British-based activities or are free to develop their own. They usually try to incorporate topics of local interest to the students. Topics are wide-ranging and varied from teacher to teacher and no materials are pre-developed for the course. Courses generally have no continuity, with the majority of lessons being 'one-offs'.

Though there is plenty of flexibility, the lesson can follow a basic lesson shape as described in *Learning Teaching* (Scrivener, 1994), a popular book for teacher training and commonly used on CELTA courses:

> - Teacher introduces and sets up activity (teacher centre-stage).
> - Students do activity [usually in pairs or small groups to allow for more speaking time for students] (teacher out of sight, uninvolved).
> - Teacher gets feedback, does follow-on work, etc. (teacher centre-stage again).
>
> A useful thing for the teacher to do during stage 2 above is to take notes (unobtrusively) of interesting student utterances (correct and incorrect) for possible use later on (at the end of the activity, the next day, next week, etc) (68).

In this model, the teacher's main duties are to prompt the discussion, monitor to assist students and ensure the students are maximizing their speaking time, listen for and note errors and good language and finally give students feedback on language problems.

The 'standard' class has a lot of strong points as it is primarily focused on getting students to communicate. The teacher usually attempts to choose topics that are of interest and tries to personalise them for the students. Though teaching styles vary, teachers of the conversation class are interested in allowing students to express themselves and a focus is placed on responding to content rather than only errors.

With this in mind, however, one of the main problems with this course as related to language learning is its 'hit-and-miss' nature. Teachers often find that topics they thought would be appealing have no interest for students. Sometimes even if students seem interested, they only discuss a point for a short time and teachers must constantly prompt students to speak.

Additionally, stronger students can dominate the lesson and quieter students may not get speaking time.

4.5 Course Materials

The *Language and Identity* course was run in lieu of this standard conversation class model. In order to run a critical course, the first thing needed was teaching and learning materials. As a critical approach is not part of the pedagogy of IH and few critical materials are available for EFL teaching, I developed a complete set of materials before the start of the course (see appendix B). To do this I looked at existing critical materials for South African second language classrooms, including *Languages in South Africa* (Orlek, 1993) and *Language, Identity and Power* (Janks, 1993). These were adapted to relate to adult, non-South-African students with a focus on students from other parts of Africa. Additionally, I developed new materials specifically for the course arising out of my readings on global English and my sense of the students' context and needs.

Though it was anticipated that the students on the *Language and Identity* course would be African, it was possible that other non-African students could also be in the class. With this in mind, I attempted to create materials that would not exclude any students from the discussions, however, as this is primarily an African study, the focus of the materials remained on local African issues.

The materials were organised into sixteen[19] one-page worksheets that followed on from each other to form a cohesive whole around the title *Language and Identity*. The activities used and the overall aims of each worksheet were the following (see Appendix B for complete worksheets):

[19] The remaining three class days were used for student interviews with the final course day devoted to a class outing.

Table 4.5 Overview of course materials

Lesson Number	Title	Aim	Activities
1	English and You	▪ To gain an understanding of the sts current thoughts and beliefs on the issues discussed on the course.	▪ Sts respond to political statements about language/language learning stating if they agree or disagree. ▪ Sts discuss answers – debate issues.
2	Many Groups – Many Different Identities	▪ To introduce sts to the concept of identity and how it relates to language.	▪ Sts discuss identities: power/clashing. ▪ Sts identify T's identities. ▪ Sts create own identity posters.
3	Names and Family	▪ To extend the concept of identity ▪ To introduce the idea of culture in language with the western idea of 'family'.	▪ Sts read about different cultural traditions on naming. ▪ Sts complete 'traditional' family tree. ▪ Sts discuss their traditions/beliefs around names.
4	Languages of Africa	▪ To extend the idea of culture in language. ▪ To give value to the students' native languages.	▪ Sts discuss native languages in Africa. ▪ Sts compile list of all the languages spoken in the class.
5	The Languages of Colonialism	▪ To introduce the topic of colonialism and how this affected language. ▪ To introduce the idea of power in language. ▪ To give sts an opportunity to consider how they feel about their colonial language and how this relates to their identities.	▪ Sts discuss colonial languages in Africa ▪ Sts write language diary ▪ Sts discuss what language they use and when.
6	Culture	▪ To further extend the notion of culture by taking it beyond the safe definition usually used in the language classrooms – culture as control.	▪ Sts read quote and discuss reactions to culture as control. ▪ Sts discuss how colonialism changed their countries.
7	The Politics of English Language Teaching	▪ To extend on the previous lesson by examining how western culture is transmitted though language and English language teaching practices.	▪ Sts read and discuss reactions to political quotes about English language teaching. ▪ Sts discuss education practices and how they prefer to be taught.
8	You Without Your Languages	▪ To extend the topic of language and colonialism and language as a form of domination through a personal story.	▪ Sts read story by Ngugi wa Thiong'o and discuss reaction. ▪ Sts discuss the issues raised relates to their own lives.
9	The History of the English Language	▪ To give sts an overview of the history of the English language and how English has evolved and is evolving. ▪ To Introduce the concept of a 'standard' English. ▪ To extend the notion of language as power.	▪ Sts read text on the history of English and complete timeline. ▪ Sts discuss how English was influenced by other languages. ▪ Sts discuss difference versions of English and the need (or not) for a 'standard' version.

10	The Spread of English in the World	▪ To extend the discussion on the spread of English by looking at how power is involved. ▪ To consider how this changes the English language. ▪ To open the debate on who English belongs to.	▪ Sts look at map of the spread of English as an second or other language – discuss related issues of power. ▪ Sts discuss who English belongs to – does it belong to them?
11	Who Should Teach English	▪ To extend the concept of who English belongs to by looking at who should teach English and the debate between native vs. non-native speaker teachers.	▪ Sts read 3 short texts on different language teachers and choose which one they would most like as their teacher. ▪ Sts discuss political issues surrounding the language teacher debate and give their opinions.
12	Which English? – Investigating Accents	▪ To extend the concept of a 'standard' English by looking at different accents in countries where English is spoken as a native language.	▪ Sts discuss which countries speak English as a first language and which English they want to speak. ▪ Sts listen to English being spoken with different accents identity them and discuss.
13	Which English? – Investigating Dialects	▪ To further extend the concept of a 'standard' English by looking at different dialects on the local level within South Africa and what these dialects represent (i.e.: age, status, education, etc).	▪ Sts discuss dialects in South Africa and their countries. ▪ Sts listen to different South African dialects and identify groups. What does a dialect tell you about race, education, etc.. ▪ Sts give opinions on standard and non-standard varieties of English.
14	English and the Future	▪ To extend the issues of the power of the English language by examining why English is 'The international Language'.	▪ Sts brainstorm and discuss the influences of English becoming the International Language. ▪ Sts discuss the future of English.
15	Why English? – A Conspiracy Theory	▪ To further extend the issue of the power of the English language by investigating alternate theories of why English has become so powerful.	▪ Sts discuss their reactions to political quotes on the spread of English as something deliberately orchestrated by English-speaking nations. ▪ Sts discuss how the world speaking English makes English-speaking nations more powerful.
16	English and You (Part 2)	▪ To better understand how the course has influenced the sts opinions of these issues. ▪ To demonstrate to the sts how their opinions (and identities) have changed.	▪ Sts complete the same chart they did on the first day of the course and discuss in groups. ▪ Sts compare new chart with the original they filled in on day one. ▪ Sts discuss how their feelings have (or haven't) changed.

The topics were built around the notion that the English language is political. The course emphasised exploring the students' relationships to English and how this impacts on their identity and their relationship to their home language. The worksheets attempted to introduce students to the different concepts surrounding this in a 'building block' fashion. Each module focused on one or two aspects of this (e.g. identity; 'standard English'; the spread of English, etc.), with subsequent modules extending these concepts further as new issues were introduced. This allowed the course to have continuity and led to a cohesive whole.

The activities generally centred around student discussion of each area with a heavy focus on students relating these issues to their own context and giving their opinions. The materials followed the general shape of: introduction to the topic and time for class discussion, a class activity, and further discussion.

In addition to the main activities of each lesson, each module of this course also offered an extension activity that could be done after the central lesson to offer the students other modes of engagement with the critical issues. These included activities such as writing letters, essays, making posters, having class debates, conducting school surveys, researching areas on the internet, performing stories or poems, and giving class presentations. Perhaps due to the one-hour time limit of each lesson and the students' unwillingness to complete homework tasks, these were the least successful component of the *Language and Identity* course and are not the focus of this study. However, some of the students' written work is drawn on to provide support for particular points I make.

The teachers were told they were free to use the materials as they chose and select, adapt and omit sections to accommodate the needs and interests of their individual classes. There were no teaching materials prepared and

teachers were told they could consult me before each lesson if necessary as to the content of the module. It was felt that the overall layout of the materials was familiar to the teachers so further instruction on exactly how to use the materials with a language class was unnecessary. Though teachers were given the freedom to adapt the course, very little adaptation occurred. According to the teachers, this was due to their assumed expectations about how I wanted the course materials used. This indicates how the results of the research were affected by my roles as researcher and DoS.

4.6 Critical TEFL: Model B

Having described the key materials and syllabus I created for the *Language and Identity* course, this section now investigates how the materials development and overall aims for this course differed from that of the 'standard' conversation class model.

The most obvious difference was the way in which the course was constructed. Where the general conversation class is loosely organised, with the teacher generally deciding the topic on the day of the lesson, here all the materials were developed or adapted by the researcher prior to the start of the classes. This class was also much more strongly classified while the general conversation class's classification was weak. The resources on the *Language and Identity* course were adapted or written specifically to relate to adult, non-South African students, with a focus on students from other parts of Africa. Additionally, instead of a series of 'one-off' lessons this course was more highly structured by using one-page progressive worksheets (see Appendix B) which lead up to an overall critical understanding of language study. These worksheets served as the key curriculum and pedagogic text though the teachers were told they were free to use the materials as presented or to select, adapt or omit sections to accommodate the needs and interests of their individual classes.

The stages of the lesson as set out in the worksheets were similar, utilising similar classroom methods including:

- Lead-in to topic – teacher led
- Discussion of topic - pairs/groups/open-class
- Student activities – individually/pairs/groups

Though the stages were similar, the aims of the *Language and Identity* course were very different from a standard conversation course which focuses primarily on providing the students with speaking practice in order to develop their communicative competence. The overall aims here were:

- To identify the existing understanding / interests/ purposes of students regarding these issues
- To raise student's critical awareness of the global and local politics associated with the English language
- To raise student's critical awareness of how identity and culture are transmitted through language
- To expose students to non-standard forms of English and to raise awareness of issues surrounding 'standard English'
- To enable students to make conscious choices of why they are learning English and its uses
- To allow students the opportunity to express their opinions on these issues, and develop their voices

In the *Language and Identity* course, the nature of conversation shifted from simply a focus on 'talk' and became related to the students' everyday lives. Conversation was viewed as a form of empowerment, allowing students to engage with social and identity issues. Freire discusses how dialogue is a means of exploring and examining issues together:

> Dialogue is a moment where humans meet to reflect on their reality as they make and remake it…to the extent that we are communicative beings who communicated to each other as we become more able to transform our reality, we are able *to know that we know*, which is *more* than just knowing (1987: 98-9).

4.7 Summary of Key Differences

Looking strictly at the planning stages between the standard conversation course and the *Language and Identity* course, the following differences appeared:

Table 4.7 Key differences in course development

Features	Model A – Standard	Model B – *Language and Identity*
Syllabus	None - Lessons primarily 'one-offs'	Syllabus - Lesson builds to cohesive whole
Classification	Weak	Strong[20]
Materials Development	T creates – usually on same day as lesson	Complete course provided to T before the start of the course
Content	Anything the teachers feel will interest students – frequently universal	Critical look at language study – with a focus on the local
Language	English is the only language used	Some lessons include using other languages
Aim	Aim of the class is to speak	Aim is to develop, grow, understand, raise critical awareness of…, and develop language skills

Though there were some surface differences between the two classes, the school is accustomed to running other 'special' courses in place of a conversation class, so despite these differences, I assumed that the teachers would be comfortable with their teaching methodology on the *Language and Identity* course. As discussed, the teachers were told they could consult me prior to the lesson as to the content of the worksheets if they were unfamiliar with the ideas behind them, but were offered no real direction in how to teach

[20] Daniels, 1999

from them. It was assumed that since the worksheets were set-up using a basic TEFL format in a familiar style, the course could be run in much the same way. When recruiting students for the course, they were told that this would basically be a conversation class, though the conversation would be focused on the specific topic of issues around language studies. The initial focus of the research was related strictly to how students engaged with the issues discussed on the course.

Despite these assumptions, when the course actually ran, many more ruptures from the standard model occurred than anticipated. This changed the focus of the research and broadened it to include both teacher and student responses. What happened at IH Johannesburg when a critical approach was inserted into a 'non-critical' curriculum will be examined further in the following two chapters.

Chapter 5 A Different Kind of Conversation Class

> Words become one's own only when the speaker populates them with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention (Bakhtin, in Luk, 2005: 252).

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I examine the first research question: What happens when a critical TEFL conversation class is inserted into a standard TEFL curriculum in a Johannesburg private language school? To do this, I draw on my knowledge as materials designer of the *Language and Identity* course, my experience as a regular observer of the course (model B) and subsequent field notes, and my own experience of both teaching and observing the 'standard' (model A) style conversation class over the last three years. This is supported with evidence from the group and individual student interviews and the students' class work, and the teachers' interviews and written responses.

'What happened?' is a broad question and many themes emerged from the study. However, as the context of the research is an EFL private school and I was interested in choosing areas that would impact on the classroom and language learning, I focus on three broad areas:

- Levels of student involvement: Effects on language learning and development of students' communicative competence
- Accuracy and fluency: Issues around error correction
- Effects on student identity: Student isolation or inclusion

These areas, which emerged during the study, relate to critical TEFL in relation to its potential within a private language school which is based on a business relationship with its students. The experience of students in the classroom relates directly to issues of client satisfaction and student expectations. This chapter examines the first two points. The third issue will be discussed in Chapter Six. I compare the outcomes of the *Language and Identity* class with that of a 'standard' conversation class, providing evidence and suggestions for why ruptures in areas of levels of student involvement and accuracy occurred, and finally, I look at how these occurrences impacted on the development of the students' communicative competence and the language learning classroom.

5.2 Examples of Student Involvement

Scrivener (1994) cites the main aim of a discussion as 'to provide an opportunity to practise speaking, with more attention to improving fluency than to getting accurate sentences'. This is achieved by finding, 'ways of enabling as many students as possible to speak as much as possible' (59). With this in mind, it stands to reason that a major concern of a conversation course is the nature of the discussion that takes place. Teachers focus on choosing topics and lesson ideas that they feel will generate 'lively debate'. The ability of the *Language and Identity* course to noticeably generate overall student engagement in the 'topics' of the course was one of its strengths and the first patterns to emerge during classroom observations. This was noted in areas of:

- Volume
- Intensity
- Interest
- Length
- Degree of Participation
- Amount

The first four points are illustrated by the following extract from class one on the first three days of the course (see Appendix H for additional extracts from the field notes):

Time	Notes	
		Day 1
2.20	Discussion carries on – grows louder as students seem very eager to debate points – T continues to monitor but sts work well independently and discussion still strong when she isn't with group. A lot of interest around what language their family members speak.	
		Day 2
2.25	T stops discussion – sts must be told to stop several times.	
		Day 3
2.15	Sts asked to discuss in pairs but whole tables keep talking together – though all seem actively involved frequently talking over each other.	

These field notes demonstrate several regular features of the *Language and Identity* class. First, that conversation was loud: students frequently shouted and there are numerous references to the volume in the classroom increasing. This also gives some indication of the level of intensity of the conversation with students 'talking over each other'. The length of the discussion is also indicated by the teacher trying to unsuccessfully stop the conversation and the comment on day one that 'the conversation carries on' as opposed to 'dying out' as would be expected in a general conversation class. Students' perceived interest is noted along with the 'eagerness' of students to speak, and the fifth point , level of class participation, is indicated by the fact that the students worked well together, independent of teacher prompting.

The final point, the amount of talk, was the feature most noted by teachers and students in their interviews. When each of the three student groups was asked the question: 'Do you feel like you got more or less discussion practice in this class [the *Language and Identity* course] than you would have in a regular conversation class?', each group responded without hesitation that

they received more conversation practice (for complete transcripts of the group interviews see Appendix C):

Group 1

ST: Yes! Yes! I talked more because you must give you opinion.

ST3: Ahah!

ST4: And I think the time wasn't enough because we wanted to speak//

Group 2

ALL: [students laughing volume in room increases] More! More!

ST10: More in this class, yes.

ST 9: More conversation.

Group 3

ST13: [laughing] I think we had too much!

ST15: [inaudible]

R: Sorry, ST15?

ST15: A lot.

The students' feelings and the field note findings were reinforced by the teachers' interviews:

T1: …the topics made them speak so much…I remember thinking at the beginning, the first few classes like, "wow, they're just given a topic and they just explode!"

I don't think they've talked so much in any other class.

T2: I think they probably got a bit more [speaking practice] in this class than they would in a general conversation class.

Although throughout the majority of the classes, student participation was high, there were some moments where teachers found it difficult to engage

students in discussion. This was usually linked to the students rejecting the main ideas of the lesson. T1 discussed in her written feedback her frustration over this and other times students simply would not accept things that we [the research and teacher] had taken for granted as obvious and true:

> I also fell into the trap of assuming that students agree with certain viewpoints and based whole lessons on that. Consequently, a few of the lessons just did not take off as the students did not accept the fundamental idea they were built on (e.g. That language and identity are intricately connected, that colonialism is a negative phenomenon, that language constantly changes etc.), which made me feel a bit uncomfortable trying to get them started on a topic.

When this occurred, however it generally resulted in the teacher simply having to work harder to prompt the conversation, not in the failure of the lesson itself as exemplified by class one on day four of the course:

Time	Notes	Comments
1.50	T asked sts for definition of 'language' – sts suggest combination of words, sounds, symbols T tries to guide sts to understand that lg reflects how you see world – sts have difficulty understanding this T asks if lg connected to identity – sts say 'no' ST1 explains how lg is a part of what identifies her Task: does changing language change identity – sts discuss in groups – divided but conversation is better f/b to class – 1 group says no – lg and identity not related. 2 groups say sometimes. ST3 makes argument that they can be related - group 2 says no – not at all	What about issues of Christianity and Westernisation? – interesting worksheet topic Confusing sts a bit – haven't thought of this before – don't have strong opinion
2.00	T writes quote on board 'Through choice of language people constantly make and remake who they are.' – sts asked to discuss quote – debate going stronger now – volume in classroom rising T rephrasing again – 'has studying English changed you in any way?' – Group 2 still firmly 'no' ST3 says 'yes – but it can change your life' – heated debate	I assumed a lot in designing materials that sts would simply agree w/ this concept without being led into it.

Though the discussion has centred around the features that comprise the quality of the speaking practice in the *Language and Identity* model B class, this is not to say that these same features do not occur in the 'standard' A model.

Where the two classes do differ, however, is in terms of the frequency and consistency of occurrence of these points as was noted by T2 in her interview:

> I think the students were more consistently engaged in the topic then they…they are with conversation classes. With conversation…general conversation classes some things work really well and other things don't and it just depends on, you know, that topic.

A comparison of the features of the two courses reinforces T2's opinions:

Table 5.2. Comparison of conversation features

Feature	Model A – 'Standard' Conversation Class	Model B – *Language and Identity* Course
Volume	Generally moderate - varies	Generally loud
Intensity	Generally moderate – varies	Generally intense
Participation	Teacher has to ensure all students participate	Conversation involves all students without prompting
Interest	Varies – depending on topic and students	High
Length of Conversation	Moderate – students tend to 'dry-up' Teacher has to encourage students to continue	High – Teacher has to try several times to stop conversation
Amount of Conversation	Moderate – varies	High

The high occurrence of these key features contributes to the quality of the speaking practice and the 'success' of this course in terms of meeting the aims and objectives of a 'standard' conversation class.

5.3 Reasons for Student Involvement

5.3.1 A content-based approach

If it is then established that there was a different quality of speaking practice in the *Language and Identity* class as opposed to a 'standard' conversation class, the question is: why was this the case? One possible reason is the fact that the

course was content-based, allowing the students opportunities for learning that were content-related in addition to language learning. A content-based approach utilises English as the medium of instruction to teach other subjects. Language is 'fed in' within a communicative context to fill in the gaps for the students' as the need arises (Larsen-Freeman, 2000: 140). Many students mentioned that they felt the course contributed to their knowledge, and that they learned something 'besides English' on the course. The following excerpt is from Focus Group One, though all the groups had similar exchanges (see Appendix C):

R: How would you compare this class that you just had to a regular conversation class at this school?

ST3: Ah…this one is funner that one, because there are…they're so boring.

(…)

R: Why was this one more fun?

ST3: I don't know, because I learned something about English and history.

R: OK.

ST3: And I like history.

R: Do the rest of you agree with him.
[general response yes]

ST1: For me I liked it [inaudible] but I liked it because we got a specific top…topic…a specific topic and we discussed this topic. And I learned a lot…a lot of things: how…what English belong from, and...um how English was spreading around the world.

If the students are interested in learning something about a new topic, this would promote a content-based approach to language learning, much like is typically used in immersion schools. The intention of content-based language learning is to increase student motivation by focusing on topics that are both interesting and relevant to the learner. T1 commented in her interview as to how the content-driven nature of the class gave it more focus than the

normally disconnected topics of the standard conversation class thereby creating more discussion:

R: This is the first time a course here has focused on content (**T1: Mm, yeah**) rather than language, outside of the language…ah…correction aspect, how do you think this affected the course?

(…)

T1: I think it just generated a lot more discussion than it would have…uh… with some like 'floating questions' added to some language input, which normally happens.

5.3.2 Engaging students' voices and identities

If it is important for student engagement for the course to have a 'content', does it matter what the content is? Would this course have been equally successful if it focused on American or British history or culture? In examining this area, Luk's work in Hong Kong schools is very useful. In comparing two different native-speaker teachers' use of CLT she demonstrates 'how student's communicative intent could be promoted or demoted through the presence or absence of a genuine opportunity for students to express their *selves'*. She goes on to say that the reason first or second language speakers communicate is '…mainly for the purpose of asserting their *local* identity, interests and values' (Luk, 2005: 248 also see Canagarah: 2005). As this was a class of all African students studying English, and as the course was concerned with issues and topics related to their specific lives and interests, this I feel is key to the increased classroom conversation. Though other conversation classes do offer students the chance to speak on topics of local relevance, I believe the *Language and Identity* class afforded these students this opportunity in a much more concentrated manner. Instead of some topics being locally relevant, all the topics were. This belief is supported by the written feedback of T1:

> Students were quite focused on expressing and justifying their opinions and I do not think that they themselves perceived the debates as a part of language learning, so naturally and effortlessly were they provoked to start them. It was more a forum for expressing views and exchanging ideas than a language lesson. This is, undoubtedly, of one of the strongest features of the course as we strive all the time (and not always successfully) to provoke exactly this kind of spontaneous and internally motivated language output.

Though the discussion has focused so far on the quality of student conversation, there seemed to be more happening in the classroom than simply 'talking'. When discussing the type of conversation prevalent in the *Language and Identity* course, the students chose words to indicate that what they were talking about related to their personal self-expression and identities. To explain the students' perceptions, I draw on Bakhtin's notion of *voice* which is concerned with 'the broader issues of a speaking subject's perspective, conceptual horizon, intention and world view' (Wertsch, in Luk, 2000: 252). Luk expands on this, contrasting *voice* with *noise: voice* being speaking practises which allow the speaker to invest him or herself into the discussion; and *noise* being the normally empty speaking practice exercises common in CLT classrooms. Reference to *voicing* was made by ten out of the fifteen students in the study during the group and individual interviews:

Table 5.3.2a Students' expressions of *voicing*

Student	Voicing
ST1	'I learnt a lot and we spoke a lot, we were free to give our opinion and to express that we felt about colonialism and English also.' 'you are very free to express our opinions.'
ST2	'It's the first time since I'm at Language Lab that you had a special course like that, we were free to tell everything that we think, so I' think it's very good for me…interesting.'
ST 4	ST 4: 'I don't speak in [general conversation] class] it's like…where you just use the topic…not very important just to speak.'
ST7	'I think the school have to do this kind of class more often, it's good…we have the opportunity to express our self, and that's nice.' 'we had the time to express ourselves, to say what you think.'
ST8	'We were free to express ourselves, we discuss in group, we express our…our opinions.'
ST9	'This one gives us the opportunity to express our self.' 'a chance to give our opinion.'
ST11	'I think that I didn't express the class to partic…the participation. I always keep quiet…But I think the last [inaudible] I stared to give more opinions
ST13	'I felt confident about talking about these cos I have…chance everyday to talk about it so I felt confident I wanted to express myself.'
ST14	We have a lot to say about it so, I really enjoyed talk about it…just to express thing that you think that you keep somewhere deep down in your mind but it were just a platform to express it and to be understood. You see what is very important for me is to be understood…just want something different…something make us to be involved deeply. 'it allowed us to express exactly who we really are.'
ST15	'here to express more of our opinion than in the other conversation class…and we had more time for this.'

In examining the specific words they chose to express their views, the most common were:

- Free (e.g. 'free to give our opinions'.)
- Express (e.g. 'we have the opportunity to express ourselves'.)
- Opinions (e.g. 'I started to give more opinions'.)

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) defines them as the following:

Free: Unrestricted, unimpeded; not restrained or fixed.

Express: Say what one thinks or means.

Opinion: What one thinks about a particular topic or question.

Free indicates that the student felt able to say things in this class that they may have not been able to before. The words *express* and *opinion* can be contrasted with *speaking* which is the aim of the 'standard' conversation class:

> Speaking: The act or an instance of uttering words etc.

This exemplifies the discussion of *voice* and *noise*, with the difference between the terms being the students' insertion of themselves into the conversation. This is reinforced by ST4's opinion that in this class they were not 'just' speaking.

Other interesting expressions include ST14's use of the word *deep*, which could be contrasted with the shallow practices of the general conversation class, and ST7 and ST9's comment that this course gave them 'opportunities', defined as: 'as chance or opening offered by circumstances', that the general conversation class did not.

The teachers used similar language when describing what they observed happening during classroom discussions:

Table 5.3.2b Teachers' expressions of *voicing*

Teacher	Voicing
T1	'I'm honestly expressing my opinion and you're honestly expressing yours, it felt like an earnest discussion.' 'they were so involved in what they were actually saying.' 'interesting opinions were expressed.'
T2	'they're talking about something that's quite personal.' 'the learners seemed to enjoy telling their stories.'

T1 echoed the students' assessment that this class allowed them to 'express opinions', adding that she too was expressing hers along with the students. Along with the idea of personal expressions is the understanding that there is a real audience of interested listeners. This leads to the notion of *investment*, as discussed by Norton (2000). *Investment*, 'presupposes that when language

learners speak…they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world' (10-11). Both teachers highlight the idea of student investment with their choice of language: *earnest, involved, personal, telling their stories*.

Both the student and teacher word choices to describe the experiences of the *Language and Identity* course indicate a much deeper, more enriching experience than is normally found in the general conversation class. Students in these classes felt compelled to talk, not to get artificial speaking practice, but rather to share their feelings and opinions. Inserting these students' *voices,* within a sympathetic community, into a 'standard' TEFL model led to a loud, intense, classroom. All the students were so interested in sharing their thoughts and feelings that, as one student said, 'I think the time wasn't enough because we wanted to speak'. This made for a much more engaging, natural classroom experience.

Along with voice, another possible factor in the increased communication is the impact of the class on learner *identity*. Luk extends the notion that identities are constantly being renegotiated as a result of conversation, and discusses how a dynamic sense of identity and a need to share our culture with others prompts our urge to communicate:

> Our sense of self and the act to construct and negotiate different identities seem most robust and dynamic in contacts with people and ideologies from other discourse communities, or other cultures. It may be this urge to represent ourselves in front of 'other' people that has facilitated our development of communicative competence (2005: 251).

Though the students in the study were all African, there were three different countries represented along with the teacher who often shared in the discussion. Additionally students from the same country were often from different ethnic groups and a large portion of conversation was devoted to learning about each others' histories.

The course itself also caused students' identities to shift as evidenced throughout the course as they negotiated their beliefs in these issues, and adopted some of the views of both other students and the course itself. This can be demonstrated through the students' willingness to engage with the link between *Language and Identity* itself. Interestingly, at the beginning of the study the notion that language and identity were at all connected was one of the areas rejected by the students. This is exemplified in the field notes from class one on day 4 of the course:

Time	Notes	Comments
1.55	T asks if language is connected to identity. some students say 'no'. EM explains how language is a part of what identifies her.	
	Task – Does changing language change identity? Sts discuss in groups – divided but conversation is better.	Confusing sts a bit - haven't thought of this before. Don't have strong opinion.
	F/b to class – group 1 says 'no' language and identity not related. Group 2 says ''sometimes'. JR makes argument that they can be related – Group 2 now says 'no' – not at all.	

By the end of the course, however, most of the students were experimenting with the idea that they could have a more political identity. They had incorporated new 'buzz words' from the course into their vocabulary and quite a few of them said they had changed their opinions on identity and culture being related to language learning.

When the students were asked in the final individual interviews if language was at all related to identity, thirteen of the fifteen students answered that they were related and were able on a basic level to express how (see Appendix D for complete individual student transcripts).

Table 5.3.2c Students' expressions of *identity*

Student	Identity
ST 1	…by my language you can know where I'm from and maybe my culture maybe something else we do in my…my country then your…to your country.
ST2	it's like…a…your mother. So, when you go wherever you want, it's…it's like…it's your culture so with your language you can identity where the person come from.
ST3	Mm, yeah, in some part, because…ah my identity is my …is the way I express myself, is the way I am, and language is a part of them.
ST4	I used to [pause] I used to learn the language English and I used also to know about the culture and maybe it change me a little bit.
ST5	No, I don't think so. …You make the language not the language makes you…something like that…
ST6	And when you speak your accent make your culture. All thing, I think language can determine it, yeah…your identity.
ST7	I think the language it's like our culture, our past and it's important.
ST8	I'm a Spanish speaker, it doesn't mean that… I from… Spain or I should do what…uh Spanish people are doing…I still myself and language I don't think it change my identity.
ST9	…with my language I have to…to express myself…to show how I am.
ST10	The characteristic…character and the civi…civilisation, culture, I think, is yes.
ST11	if I travel…I travel…ah..different..ah…to different county…just to speak Spanish the people…um…can know that she's from Spain or she speak Spanish.
ST12	I think I define myself when I… when I say… it define myself the language I speak… [inaudible] related to my personality.
ST13	When you speak a language you're part of it and it's part of you… that's all.
ST14	… in African country when you don't speak your mother tongue or the language of your country is like you are not interested or reject your racine… your roots… or things like that. I think somehow I'm related to the language I speak.
ST15	… yes … because as I'm learning … also English culture and you cannot… you cannot learn the one without the second one because they are connected.

Though some students expressed more than one opinion, the students' views of the relation between language and identity can be divided into four broad areas:

- As accent or dialect (ST11, ST6)
- As culture and tradition (ST14, ST4)
- As a means of *self* (ST9, ST3)
- No relation (ST 5, ST8 – see Chapter Six)

The students struggled with these definitions as indicated by ST10, 'The characteristic…character and the civi…civilisation, culture, I think, is yes.'

These were new areas for them to express and the students were not only gaining knowledge about the content of the course, but they were simultaneously acquiring a specific Discourse or 'way of talking' about these topics (Gee, 1990). This is noticeable in ST4's statement: 'it [learning English] has changed me a little', and ST15's comment that English culture and English language are linked: '…you cannot learn the one without the second because they are connected.'

The notions of *voicing* and *identity* are supportive of a participatory approach to language learning which uses a collaborative process because it is believed that 'when knowledge is jointly constructed, it becomes a tool to help students find voice' (Larsen-Freeman, 2000: 154). Though this approach was developed with less privileged students in mind for literacy programmes, the concept of students being personally and politically involved in the lesson can transfer to other areas. At IH Johannesburg specifically, issues such as the students' relationship with learning English and colonialism can be used to lead to more 'speaking' practice, but a speaking practice of a different kind where students' selves and identities are invested in the conversation, in what it means 'to speak'.

5.4 Effects on Language Acquisition

As the overall aim of a private language school is to increase students' levels of communicative competence, how does a critical approach fit into the curriculum? This chapter has established that the students were motivated to speak more in the *Language and Identity* class than they normally would be in a general conversation class. This section now examines what effect this has on language acquisition. I use Krashen's notion of *acquisition* as distinct from language *learning*, the former allowing students to access language easily for use in 'real-time' conversation. This involves exposing students to

understandable examples of speech, as the students received during this course (Lightbown and Spada, 1999: 38-9).

Luk suggests that 'It may be this urge to represent ourselves in front of "other" people [people from different discourse communities and cultures] that has facilitated our development of communicative competence' (2005: 251). If we view *communicative competence* as comprised of both accuracy and fluency, how exactly does this occur? More opportunities for students to be involved in genuine communication results in more practice of features related to fluid speech and could potentially lead to a reduction in hesitation and an improved ability to express themselves. Teachers agreed that students got a lot of fluency practice as articulated by T1:

> I feel that quite a few of them actually needed the fluency practice as well, and they just needed to speak, they needed to struggle to express their ideas. So, I'm sure that it helped, because I don't think they've talked so much in any other class.

Aside from fluency practice, the scaffolding practices inherent in content-based instruction allowed for the teachers to feed in language as required by the discussion. This led to acquisition of new vocabulary around these topics:

> T1: …because the topics a bit overlapped, so they required the same type of vocabulary, so if in the beginning they were not sure then they heard other people using words and they incorporated them in their own speech.

In addition to any language introduced during the course, most contemporary theories on language acquisition, from Krashen's views and CLT to interactionism would agree that more conversation practice will lead to more language acquisition. In Krashen's hypothesis of comprehensible input, language input leads to language acquisition. It then stands to reason that more input would lead to more language learning. Interactionists would also agree that more input leads to more learning as long as the input takes

the form of interaction with negotiated understanding (Lightbown and Spada, 1999: 43). In looking at the increased speaking from a Strong CLT point of view, the interactional quality of the *Language and Identity* course would also lead to increased ability to communicate as, as Hatch argues, '…learners acquire language through conversation. In using conversation to interact with others, learners gradually acquire the competence that underlies the ability to use language' (in Richards, 1990: 77).

This is also in line with more recent studies in communicative competence and language acquisition. Research done by Norton in SLA found that the immigrant women in her study needed and wanted more opportunities to speak in the language classroom. With too much of a focus on grammatical items and not enough speaking practice, the women were unable to make the leap from classroom language knowledge to outside language use (2000: 135). A survey of over 400 secondary schools in Hong Kong also connected insufficient opportunities to communicate in English to a lack of success in language acquisition (Luk 2005: 249).

5.5 Error Correction

Though research around task-based and content-based approaches to language learning does indicate that language can be acquired by simple immersion in the target language, studies in French immersion schools in Canada suggest that learners who have a high amount of exposure with no overt focus on accuracy will 'fail to achieve high levels of performance in some aspects of French grammar even after several years of full-day exposure' (Lightbown and Spada, 1999: 130). In line with this, and also to factor in learner expectations about language learning, standard conversation classes at IH Johannesburg always contain some linguistic input. At Upper-Intermediate and higher levels this usually takes the form of an error correction slot at the end of the class. Done in this way, the correction is less

invasive, does not interrupt the flow of conversation and allows a focus on fluency, while still giving the students some overt attention to accuracy.

The *Language and Identity* course differed sharply from the standard model A conversation class in that the error correction slot did not occur and very little was offered in the way of overt, direct linguistic input. As this course was taught as a component of an English language school curriculum, and the teachers were not instructed to *not* error correct as they normally would, this is another interesting finding. Both teachers responded in their written responses and their interviews that one of the things that they did differently in this class that they would not normally do was *not* error correct.

> T1: One thing I was a bit uncomfortable about was the fact that this was, after all, a class in an English language school and I felt that some language input or at least feedback was needed.
>
> T2: … at one point I actually asked her [T1], 'Are you doing anything like this?' 'cos I felt like I'm not doing what I'm supposed to do…like, you know, how I've been trained to teach really, and…um, I think that's also why I sometimes felt a bit like…am I doing the right thing?

Not only did the teachers not error correct, but they were conflicted about this choice demonstrated by T1's use of the word *uncomfortable* and T2's comment: 'I'm not doing what I'm supposed to do'. Both indicate that error correction is something expected either from a language school or from their teacher training courses.

5.5.1 Reasons for the absence

If the teachers were *not* instructed not to error-correct, and their normal practice was to provide their students with error correction after speaking activities, then why was it not done during this course? The teachers had both given this a lot of thought and cited two main reasons for the lack of error

correction as exemplified here by T1. The first reason relates directly back to the previous point of learner *voice*, the course content is so 'spontaneous' 'natural' etc… that it somehow did not feel appropriate to give language feedback:

> It felt very unnatural to me to give language feedback because all these discussions seemed more like uh…I'm honestly expressing my opinion and you're honestly expressing yours, it felt like an earnest discussion and exchange of opinion more than a language…a course or a language lesson.

Perhaps the teachers felt it would be too intrusive to comment on the 'micro-level' of students' language use while they are struggling with bigger issues of discourse and expression, or perhaps they felt error correction could diminish what the students had to say.

The second reason cited was how this would impact on the students due to the sensitive nature of the course materials:

> I also felt, "how exactly am I going to incorporate this [error correction]?" You know, it's…it's…you…you've been pouring your heart out and then some teacher goes and writes your mistakes on the board, you know. It doesn't work this way somehow. That's why I didn't even try it.

However, when individually interviewed and asked directly if the course content itself upset them, all of the students with the exception of ST11 who was not asked the questions and ST5 (see Chapter Six) indicated that the course itself did not. Ten of these of these thirteen students simply answered 'no' with ST3 laughing and responding, 'It just…it…it history'. Two students did indicate that they were upset during points on the course, but related this to other students, not the course itself:

S13: Yeah… but not because of the… topic or because of the class… because of some comments [from other students]…

ST12: Not upset but sort of… how can I say this… not upset, not upset, but just ashamed of some of their [his classmates'] opinion.

The reasons for these students' discomfort on the course will be explored in Chapter Six.

There are several possible reasons for the discrepancy between the teachers' perception of the coursework as 'too sensitive' and the students' perception that it was not. Perhaps this is due to the fact that, as these are areas not contained in standard coursebooks and the teachers have not discussed them with their students before, they feel they are new issues, though they are not new topics for these students. It could also be due to the fact that the majority of these students are quite young and have not been personally affected by colonialism as is demonstrated by ST3's comment, 'It just history'.

Another possibility is the juxtaposition of the race relations between the white teachers and the black students and the nature of the topics discussed on the course. Within the classroom the teacher has a more powerful subject position than the students on the course. Though this is usually the case in a traditional classroom setting, the course materials brought these normally unexpressed inequalities to the fore. The teachers may have felt positioned as 'oppressors' due to the discussions around colonialism and the spread of English. Stopping after a discussion around these issues to correct errors may have lead to more discomfort for the teacher than for the students.

Though all the theories as to the teachers' feelings here, or a combination of them are possible, these are simply speculation and more research would be necessary to more fully determine the reasons for the discrepancy.

A third possible reason for teachers' lack of error correction could be due to how this course affected the traditional roles of 'teacher' and 'student'. Though the relationship between teachers and students within IH is quite relaxed, here the lines became even more blurred. Due to the content of the course, it was common for teachers to participate as one of the group, frequently sitting with the students, instead of the more traditional role of noting student errors and facilitating the discussion as discussed by T1:

> I also could not restrain myself from sharing my own ideas or experiences on the subject as the discussions were very spontaneous and engaging and the teacher-student barrier was quite often non-existent.

Also, because students knew more about some of the topics than the teacher did, as they focused on the students' local knowledge, sometimes the teacher took a 'backseat' role with a student leading the conversation:

> T2: It [the *Language and Identity* course] was empowering to a certain extent as learners could 'teach' me [the teacher] something I didn't know before.

This confusion of classroom roles may have contributed to the lack of error correction as it would have made it difficult for teachers to assume a traditional 'teacher' position after having been more one-of-the-group for the duration of the lesson.

5.5.2 The learners' perspectives

If the teachers were uncomfortable with the lack of error correction during the course, did this cause concern for the students? When asked directly in their group interviews, the students had not thought much about it but when pressed, they expressed an interest in more overt error correction. The transcripts around error correction are lengthy and only brief excerpts are given here (see Appendix C):

Group 1

R: …there was no language correction….[students murmur 'yes'] no error correction, very little. So, how did you feel about that? Did you want more, did you think about it?

ST6: I think a lot but

R: Were you thinking, 'Where's the error correction!' were you missing it.

ST4: Yes, because when I was speaking I knew that I make (**ST6: Yes**) a lot of mistake//

Group 2

R: Did you want more error correction?

ST8: Yes.

ALL: Yes.

R: You want more of that?

ST8: We want more.

(…)

ST8: We speak and she didn't…uh pay attention to correct us, we just think that, 'OK, it's correct'.
[students murmur agreement]

Group 3

ST15: Maybe when she finish if she catch…or something wrong she can write on the board.

(…).

R: Would it be better? It'd be better if…if that had happened?

ST13: Yeah.

(…)

ST13: … they just don't say anything, for example, just don't say…doesn't say anything, yeah, you think that is good and you think that is good and think that you spoke very well and you would continue making mistake.

These transcripts highlight a common problem that more traditional students have with methods that involve no error correction, the fact that they do not know if they are making mistakes or not. Classes that break with student

expectation can lead to real frustration for the learner and a lack-of-confidence in their teacher as highlighted in Li (1999).

Though students at IH Johannesburg tend to have more traditional views on language learning, some commented on how too much error correction can interfere with their fluency both through interrupting their flow of speech, and also by raising their affective filter, causing them to feel self-conscious and embarrassed in the classroom. This view was expressed by ST14 in her group interview:

Group 3

ST14: I think, when sometime, maybe when you speak you make mistake, when you carry on you are maybe more confident…sometime, like for example you say a sentence, there is a mistake, you must correct, you continue again, a mistake, so, sometimes//

ST15: //Yes, exactly.

R: [laughs]

ST14: you feel…um//

R: //self-conscious.

ST14 & ST15: Yeah!

ST14: And, yeah, maybe your thought, you lose it a bit.

Overall, however, although these students demonstrated an understanding of the need for fluency practice, they still expressed a preference for some overt error correction but *after* the conversation as opposed to 'on-the-spot'. As these are all long-stay students here for six months or more, the request for when the error correction should take place is possibly a reflection of what the students have grown to expect from their 'standard' conversation classes.

5.6 Conclusion

I have suggested that critical TEFL produced a different concept of a conversation class to what we are used to at IH. This new model of speaking links identity, self, voice, history, and background into a dialogic interaction which produced a large amount of talk and vitality. This raises questions both on what it means to 'speak' and what a 'conversation' class actually is. In the second focus, the teachers and the students engaged with the idea of error correction in the critical TEFL classroom. It was an area of ambivalence in which the different participants expressed different relationships to it. This chapter raises the question around what is the role of error correction in a critical TEFL class where students' *selves* are so tied up in the issues of the class. In Chapter Six, I turn to a discussion of students who felt isolated or excluded from the rest of the group in the *Language and Identity* class.

Chapter 6 The Isolated Ones

> Language learning is not an abstract skill that can easily be transferred from one context to another. It is a social practice that engages the identities of learners in complex and sometimes contradictory ways (Norton, 2000: 137).

6.1 Introduction

Chapter Five looked at some of the differences between the 'standard' conversation model and the *Language and Identity* course and how these differences impacted on students' identities and communicative competence. This chapter explores identity issues further by examining how student identities were constructed by the materials, and how these constructions subsequently excluded some students from the course. This chapter examines the effects of this on these students in particular and the other students in their classes.

For a class to be open to learning, the teacher needs to create a comfortable, secure environment. This is often done through bonding activities that allow the learners to get to know each other using fairly neutral, uncontroversial topics. This idea goes back to Krashen's affective filter hypothesis which states that a learner who is tense or angry will block input, thus limiting what language they acquire (Lightbown and Spada, 1999: 39-40). Though Krashen's theory has been criticised as being an easy justification of why learning sometimes does not take place, it is generally true in my experience that a classroom where students feel comfortable and work well together is vital to the success of the course. Jill Hadfield discusses the necessity of class unity:

> in present day EFL classrooms, where pairwork and groupwork have become the norm, relationships within the group become more important: it is fundamental to the success of these activities to have support and co-operation from the group and a harmonious relationship between its members (1992: 10).

Scrivener, in his pre-service teaching book, also stresses the importance of class rapport:

> If rapport seems to be a problem – then plan work specifically designed to focus on improving the relationships and interaction within the class (rather than activities with a mainly language aim). Until the relationships are good within a class the learning is likely to be of a lower quality – so it's worth spending time on this (1994:19).

In this capacity, the *Language and Identity* class was exceptionally strong. It was often noted in the field notes during the initial activities, particularly the ones involving the family and names (see Appendix B) that these activities worked not only as an introduction to the course, but also helped to bond the students together even more than they had been before. Students in the interviews verified this, commenting not only on how the course helped them to share their opinions with the students in the class, but how it helped them to learn about each other and their opinions as well:

ST9: And…ah we can learn about each other about their opinion.

R: Uhuh. Do you guys agree with her, do you feel the same? Or disagree.

ST8: Yes, I agree with her. It's like she said, this class is different from the other class, it makes us…ah learn from others and it gives us lot of knowledge about (**ST10: culture**) different cultures, different languages. And give your opinion.

But as much as the class bonded students together and helped them to grow in understanding about each others' cultures, histories, and traditions, the class also had the ability to be very divisive and isolating towards any students who did not fit the mould of the modern, African, Christian language learner:

> Clearly learning becomes a difficult and even 'dangerous' process within critical pedagogy (and is perhaps less appealing to some participants as a result. Nor does this preclude the possibility of 'winners' and 'losers' emerging (even if different people occupy those positions than did formerly)) (Hall, undated: 14).

The rest of this chapter will discuss two such participants, one from each class. This course separated these students from the other students in the class thus creating a hostile learning environment for these particular students and, in one of the cases, the other students in the group as well.

5.7 Henry

The divisive potential of the *Language and Identity* class was most prominent with ST5 who was the only student to openly not like the course and say as much in both the group and individual interviews. For the purposes of this discussion he will be referred to as Henry. Henry is a student from Equatorial Guinea who grew up in Spain, speaking Spanish as a first and only language, and as such does not feel the same connection to his African country as his fellow students. Though he was raised in Spain and not Equatorial Guinea, he is listed in the school's registers as an Equatorial Guinean student and is sponsored by a petroleum company there. I will now examine how a critical approach to language studies and the content of the *Language and Identity* course deprived him of a sense of belonging to a cultural group and isolated him from his friends and fellow students.

It should first be noted that Henry is a good student. He consistently has one-hundred percent attendance and is generally a lively student, pleasant to have in class. He is also a popular student with his classmates, frequently joking with them as well as his teachers. On the second day of the course when students were asked to make identity posters, he listed one of his identities as, 'I make people laugh a lot' (see Appendix I). Henry noticeably enjoyed the

first few days of the course and then hated it for the remainder of the time. This, I will argue, stems from the high levels of threat in the class for him, and a loss of identity initially due to Henry's inability to speak an African mother-tongue language. As Weedon states (in Norton Peirce, 1995), 'Language…is the place where our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity is constructed' (15). This culminated in him withdrawing himself almost completely from participation in this course.

6.2.1 The cultural capital of languages in Africa

In order to examine how this course upset Henry's sense of identity, the value traditionally placed on languages for African learners at IH Johannesburg must be made clear. While many studies on language learning compare the learners' native language to the target language (see Norton 2000), this study must look at the value of a minimum of three languages: the mother tongue language of the students, the colonial language they have grown up with as their 'official language'[21], and the English language they are now 'choosing' to learn. The value of these languages can be described in terms of *cultural capital*, defined by Bourdieu and Passeron (in Norton Peirce, 1995) as 'the knowledge and modes of thought that characterize different classes and groups in relation to specific sets of social forms' (17). Some forms of cultural capital are more valuable than others. Today English is largely viewed as one of the most valuable languages, allowing learners access to a better job, and better opportunities.

The students on this course agreed with this assessment, discussing the value of English in an essay assigned as homework on the first day of class entitled: 'Why I am learning English?' (see Appendix J). Aside from the importance of

[21] All students are interviewed on the first day they begin classes at IH Johannesburg. Part of the interview includes asking the students what their first language is. All the students on the study responded with either: *French* or *Spanish*. No students responded with an African mother tongue language.

English, they also viewed their colonial language as a valuable resource as it too allowed them access to a world language, much more so than their mother tongue did. This was the opinion of the majority of the students in both classes and cited frequently as one of the main benefits of colonialism. The students' opinions of the value of their colonial language are demonstrated by their essays written on colonisation (see Appendix K). This opinion was also noted on day five of the course during a discussion by Class One of African countries' 'official languages' (see Appendix H for complete field notes):

Time	Notes	Comments
2.20	Open-class group 1 all says colonial language is 1st language. T asks if it's right that colonial language is official language. ST6 says you need common language to communicate	Interesting how no one really has problem with this
2.23	T asks if there are ever movements in their countries to get rid of colonial language. ST4 says no this is an advantage that the colonisers gave them to give them their culture and language – they can go to France and understand. ST4 says her country was happy to be colonised.	Interested in only how practical language is as means of world communication – not where language comes from or what it means – don't equate it with identity.

I believe the *Language and Identity* class disrupted this hierarchy of languages in the minds of the students and invested their mother tongue with a new sense of prestige and power in this institutional setting. Suddenly, being able to speak a mother tongue language was no longer 'backwards' and 'old-fashioned', but rather it was instilled with a sense of pride of culture and tradition. This caused a shift in the students' attitudes to their home languages, demonstrated later in the same lesson when the same student makes reference to speaking and preserving the mother tongue in The DRC:

Time	Notes
2.36	ST4 says everybody in her country doesn't speak French – all speak Lingala – trying to preserve – and Swahili.

It should be noted that though a higher value was placed on the students' mother tongue language on this course, this did not necessarily devalue the students' opinions of English and their colonial language as a means of world communication. The students' opinions on the value of languages continued to change throughout the course, indicating that the issue of language was a key topic of the class. As discussed in Norton (2000), 'an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own identity, an identity which is constantly changing across time and space' (11).

6.2.2 The 'Othering' of Henry

This discussion on 'native' languages was difficult for Henry. While the course materials had been designed to appeal to *the local* (Canagarajah, 2005) and be inclusive of these particular students, Henry, though listed as an Equatorial Guinean student, did not share the same African experiences. This included his lack of knowledge of an African mother tongue language. Though he did, of course have Spanish as a mother tongue language, the way the course materials were constructed around African mother tongue languages excluded Henry from conversation in this area. Heller discusses how ethnicity is socially constructed and is a product of opposition, or *otherness*. Heller argues that this is defined by a common language:

> Thus the first principle of ethnic identity formation is participation in ethnic social networks, and therefore in activities controlled by ethnic group members. Language is important here as a means by which access to networks is regulated: If you do not speak the right language, you do not have access to forming relationships with certain people, or to participating in certain activities (in Norton, 2000: 12).

Until he took this class, Henry was a member of the group. This class united students from different countries around the common denominator of 'African', but those students who did not classify as such were excluded. Though the class only discussed African mother tongue languages directly for

three lessons, issues around the languages students speak arose throughout the course. Instead of acknowledging his feeling of being excluded from the group, Henry cites his 'disinterest' in the subject as his reason for not participating, only his last two words indicating the uncomfortable position this course put him in:

H: Because I don't interesting a lot [inaudible] I don't know….I don't know…I honestly….I talking about our native language about something I my case I don't' care, really, it's stress.

The discussion on native languages was later expanded to include other topics related specifically to the learners' experience in their country such as: cultures and traditions, and the effects of colonisation and the students' feeling about this. During all these discussions as well, Henry's participation was minimal and he discussed in his individual interview that he had nothing to say:

H: Because we were talking about… our…our county and our origins and I don't know anything about my county. It's true, it sounds strange but it's true I don't know many things about my country I'm… really…

This course had failed Henry, as it did not make space for students, like him, who had migrated or shifted contexts. The positioning of Henry as an African student, instead of allowing for other possibilities, contributed to a deficit view of him by the other students. They constructed Henry as an African student lacking an African mother tongue instead of someone with a different view and voice to contribute to the discussion.

6.2.3 Issues around identity

The logical response seemed to be for Henry to simply discuss traditions and cultures in Spain as this is where his knowledge lies and where he would 'know something about his country', though this may have inferred that Henry viewed his nationality as 'Spanish'. I believe this was not possible for Henry for two reasons: Firstly, the course materials created an overall negative view of colonisers and therefore Spanish people; but more importantly, perhaps because of the promotion of African culture and tradition by the *Language and Identity* course, Africans who think of themselves as European or American were positioned by students in the classes as being pretentious or stupid. This is demonstrated in excerpts from the field notes of class two:

Time	Notes
	Day 4
3.20	ST13 brings up issue of how some people in her country want to marry white people or coloured people only – trying to behave like white people – don't' behave traditionally
3.30	Day 5 ST12 says colonialism serious influenced culture in Gabon – says some people ashamed of their cultural heritage – want to be French
	Day11
3.30	ST14 gives example of how language affects identity – if she were to come back to Gabon and speak only in English all the time, people would think she was big-headed – gives examples of Gabonese that want to think they are French

Possibly due to the negative associations with the Spanish language, and his exclusion due to the fact that he did not speak an African mother tongue, Henry was resistant to being defined by his Spanish language as he felt this would make him 'Spanish'. When asked in his interview if language was at all tied to identity, he demonstrates agency in his assertion that it was not:

H: No, I don't think so. I don't know I can explain but no. It's like you… how can I say…[exhales breath] I don't how can I explain it, no… I understand your question but I don't know how I can say for example. [pause] Hm, I think the language…um…[exhales breath] how can I say 'makes'?

R: Uhuh, 'makes'…

H: You make the language not the language makes you…something like that…

Likewise, he could no longer view himself as Equatorial Guinean, as the absence of a mother tongue or knowledge what it is like to live in Equatorial Guinea precluded this. He became positioned in this class as a student 'without culture'. Instead of resisting this positioning, Henry became silent, feeling he had nothing to contribute to class. As Luk proposed, 'Our self is often the major factor driving us to speak, but more often, not to speak' (2005: 252). Henry discussed the confusion surrounding his identity and how it contributed to his silence in his individual interview:

R: What country did you spend the most time in?

H: In Spain.

R: And do you consider Spain your country?

H: No, I don't consider Spain. But even, for example, I have discussions… argues with Equatorial Guinean people because…I know I not a Spain…I'm not a Spanish but, if I had to say what I'm considered I think a little bit Spanish… 'cos I don't know how to speak my mother tongue and wasn't there only one month in eighteen years one month, so… yeah…I don't know. Maybe it had to be different because when you are not spend long time in your country when you go you must be excited but I wasn't I was…so that's why this class [sighs] I didn't like to speak.

Henry's sense that he had not 'discussions', but 'arguments' with the other Equatorial Guinean students, demonstrates his level of turmoil regarding his ethnicity. From this interview it seems that Henry would like to position himself as 'Spanish' as indicated by 'a little bit Spanish' but has not been 'allowed' to do so by the other students in the class. To examine Henry's

relationships with the other students in his class further, and the effects of this on Henry's language learning, I draw on Norton Peirce's study (1995) of five immigrant women living in Canada. In it she investigates the opportunities these women had to practice their English outside of a classroom setting. She discusses how power relations in the social world can limit chances to speak and thus to improve their language abilities:

> That SLA theorists have not developed a comprehensive theory of social identity that integrates the language learner and the language learning context. Furthermore, they have not questioned how relations of power in the social world affect social interaction between second language learners and target language speakers (12).

The primary focus of Norton Peirce's study was the interactions between non-native speakers and native-speakers outside of the language classroom, but I would argue that in our study-abroad context, the social world of the students crosses over into the classroom perhaps even more so than in normal adult language learning contexts. These students study together and socialise together on a regular basis, and though this is considered an adult classroom, the students involved in the study are almost all in their early twenties. While older, more mature adult students tend to be more tolerant and respectful of each other's differences, younger students do not. So although this class comprised part of a formal language study curriculum, through the power relations inherent in the classroom, Henry was denied the chance to speak and thus to practise and improve his English.

6.2.4 The resistant learner

As discussed, a large portion of the *Language and Identity* course asked students to reflect on their feelings surrounding specific knowledge of their country and language, thereby excluding Henry from the discussion. However, aside from this, there were other sections devoted to new information for all students, such as: lessons on the history and development

of the English language, the spread of English culture through the English language, and issues surrounding native-speaker vs. non-native speaker teachers. Henry refused to engage with any of these topics and participation on his part remained minimal. I questioned him as to the reason for this in his individual interview:

R: But what about the sessions that were on, for example, the history of the English language where they were talking about history or something else that none of you shared?

H: Yes

R: You didn't feel any better doing that.

H: I didn't find interesting. I don't why but I didn't.

R: OK.

Again Henry asserts that his lack of participation was due to his disinterest in the topics discussed. However, Henry's reaction to the course on the first day of class contradicts this.

R: Was there anything that happened in the course that you did find interesting?

ST5: In the class. OK, maybe… only the first…what is the name, 'task'? The first we have to feel about 'completely agree' 'partiall disagree' really, [laughs] it's sounds strange but I found interesting that thing but the rest… no. I didn't pay attention.

This was the introductory lesson and provided an overview to the themes of the course. Henry's affected 'disinterest' despite his obvious interest in the themes of the course indicates a level of resistance. This resistance to a critical approach continued even after the *Language and Identity* course ended. I taught Henry myself on a subsequent course and also observed a lesson from another course taught by T2, both classes using elements of a critical approach. Whenever anything related to the critical was mentioned, Henry

would comment that it was just like the *Language and Identity* course again. He would immediately lose interest and his level of participation would decline. I believe that due to the high levels of 'threat' to his identity, Henry withdrew himself not only from the course, but from anything vaguely related to a critical approach.

5.8 Mohammed

The student who was separated from the rest of the class in the second group was ST12, for the purposes of this paper he will be known simply as Mohammed. Mohammed is a male, Gabonese student in his early twenties. Like Henry, he does not feel a strong connection to his native country, though unlike Henry his sense of separation is due to a difference of religious beliefs rather than physical distance. Mohammed's father is from Chad and his mother is from Nigeria. Though he was born and raised in Gabon and considered by others to be Gabonese, due to his personal beliefs as a Muslim in a largely Christian country and his different cultural beliefs, he has rejected being labelled as such. He stated in his individual interview that the only reason he is Gabonese is the fact that he was born there, 'otherwise I'd never be'.

This statement from Mohammed illustrates one of the fundamental differences between himself and Henry. Where Henry's isolation from the class surprised him, Mohammed was accustomed to being separate from his classmates and working with them despite this. The sense of 'difference' in Henry's case came from his classmates where with Mohammed's it was more of a mutual decision with Mohammed himself playing a key role in his own isolation. In the next section I will discuss how Mohammed's separation from the group gave him power and voice while Henry's was taken away.

6.3.1 The impact of the *Language and Identity* course

As discussed above, unlike the case with Henry, it was not the *Language and Identity* class that caused Mohammed's isolation. Due to his religious and cultural beliefs, Mohammed had always been aware of a distance between himself and the other students in the class. The *Language and Identity* class acted to increase this sense of separation, as commented on by Mohammed in his interview:

M: … they are from African… but I can say that no one is very coming from a background as mine. (**R: Yeah**). I can say they are all agree in some point which I strongly disagree. I don't know if because of my background or…
R: Yeah. Did that make you feel more distant from the rest of your classmates?
M: Yeah.

The course highlighted the difference between Mohammed and the rest of the class to the other students as well, though Mohammed did not mind this and seemed to encourage it. The students' reaction to Mohammed will be discussed further in this chapter (see 6.3.3).

6.3.2 The role of religion

Unlike Henry, Mohammed feels a strong connection to his non-African mother tongue language irrespective of how this distances him from the other students in the group. He identifies himself as a Muslim first and foremost and then as an African. This is illustrated by his association with the Arabic language as described in his interview:

R: OK, alright. Do you see language as related to your identity in any way?

M: Yeah.

R: OK, Why? In what way?

M: 'Cos I think I define myself when I… when I say… it define myself the language I speak… [inaudible] related to my personality.

R: You're talking about Arabic?

M: Yeah.

R: You do feel very close to… the language as part of you… yes?

M: Yeah.

Like Henry, his lack of knowledge (or perhaps of interest) in an African mother tongue did not allow him to bond with other students. When the other students in the group discussed the languages they spoke, he exclusively discussed his relationship to Arabic instead of African languages native to Gabon. Though unlike Henry, this lack of common ground did not silence Mohammed.

Outside of the difference in language, the other factors separating Mohammed from the rest of the group were his obvious religious affiliations and his strong negative feelings against colonialism. These two areas may be linked, as it is likely that his religious beliefs contributed to these views as indicated in his essay on colonialism (see Appendix K for Mohammed's complete essay):

> It's generally said that colonists also introduces 'Christianity' in Africa. But my question is what the benefit of such fundamentally problematic religion witch claims at the same time the equality of all human beings in front of God and the superiority of the white race.

This negative view of colonisers and white people in general was further indicated in his individual interview:

M: …we say the white people in many way would want to… the word is *brainwash*?

R: Yeah, that's right.

M: That is what they use the most to fragilise our culture just to reach us in someway

Mohammed's strong feelings are highlighted here by his exclusively negative choice of words such as *brainwash*, and his depiction of white people as deliberately trying to destroy his culture. Interestingly, this choice of words: 'to fragilise our culture' indicates Mohammed's acquisition of the Discourse used to discuss these issues on the course (Gee 1990). Unlike Henry, while Mohammed strove to distance himself from the group, he still shared in the same group experience.

Mohammed's exclusively negative view's on colonialism differed sharply from the feelings of the rest of the group who generally presented a more balanced view as exemplified by ST14's essay introduction (see Appendix K for complete students' essays on colonialism):

> Colonialism, which is a practice by which a powerful country controls another country or other countries. That practice had its good things and bad things on their colonies.

Mohammed's view of Christianity as a 'fundamentally problematic religion' and his view that the other students in the class have been 'brainwashed' while he was not instilled in him a sense of superiority. Although Islam too was spread as a result of colonialism, it was concentrated more in the North of Africa while Christianity was more influential in the Western regions and the coast (Boahen, 1987: 14-5). Growing up in Gabon, Mohammed may equate colonialism with Christianity only. He reinforces his superior feelings over his classmates by his choice of words: *pity,* and *ashamed* when asked if the course had upset him at all:

R: Were you ever upset at all during the course at any point?

M: Not upset but sort of… how can I say this… not upset, not upset, but just ashamed of some of their opinion.

R: Some of the other people's opinions?

M: Yeah, I ashamed of this when an African tell me that the colonisation is a positive thing for him. I'm ashamed of him and I'm pity of him.

6.3.3 Power relations

As demonstrated, Mohammed's beliefs frequently clashed with the other students on the course. However, whereas Henry was upset by the reaction of other students, in contrast, Mohammed's confidence and ability to be uncompromising in his own beliefs and opinions upset other students in the class as discussed by ST 13 in her interview:

R: OK. Um, were you ever upset at anytime during the course.

ST13: Yeah… but not because of the… topic or because of the class… because of some comments…

R: From other students?

ST13: Yes.

Though she doesn't name Mohammed specifically, the other students were much more open to compromising their position and were more tolerant of differing opinions. Group clashes were almost exclusively between Mohammed and other members of the group. This is demonstrated in the following extract when, unprovoked, Mohammed challenges the identities of the other students by questioning their use of their mother tongue. As discussed in the section on Henry, on the *Language and Identity* course the students' mother tongue languages were granted a higher prestige:

Class 1

Day 2

Time	Notes
3.38	ST12 says French is not his language – doesn't feel language is part of him – feels forced to speak French – said he would like to study in Arabic. ST15 says she likes colonial language. ST13 parents encouraged her to speak Spanish - not used to mother tongue – speaks Spanish at home – speaks mother tongue with friends. ST12 questions this – ST13 defends position – agrees she knows Spanish better than mother tongue. ST13 questions if ST12 knows Arabic more than French – he admits he doesn't but he likes it more.

Day 4

Time	Notes
3.10	ST14 says sometimes she prefers to say something in mother tongue because there are specific things she can say better in that way. ST12 questions this – ST14 says she can't express it exactly in French – ST12 says he's surprised since most Gabonese speak French better than mother tongue – ST14 says young people don't even know who they are anymore.

Though ST 12's response of challenging Mohammed's knowledge of Arabic attacks his definition of himself (see 6.3.2), he reacts to it calmly and does not seem upset though ST 12 visibly was. Throughout the course, though it seemed the other students should be dominant as they were usually united with him as the outsider, Mohammed's feelings of superiority by positioning himself as a Muslim rather than another African allowed him to maintain a powerful position in the social order of the classroom as demonstrated in his individual interview: Kubota and Lin (2006), discuss how *racialization,* defined as 'racial categorization', can be utilised by a minority group to gain power over the majority:

> However, racialization per se doesn't not necessarily lead to racism…partly because the agent involved in the process of racialization is not always the socially powerful or dominant group. For instance a minority or subordinate group can racialize themselves to construct their own identity in positive terms for the purpose of resistance (477).

Viewed in this way, Mohammed's use of racialization has allowed him to resist the dominant group and, unlike Henry, retain his voice and identity.

6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I examined the experiences of two individual learners who were isolated by the *Language and Identity* course. I have suggested that this was due to the fact that the materials on the course positioned them as 'African' students from certain countries when they did not identify themselves in that way. Though both students were perceived as 'other' from the dominant group, they reacted to this in very different ways. Henry was surprised by his exclusion and was silenced while Mohammed retained a powerful voice. These finding raise serious issues in the area of materials development for critical TEFL. In the next chapter I will examine the implications of these findings and offer some suggestions for the way forward.

Chapter 7 The Way Forward for Critical TEFL at International House

> First of all, we should be clear that our work, our activities as an educator, will not be enough to change the world. This for me is the first thing, not to idealize the educational task. But, at the same time, it is necessary to recognize that by doing something inside the space of the school we can make some good contributions (Freire, 1987: 180).

7.1 Introduction

This study demonstrates that in addition to empowering students, a critical approach can be beneficial to learning in an EFL study-abroad school. However, integrating a critical approach in this context is not a straightforward, uncomplicated process. What happened in the *Language and Identity* course represents a new concept of 'speaking practice' and a shift in this idea at IH. In this concluding chapter I will attempt to explain the implications of these findings for IH Johannesburg and suggest ways to deal with the challenges in areas of:

- the Business of EFL
- teacher support and training
- curriculum and materials development

7.2 Implications of the Research

7.2.1 A critical approach and the business of TEFL

Firstly, in a private language school environment the teaching of English is obviously considered a business. A critical approach points out the flaws in the belief that learning English is a 'choice'. Ultimately, the aim of a critical

approach would be to raise consciousness of the power relations in English and the resistance of English as 'natural neutral and beneficial' (Pennycook, 1994: 9). This has obvious implications related to the well-being of language schools and would essentially be helping to put ourselves out of business. As one student said on the final day of the course, 'Now I hate English even more.' This sentiment cannot be profitable for a private school in the long term, even though this same student expressed her enjoyment of the course as a whole.

Bearing this in mind, in order for a critical approach to be part of the curriculum two conditions must be met: Its presence cannot undermine the use of English as a world language, and something must be given to the learners so they are not left feeling patronized and oppressed (Pennycook, 1994: 336). Matsuda offers some guidance in the form of EIL rather than EFL teaching. By broadening the scope of the ownership of English to include second and foreign language learners, our students' current value in this new system and the future of the English language is increased. This is achieved in part by teaching the learners about the colonial past and 'the power inequality associated with its history' (Matsuda, 2003: 722).

Secondly, although the increased levels of communication resulting from this course demonstrates that a critical approach to TEFL can be beneficial to the language acquisition process and thus to the business of TEFL, there is a danger of student isolation which could have a negative impact on the learning environment. A for-profit school cannot afford to run classes that exclude some students, particularly when numbers are low and only one class is offered. The alternatives then would be to offer the client nothing, or to run a separate class specifically for that client at a financial loss to the school. For a critical approach to be a viable part of the curriculum, a way must to found for it to be inclusive of all students. This will be discussed further later in this chapter.

Finally, in addition to the content of the course isolating some students, a critical approach must also take into consideration learning styles and students' pre-conceived ideas of learning. If this course is not flexible enough to accommodate different learner needs it could lead to a lack of motivation, a decrease in learning and ultimately customer dissatisfaction regardless of how much this approach is in line with current research in language acquisition. As was discussed in the interview with T1, non-sponsored, private students in particular may feel a class like this one is not doing enough to increase their communicative competence since the linguistic aims of the course are not made clear:

T1: You know, I also think it [students' enjoyment of the course] depends on the students. These were mostly students who were not paying for themselves, so it was like a pleasant way to pass the time more than 'how much did I get out of that'.

Specifically telling students the overall aims of the course and the individual lessons may help with this difficulty.

7.2.2 Training teachers in a critical approach

In order for the aims of a critical approach to be clear in the students' minds, they must first be clear to the teacher. In this study, both experienced, well-trained teachers expressed difficulty when teaching using a critical approach. T2 commented on the lack of direction on the course and whether or not she was doing what was expected of her:

> I think because it was new for T1 and me, we didn't really know, you know, we went in not quite knowing what to do.

As a critical approach is not something included in the CELTA or DELTA materials, training teachers into a critical approach to language learning would involve giving teacher input sessions along with giving interested teachers ongoing support through informal and formal classroom observations[22]. There is likely to be some resistance to these sessions. As was indicated in the introductory input session given on a critical approach at IH Johannesburg, teachers had difficulty understanding the concepts or dismissed them as unnecessary. Additionally, teacher feedback from input sessions in 2006 indicated a much greater interest in 'practical' sessions which offered ideas they could put readily into use. Theoretical sessions were received with much less interest. In order to engage teachers in the concepts of a critical approach, the training sessions must do two things: Demonstrate a need for the teachers both socially, but probably more importantly, pedagogically, as to why a critical approach it is useful; and provide the teachers with concrete activities that could be taken directly into the classrooms.

This study has shown that in addition to an overall understanding of the concepts involved in a critical approach and activities to take into the classroom, other potentially problematic areas must be addressed in training including: the role of language input and error correction; and the teachers' role in mediating traditional CLT methodology. As described by Ellis (in, Luk 2005) 'the teacher should act as a cultural mediator and demonstrate an awareness of other cultural identities for the communicative approach to be culturally appropriate' (250-1). This could include discussion on how to engage all learners in the lesson and how to avoid any learners feeling excluded or isolated by the topics discussed. Practically, sessions would also need to include guidance and practice in exactly how to put this into use.

[22] Formal classroom observations at IH Johannesburg involve the teacher being observed by a senior teacher (usually the Director of Studies or a Teacher Trainer), with feedback and discussion following. The teacher must first provide the observer with a detailed lesson plan including all the aims and activities of the lesson. In informal observations no lesson plan is required.

Finally, as suggested by T2 in her interview, a critical approach may not be appropriate for all teachers. The theories and practices of a critical approach would have to be made available but not compulsory.

7.2.3 Course curriculum and materials development

As critical TEFL materials do not exist on the mainstream market, to run any critical TEFL course at IH Johannesburg would require the development of special course materials or at least careful adaptation of the critical materials that do exist for second language learning. This will require a lot of time and effort on the part of the teacher. To assist with this, IH Johannesburg, in the short term, could provide training on how to add a critical element to existing mainstream course materials, or in the long term, complete courses could be developed.

Looking at developing our own materials, the chapter on student isolation raised some very complex points in areas of diversity and identity particularly in the way the students were positioned. The *Language and Identity* course positioned Henry as an 'African' student though he did not personally feel like one. Perhaps if this course was run with a more mixed group of students and not aimed specifically at African learners the effects of isolating students may be minimalised. This would also minimalise the risk of the materials essentialising the students. This could be done by expanding discussion areas (e.g. from 'your colonial language' to 'your language'). Though we are primarily an African school, we have the potential to have students from anywhere in the world and we must be sure any course we develop would be inclusive of all students.

7.3 Areas for Further Research

This study incorporated only a small sample of possible studies around private language school critical TEFL. Due to the size constraints only one small area was examined and many other areas could be investigated with the same study. These include:

- tracking the changes in identity of a student or a small group of students throughout the course including a more in depth analysis of the students' written work
- adapting the course materials in response to the students' engagement with the topics of the course
- tracking the teachers' responses to the course more closely through a diary study or more regular interviews
- Looking at the different teachers' experiences using a critical approach. It could be particularly interesting to see if the race of the teacher impacts on the course experience

Further studies could also be done on training teachers and materials development including: Gauging teachers' responses to the training sessions, assessing what approaches work and do not, and discussing their early experiences in the critical classroom; or an action research study in the area of materials development trialling and rewriting a critical materials course based on student responses.

7.4 Concluding Remarks

Through my work on this study, I have come to believe that there is room in a TEFL classroom for a critical approach to language learning. Given the difficulties associated with a critical approach, and given the fact that this approach is not a part of EFL methodology or practice, it would be easy to

continue to teach English using more traditional methods. A critical approach requires a *shift* in mindset to teaching EFL and a real dedication on the part of the teacher, as Giroux explains, 'Teachers need to see themselves as transformative intellectuals' (in Pennycook, 1994: 299). These difficulties will inevitably lead to some teacher resistance, but despite this and the additional work placed on the teacher and the school, simply ignoring a critical approach to English language teaching raises ethical questions. As T2 noted in her interview:

> it's actually quite a big responsibility especially now that we have this knowledge, you know, we can't just pretend that we don't have it'.

The rationale of this research argued that one of the reasons a critical approach was absent in private language schools was that the knowledge of a critical approach was not getting down to the classroom level. Now that we do have this knowledge, can we as teachers pretend we are ignorant of the political powers inherent in English language study, or must our new knowledge in this area compel us to act?

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Appendices

Appendix A: Student Timetable

Student Timetable

	8.15-11.15	11.30-12.30	12.30-1.45	1.45-2.45	2.45-3.45
Beginners	General English	Extension 1	Lunch	Extension 2	Self Access
Elementary	General English	Extension 1		Extension 2	Self Access
Pre-Intermediate	General English	Self Access		Extension 1	Extension 2
Intermediate	General English	Self Access		Extension 1	Extension 2
Upper-Intermediate	General English	Extension 1		Self Access	Extension 2
Pre-Advanced	General English	Extension 1		Self Access	Extension 2
Lower-Advanced	General English	Extension 1		Self Access	Extension 2
Advanced	General English	Extension 1		Self Access	Extension 2

Appendix B: Language and Identity Course

ENGLISH AND YOU

☞ This class is going to look at issues surrounding the study of English. Before we begin, we want to see what you already know and think about some of these issues.

✎ **Complete individually:** Read the following statements and choose the appropriate response for you.

	I completely agree	I partially agree	I partially disagree	I completely disagree
1. I like learning English.				
2. I have a choice whether or not I learn English.				
3. I can have an equally good job whether I learn English or not.				
4. Language is political.				
5. English is the international language because England and America are very powerful countries.				
6. I like my colonial language. (if applicable)				
7. I prefer my colonial language to my native language. (if applicable)				
8. I consider my colonial language my first language. (if applicable)				
9. When I learn the English language, I'm also learning English culture.				
10. I am interested in learning English culture.				
11. The spread of English around the world is killing other languages.				
12. I want to speak 'standard' English.				
13. I want to speak non-standard English.				
14. English no longer belongs to native-English speakers. It's now a world language.				
15. English should only be taught by native-speaker teachers.				

In your groups discuss: Compare your answers with the other students in your group.

- Do you agree?
- If you don't agree, can you make the other student/s understand your position?

✂ **Extension Activity 1:**

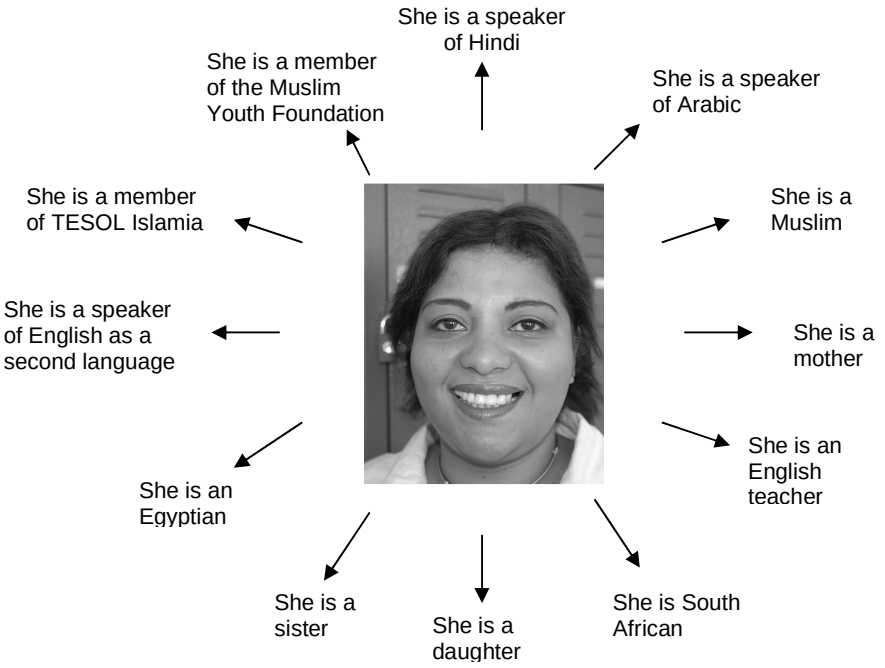
Write an Essay: Why are you learning English?

- In groups brainstorm all the different reasons people may have for learning English
- As a class compile the reasons to the white board.
- Which reasons do you have for learning English? Just one? Several?
- Do you think you must learn English? – Do you have a choice?
- Write a 250 word essay

MANY GROUPS – MANY DIFFERENT IDENTITIES

☛ We all belong to many different groups. Any one person has a number of different social Identities. For example, a man may be all of the following: son, husband, uncle, father, worker, English speaker, Gujarati speaker, Moslem. Each of our Identities gives us social rights as well as responsibilities.

ANISA HAS MANY DIFFERENT IDENTITIES



In pairs discuss:

- Which Identities do you think make her powerful? Powerless?
- Sometimes some of Anisa's Identities clash. For example: When she is at school she is in charge of all the students in her classroom. With her family, she must speak in a low voice and not talk back to her elders
- Can you think of others?

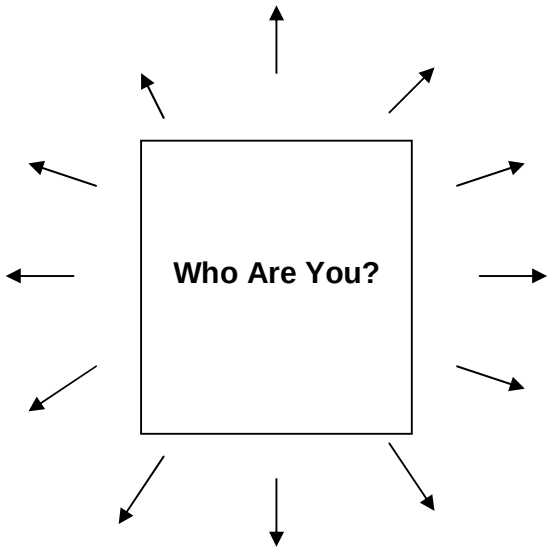
Now do one for yourself …

In pairs discuss:

- Tell your partner about your different Identities.
- In which Identities do you feel powerful? Powerless?
- Do any of your different social Identities clash?
- What languages do you speak in your different Identities?

Feedback to the class:

- What's the most interesting thing you've learned about your partner?



✂ **Extension Activity:** bring in a photograph or draw a picture of yourself. Make Identity posters to display in class. Illustrate your Identities with drawings or pictures from the Internet or magazines.

Adapted from: Janks, H. (1993) Language Identity and Power. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press and Randburg: Hodder & Stoughton Ed.

NAMES AND FAMILY……

☞ Names usually hold a lot of information about people, about their family, where they come from, their gender, religion, home language and so on. Some names indicate a person's age, whether she of he has brothers or sisters and even sometimes the beliefs and values of the person's parents

My name is Monica Ramos da Silva Ferreira. The name 'Monica' comes from my grandmother. My surname is made up of my mother's surname 'Ramos', my father's surname 'da Silva' and my husband's surname 'Ferreira'. This is traditional in

photo

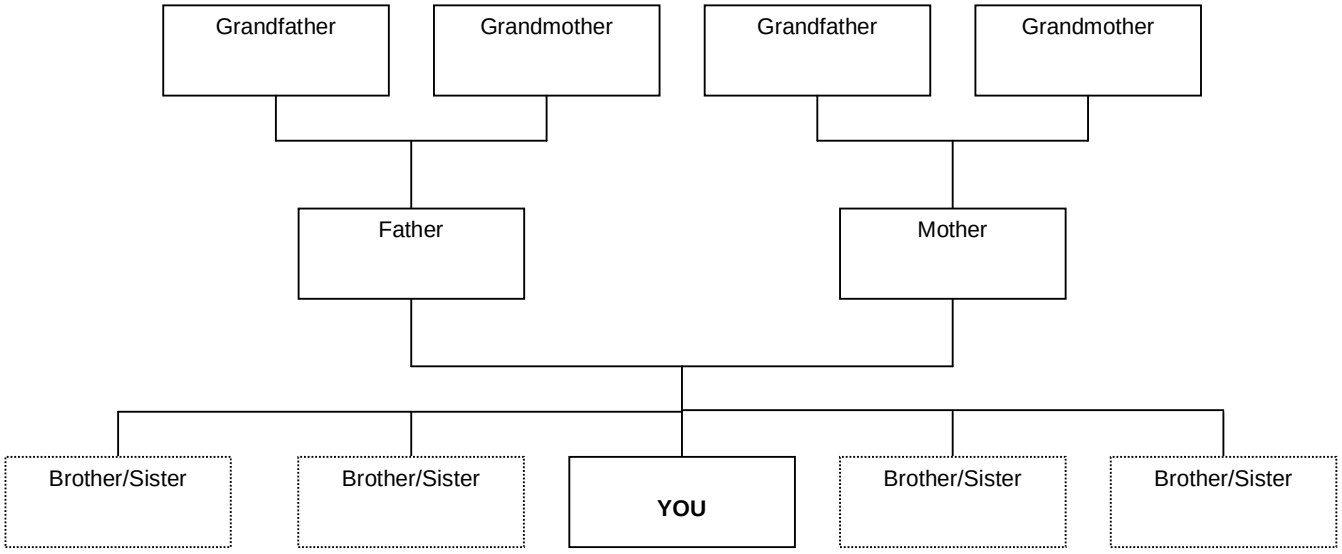
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My name is Dani. My original name is Yordanka. I was named after my father's mother. My mother hated the name, but my father convinced her that his mother would be offended if I wasn't named after her. When my parents told my grandmother the good news, she said, 'Why did you name her such an ugly name?' My mother knew someone in the registry office and changed my name officially to 'Dani' which is the nickname for Yordanka.

My original name is 'Anisa', but when I became a mother I lost this name and became 'Oum Lamees' which means *mother of Lamees* in Arabic. There are no family names in the Arab culture. My last name 'Osman' comes from my great-grandfather's name.



✎ **Complete individually:** This is a 'Family Tree' – a diagram of your immediate or *nuclear* family. Add your family members' names. You can add additional boxes if needed.



In groups discuss your family names:

- What is your full name – your first name/s and your family name or surname?
- Who were you named after? How about your brothers and sisters?
- Do you like your name? Why or why not?
- Do you have names in more than one language? If so, why? Do you have a nickname?
- What information do your names carry about your family, your history and perhaps your future?

✂ **Extension Activity:** Is this family tree an accurate representation of your definition of 'family'? Make a poster of the family tree of your *extended family* – this includes aunts, uncles, cousins, nieces and nephews and anyone else you consider family. Present this to the class.

Adapted from: Orlek, J. (1993) Language in South Africa. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press and Randburg: Hodder & Stoughton Ed.

LANGUAGE OF AFRICA

☛ Language is an important part of culture. It is inseparable from the ways people think and view the world. Language is the way a group of people communicates their representations of the world around them. These representations and the ways they are communicated vary from group to group, thus forming different languages. There are over 1000 languages spoken in Africa. The map below lists up to 3 of the most widely spoken languages in each African country



Adapted from: http//exploringafrica.matrix.msu.edu

🗣 Work with partner from your own country if possible.

- Without looking at the map, name as many African languages as you can.
- Check your answers with the map to the left. How many of these did you name?
- How many languages can you name from your country? Make a list
- Present your list to the class

🗣 Take an African languages poll.

- Interview 3-6 students in the class.
- Compile the results together with everyone else in the class
- How many languages can the class speak? Read? Write?

🡻

Name	African Languages spoken	Tick (✓) if applicable		
		Read	Write	Speak

✂ **Extension Activity 1:** Conduct a language poll with the entire school. Divide into pairs and interview the other classes. Compile the results. Post on the school website or make a poster to display in the hallway.
✂ **Extension Activity 2:** Have a native languages presentation day. Individually or in pairs or groups select something to perform for the class in your first language: a poem, a song, a story, a play, etc.

THE LANGUAGES OF COLONIALISM

☞ The map below shows languages that were introduced to Africa when Africa was colonised by European countries. During this time, several European countries took control of territories in Africa that they claimed for themselves. Some regions had more than one European country that claimed them at various points in history. As a result, European languages, or colonial languages, became the official language(s) in most Africa countries. While this remains the case even today, most Africans speak indigenous African languages as a first language and colonial languages are generally spoken as a second or third language. Often schools are instructed in European languages, and official government business is conducted using European languages.



Adapted from: http//exploringafrica.matrix.msu.edu

✎Complete individually:

- How many countries have more than one colonial language listed for them? Can you name any of these countries? Check the wall map if needed.
- What are the six European languages that are colonial languages of Africa?

🗣 In pairs discuss:

- Do you have a colonial language? What is it?
- How do you feel about your colonial language?
- What do you consider your first language?
- Do you think the colonial language should be the official language of an ex-colonial country? What is the alternative?

☞ We all use different languages in different situations. We always try to use a language which will allow us to communicate effectively in a particular situation. Sometimes we can choose which language to use and at other times the choice is made for us – by other people or by the situation.

✎Make a language diary:

- Individually, write down a typical day for you when you are in your country. Think of everything you do and everyone you speak to: go to school - speak to your teachers and friend, at home – speak to your parents, and brothers and sisters, go to work - speak to clients, co-workers, etc.
- Write down the languages you speak in each situation.

🗣 In groups discuss

- How many languages do you typically speak in a day in your country? In Johannesburg?
- When do you speak which language? With whom?
- When and why do you change from one language to another?
- How does speaking a different language change your identity?

✂ Extension Activity: Make a poster of your typical day and the languages you speak during it. Put the posters up around the class. Mingle and compare.

Adapted from: Orlek, J. (1993) Language in South Africa. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press and Randburg: Hodder & Stoughton Ed.

CULTURE

☞ Along with colonisation came western ideas and culture. There are many different ways to define culture: 'culture as a set of superior values, especially embodied in works of art and limited to a small elite; culture as a whole way of life, the informing spirit of a people; culture as a set of values imposed on the majority by those in power; and culture as the way in which different people make sense of their lives.'[23] What do you think of when you hear the word 'culture'?

🕮 **Read the quote below.**[24] How does this make you feel?

Colonialism imposed its control of the social production of wealth through military conquest and subsequent political dictatorship. But its most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonized, the control through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world. Economics and political control can never be complete or effective without mental control. To control a people's culture is to control its tools of self-definition in relationship to others. For colonialism this involved two aspects of the same process: the destruction, or the deliberate undervaluing of a people's culture, its art, dances, religions, history, geography, education, orature and literature; and the domination of a people's language by that of the colonizing nation.

In groups discuss:

- Do you agree with this quote?
- How does it make you feel: angry? Sad? Indifferent?

- How has culture of your country been influenced by colonisation? What would your country be like today if it had never been colonised?
- How is the culture of your country being influenced by English? Do you think the spread of English and globalization is destroying world cultures?
- Do you want to be 'Westernized'?

✂ **Extension Activity:**

Class Presentations – The Culture of Your Country



Culture is constantly changing. What do you consider your 'culture' to be? Is it strictly traditional or does it have other influences. What can other people around the world learn from your culture?

- In pairs or groups (from the same country if possible) decide on something that demonstrates the 'culture' of your country as you see it. It can be: a song, dance, music, story, poem, play, artwork, craftwork, etc…
- Plan a presentation to demonstrate the culture to the class. This can be done through performance, demonstration, picture and explanation, etc…
- Discuss which groups presentation was the most interesting. Why?

[23] From: Pennycook, A. (1994) *The Cultural Politics of the English Language*. Essex: Longman Group Ltd.
[24] Ngugi, in Pennycook, 1994: 61-2

THE POLITICS OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING.....

☞ We've been discussing culture and how it has been influenced by colonisation and globalization. In this session we will look more closely at how language influences culture and how specifically western culture is transmitted through English language teaching practices.

In pairs discuss: What are these quotes[25] saying about English language teaching? Do you agree?

'There is a hidden sales element in every English teacher, book, magazine, film-strip and television programme sent overseas.'

'Her majesty's Government is now giving increased support to British books and periodicals overseas in recognition of the vitally important contribution they make to the dissemination of

"It hardly needs pointing out that the presumptuous, ethnocentric spirit of westernization readily finds its way into EFL instructional materials and instructor opinions, attitudes and approaches".

"The export of …Western-trained language teachers constantly promotes inappropriate teaching approaches to diverse settings. It is of fundamental importance to acknowledge that different ways of teaching and learning are embedded in social, political, philosophical and cultural differences".

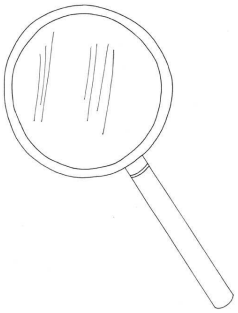
In groups discuss:

- How is International House different from the schools in your country?
- How do you prefer to be taught?
- Are any of the teaching practices here strange or unfamiliar to you? Are you ever asked to do things in class that make you feel uncomfortable?
- Who set up the schools back in your home country? Do you have any traditional schools or were they set up during colonialism?
- Do any aspects of a Western Education system go against traditional values and ideals?

Extension Activity:

Investigating Coursebooks

At International House we use British-based coursebooks. What do you think of the coursebooks at IH? Do you think they are relevant to you?



- Divide into groups.
- Look through a selection of coursebooks .
- Do you relate to the characters and situations?
- What values / ideals are transmitted along with the English language?
- Do any of these go against your beliefs / values?
- Can you think of any groups that some topics aren't appropriate for?
- Think about:
  - Gender roles
  - Dating practices
  - Lifestyle / values
- Report your findings to the class.

[25] All quotes from Pennycook, A. (1994) *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language*. Essex: Longman Group Ltd.

YOU WITHOUT YOUR LANGUAGES

Vocabulary Box: Check the meaning of the following words with your partner or a dictionary.

peasant landlords harmony ovation corporal punishment suppression elevation

🕮 **Read the passage below** by Ngugi wa Thiong'o, a famous Kenyan writer. In the passage, Ngugi remembers his early school experiences of English and his home tongue. Which language does he like better: English or Gikuyu? Do you think he is right in feeling this way?

I was born into a large peasant family: father, four wives and about twenty-eight children. I also belonged, as we all did in those days, to a wider extended family and to the community as a whole.

We spoke Gikuyu as we worked in the fields. We spoke Gikuyu in and outside the home. I can vividly recall those evenings of storytelling around the fireside. It was mostly the grown-ups telling the children but everybody was interested and involved. We children would re-tell the stories the following day to other children who worked in the fields picking the flowers, tea-leaves or coffee beans of our European and African landlords…

The home and field were then our pre-primary school but what was important, for this discussion, is that the language of our evening teach-ins, the language of our immediate and wider community, and the language of our work in the fields were one.

And then I went to school… For my first four years of school there wa still harmony between the language of my formal education and that of the Limuru peasant community. The language of my education was still Gikuyu. The very first time I was ever given an ovation for my writing was over a composition in Gikuyu.

It was after the declaration of the state of emergency over Kenya in 1952 that all the schools… were taken over by the colonial regime… The language of my education was no longer the language of my culture… English became the language of my formal education. In Kenya, English became more than a language: it was *the* language, and all others had to bow before it in deference.

Thus one of the most humiliating experiences was to be caught speaking Gikuyu in the vicinity of the school. The culprit was given corporal punishment – three to five strokes of the can on bare buttocks – or was made to carry a metal plate around the neck with inscriptions such as I AM STUPID or I AM A DONKEY. Sometimes the culprits were fined money they could hardly afford.

The attitude to English was the opposite; any achievement is spoken or written English was highly rewarded: prizes, prestige, applause, the ticket to higher realms. English became the measure of intelligence and ability in the arts, the sciences and al the other branches of learning. English became the main determinant of a child's progress up the ladder of formal education…

The language was taking us further and further from ourselves to other selves, from our world to other worlds.

What was the colonial system doing to us Kenyan children? What were the consequences of, on the one hand, this systematic suppression of our languages and literature they carried, and on the other hand the elevation of English and the literature it carried?

Slightly adapted from Ngugu wa Thiong'o *Decolonising the mind: the politics of language in African literature*

🗪 Discuss the following in pairs:

1. Why did English have more value at Ngugi's school?
2. Why do you think the school punished children for using their home language?
3. What do you think are the effects on children of forbidding them to use their home language/s?
4. How do you feel about your home language/s? Explain your attitudes.
5. What language do you use at school? What are your attitudes towards it?
6. How do you feel when teachers at IH always remind you to 'speak English!'?

✂ Extension Activity: Write about 1 of the following:

- An experience when you were forbidden to use your home language/s.
- An experience when you were made fun of for the way you speak?
- Any experience that changed your attitude towards a language that you speak.

Adapted from: Orlek, J. (1993) Language in South Africa. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press and Randburg: Hodder & Stoughton Ed.

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

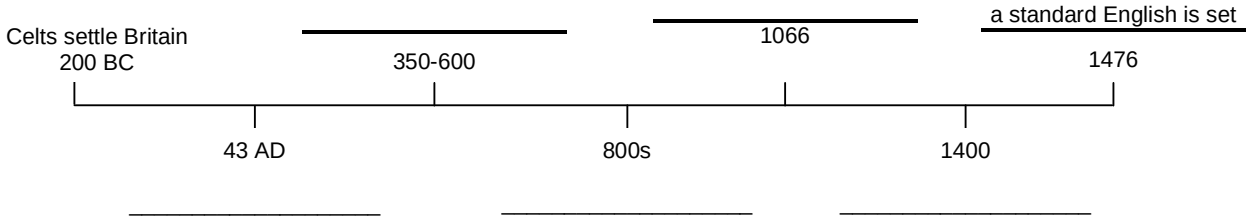
Discuss in pairs

- Where does the English language of today come from?
- What influenced what languages were spoken in England?

Read the notes below check your predictions.

1. Several hundred years BC, the Celts settled in Britain. They came from central Europe and spoke Celtic.
2. 43 AD the Romans conquered Britain. Latin became the official language. Celtic was the language of the people. The Romans forced many Celts to convert to Christianity. Many English words associated with the Church have Latin origins: *wine, angel, candle, bishop*.
3. 350-600 the Angles, Saxons and Jutes invaded Britain. A mixture of their languages became what is called Old English. The word *English* comes from the names of the Angles. The land of the Angles became England. Many everyday words of modern English come from this time: *house, woman, man, farm.* The Celts were taken as slaves but many escaped to Scotland, Ireland and Wales where forms of Celtic are still spoken today.
4. In the 800s, the Vikings from Scandinavia invaded England. Many words with roots in Viking language entered Old English: *eggs, skin, ugly, cake.*
5. In 1066 the Normans invaded and took over England. French became the official language. Latin was used in Church and the people spoke Old English. Many English words about government and culture have French origins: *justice, government, nation, music, poem*.
6. There were many different kinds of Old English spoken in England. Also, people wrote Old English differently in different parts of England. By 1400, the dialect of Old English spoken in and around London became the most powerful. It was the dialect which was used in government, the courts, commerce and at the two English universities of the time. This dialect became know as Standard English.
7. In 1476, the printing press was invented and books could now be produced in large numbers. Standard English was used by the new publishing industry. The spelling and grammar of English became more fixed with the printing of books.

Complete the time line individually:



Discuss the following in pairs:

1. What languages influenced English during each period on the time line?
2. Why do you think the dialect of English spoken in London was chosen as the standard?
3. What caused the spelling and grammar of English to become less flexible?
4. What words are the same or similar in your language and English? Why do you think this is?

In groups discuss:

- Do you think it's necessary to have a Standard English?
- Which variety of English do you want to learn? American, British, another? Why?
- Can anyone stop written English from changing?

Extension Activity: What language do the words below come from? Match the words to the country of origin. Then go to www.krysstal.com/borrow.html to check your answers.

Japan France				
Portugal				
Germany Spain				

menu	breeze	guitar	karate	clock
vanilla	hamburger	massage	soy	tsunami
rocket	niece	dentist	embarrass	dodo
tuna	lunch	karaoke	luck	soup

Adapted from: Orlek, J. (1993) Language in South Africa. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press and Randburg: Hodder & Stoughton Ed.

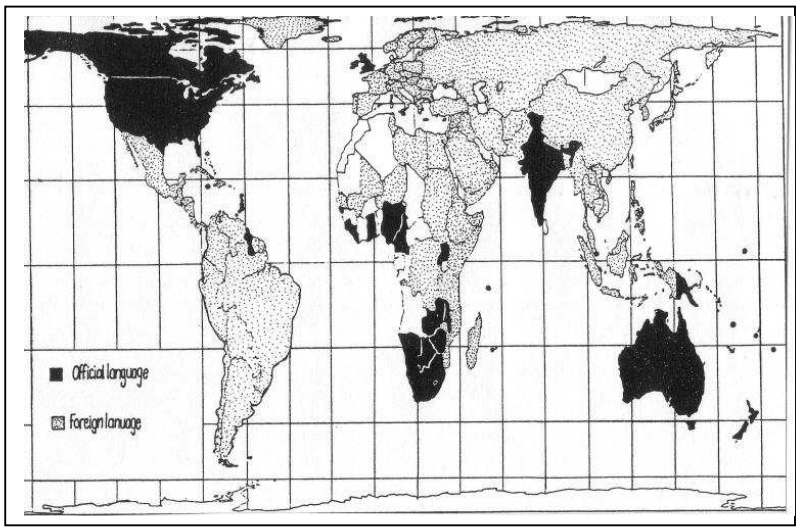
THE SPREAD OF ENGLISH IN THE WORLD

☞ The map shows where in the world English is spoken as a mother tongue and/or an official language. The map also shows where in the world English is an important foreign language.

- About 350 million people in the world speak English as their mother tongue or first language
- About 1400 million people live in countries where English is one of the official languages. Not everybody in these countries can speak English.

Ownership of English
In pairs discuss:

- There are many, many more non-mother-tongue speakers of English than mother-tongue speakers of English. How do you think this affects English?
- Who do you think influences English the most? Mother-tongue or non-mother-tongue speakers?
- Who does English belong to?



English and Power – discuss in groups:

- How and why did English spread so widely in the world?
- What does the spread of English say about the power of England and America?
- Does this spread of English make people who speak English more powerful than people who don't? Why? Why not?
- Why are you learning English?

✂ Extension Activity:

Research Project:

In groups choose a country (not in the United Kingdom, North America, South Africa or Australia) which has English as an official language – use the map above to help you choose. Do some research on the Internet into the history of this country to find out why English is so important in the country. Prepare a presentation to give to the class. The questions below may help you do your research.

- Who brought English to this country? When? Why did English speakers come to this country in the first place?
- What are the home languages of people in this country?
- What is the present relationship between this country and England and/or America?
- What is the relationship between the different language groups in this country? Which language groups are rich? Which are poor?
- About how many people in the country can speak English? What language/s are used on radio, TV and in the newspaper?

Adapted from: Orlek, J. (1993) Language in South Africa. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press and Randburg: Hodder & Stoughton Ed.

WHO SHOULD TEACH ENGLISH?

☞ We've discussed the different types of English there are in the world and how English is spreading around the world as an international language. So, who should teach English? The following teachers all teach English at an International House school in Poland. Read their stories and decide which one you would most like to have as your teacher. Which one do you thing the students at the school prefer?



🕮 Kasia is a foreign language speaker of English. Her first language is Polish, but she is completely fluent in English and has been teaching for over 10 years. She is not married and has no children so she has a lot of time to put into her job. She is very professional and always prepared for class. Since she has had to learn English the same way her students do, she knows exactly which problems her students will have and can plan for this. She also has excellent grammar knowledge and can clearly answer any questions her students have. She does have a slight Polish accent but knows proper British pronunciation and teaches this to her students.



This is Monica. Monica is from India but has been teaching in Poland for 2 years. English is her second language and she grew up learning Hindi and English at the same time. She acquired English as a native-speaker would so she did not have to learn it by learning the rules the way a foreign speaker must. Her grammar knowledge is not bad – though this was primarily learned through teaching it. She is young and has a lot of enthusiasm and her lessons are usually quite active. She likes socialising and will frequently meet her students for drinks after class. She speaks with a slight Indian accent.



This is Melissa. She is British and just off her teacher-training course. She passed, but not very strongly. She is a very enthusiastic teacher and willing to put a lot of time into planning her lessons, but she is still very unsure of what she is doing and often needs a lot of help. In class she avoids teaching grammar and when her students ask her grammar questions she is unable to answer them. She is very nice but often can be nervous in class.

* Now read the very bottom of the page. Does this surprise you? Do you agree with it? Discuss with your partner.

In pairs discuss:

- What is the difference between a native-speaker of English, a second-language-speaker of English, and a foreign-speaker of English?
- Do you think it matters if your teacher is a native-speaker of English?
- Can you think of circumstances when a non-native speaker teacher may be better than a native speaker?
- Have you ever been taught by foreign-speaker of English that you felt was a very good teacher?
- When you came to IH Language Lab to study did you expect to be taught by native-speaker teachers?

✂ Extension Activity:

Hold a debate:

Divide into 3 teams:

- Team 1: Discuss all the pros of native-speaker English teachers. What strengths do they have? What might their limitations be?
- Team 2: Discuss all the pros of non-native-speaker English teachers? What might be the advantages be of having a non-native English speaker as your teacher?
- Team 3: You are the judges – discuss what points each team should make during the debate. How will you judge which team has the best argument?

Have your debate. You should be able to discuss these issues for 20-30 minutes. When the teams are finished the judges should decide which team made the stronger argument and is the winner.

*Melissa was most valued by the school as a 'Native-Speaker' of English'. Monica was valued next as a second-language speaker. Kasia was the least valued. She was paid less than the other 2 teachers and was not promised regular hours. She was also not allowed to teach a class by herself and had to share with a native-speaker teacher otherwise clients would complain that they weren't learning from a native-speaker.

WHICH ENGLISH? - INVESTIGATING ACCENTS

☞ We've been discussing how there are so many Englishes in the world. Even only looking at countries where English is spoken as a first or 'native-language', English can sound very different depending on which country you are in. This session will focus on the different accents or ways English is pronounced in different countries.

In groups discuss:

- How many countries can you name where English is spoken as a native-language?
- What accent do you want to have when you speak English?
- It is believed that when adults learn English they don't want to lose their accent because this is part of their identity (e.g. a French speaker will speak English with a French accent because they associate themselves as a 'French speaker'). Do you agree with this? Do you want to lose your accent?

Listen and complete the table: You will hear 6 speakers discussing where their names come from. Listen and note what country you think they come from, how understandable they are, how much you like the way they sound.

	Country From?	Understandable? (Rank 1-5)	Do you like it? (Rank 1-5)
Speaker 1			
Speaker 2			
Speaker 3			
Speaker 4			
Speaker 5			
Speaker 6			

In pairs discuss:

- Which speaker's accent did you like the most?
- Which one was easiest to understand?
- Which accent would you most like to sound like (if any!)?

✂ Extension Activity:

School Survey – Attitudes Around Accents

- Prepare questions to ask the other classes about their feelings towards accents from different countries. You can use the tape recording if you wish.
- In pairs, interview the other students and teachers.
- Compile the results with the rest of the class. – Which country would the students most like to sound like? What accent do the teachers like the most?
- Post your findings on the school website or make a poster to display in the hallway.

WHICH ENGLISH? - DIALECTS

☞ We've discussed the different accents spoken by English speaking countries in the world, and earlier we discussed the beginnings of a 'standard English'. This session examines the different forms of English spoken in the same country. These different ways of speaking the same language are called 'dialects'. Many times different dialects also have their own vocabulary and grammar as well as different pronunciation. Dialects can indicate many things including where in the country someone is from, their race, age, education or status.

In groups discuss:

- How many different ways is English spoken in South Africa. Think of the different people who use it at the shops, in the school, in a taxi, on TV – do they all speak in the same way?
- How many different dialects are there in your language (if you go to different parts of your country do people speak the same language but sound different)?

Listen and take notes: Listen to different people from South Africa reading a poem. What do you think their dialect tells us about them? Consider: Age, race, status, education, etc. Which dialect(s) do you like? Not like? Why?

	Notes
Speaker 1	
Speaker 2	
Speaker 3	
Speaker 4	
Speaker 5	
Speaker 6	

In pairs discuss:

- What negative associations are there with different dialects?
- Which dialect do you think is most valued?
- Is there a 'Standard' English in South Africa? If so who speaks it?
- Would you want to learn non-standard English? Why or why not?
- Which dialect do you most identify with?

✂ Extension Activity:

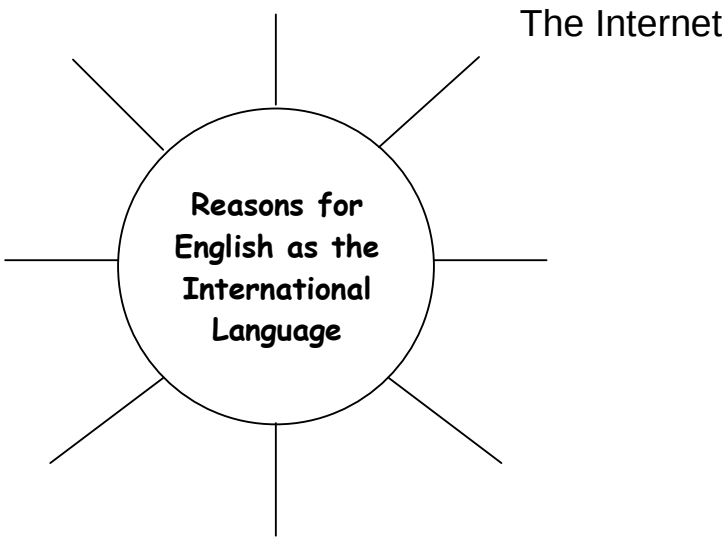
Class Presentations – Dialects of Your Country

- In pairs or groups (from the same country if possible) choose a song a story or a poem to read.
- Record your piece onto a cassette using different dialects from your first language.
- Play the recording for the class.
- Tell the class what the different dialects indicate about status, age, region, etc. in your country
- Use the whiteboard or maps if you wish to illustrate the different areas of your country.

ENGLISH AND THE FUTURE

☞ During these sessions we've discussed such issues as the power of the English language, English as an international language and who English belongs to. This session revises these issues and looks at how the world would be different if English were not so powerful.

✎ **Complete individually:** How did English come to be 'The International Language'? Why is it not French or Japanese? Complete the spider-gram with your reasons for why you think English is such a popular language. Think about in which contexts you hear, see or use English.



🗣 **In pairs discuss:** Compare your spider-gram with your partner. Do you agree? Did they think of anything you missed?

🗣 **In groups discuss:**

- What is the future of the English language? Will it continue to grow?
- What other languages are popular in the world today? Do you think any of them will surpass English in terms of popularity? Usefulness? Why or why not?
- What role do you have in the future of English?

✂ **Extension Activity:**

A FUTURE SOCIETY

Image it is the year 2050 and English is no longer the international language. In groups - decide on a different language that is now popular around the world.

1. Discuss the following:
   - How did English lose its power?
   - How did another language rise in power?
   - Instead of the USA and Britain as world powers – which countries are now powerful?
   - How has this affected the rest of the world – politically? Socially? Etc?
2. Write a story describing this different world.
3. Present your stories to the rest of the class:
   - How are they the same? Different?
   - Do you think what happens in the stories is possible?

WHY ENGLISH? – A CONSPIRACY THEORY

☞ There are several theories as to why English has become so popular. We've discussed some of the possible reasons including the rise of the Internet, and the popularity of American music and cinema. This session suggests that the spread of English could be more deliberate than accidental. What do you think? Is this possible - or just a 'conspiracy theory'?

In groups discuss the following quotes[26]

- Do you believe them to be true?
- How do they make you feel? Angry? Indifferent?

'English language teaching has become part of the process whereby one part of the world has become politically, economically and culturally dominated by another'.

'Once again it can be clearly seen that such applied linguistic work had as its primary goal both the spread of English and the spread of English culture'.

'Britain does indeed gain political, commercial and cultural advantage from the world-wide use of English'

'The British Council…continues to be untiring in its efforts to keep the world speaking English. In this regard, teaching English as a second or foreign language is not only good business, in terms of the production of teaching materials of all kinds… but also it is good politics'.

'The growth of applied linguistics (the formal study of language) after the war (World War II) must be understood in this context of the search for new means of social and political control in the world'

'It has been British and American government policy since the mid-1950s to establish English as protect and promote capitalist interests'.

In your groups discuss:

- Which countries have the most power in the world? How do these countries ensure they keep their power?
- How is English as an international language tied to the power of English-speaking countries?
- If you believe that learning English is one way governments have of maintaining control over other countries – how do you feel about learning English?

✂ **Extension Activity:**

Hold a debate – Why English?

- Divide into 3 groups.
- Group 1 look at the issues raised in the last session on Why English?
- Group 2 look at the issues from this session.
- Group 3 are the judges.
- Prepare your arguments as to why English has become such a popular language – judges decide what arguments each side should make.
- Have your debate.
- When each team is finished – the judges must decide which team made the best argument and is the winner.

[26] All quotes from Pennycook, A. (1994) *The Cultural Politics of the English Language.* Essex: Longman.

ENGLISH AND YOU (PART 2)

☞ This class has discussed different current issues being raised in the study of English. On the first day of class, you were asked for your feelings on these issues. This session will look at whether or not your feelings on any of these topics have changed.

✎ **Complete individually:** Read the following statements and choose the appropriate response for you.

	I completely agree	I partially agree	I partially disagree	I completely disagree
1. I like learning English.				
2. I have a choice whether or not I learn English.				
3. I can have an equally good job whether I learn English or not.				
4. Language is political.				
5. English is the international language because England and America are very powerful countries.				
6. I like my colonial language. (if applicable)				
7. I prefer my colonial language to my native language. (if applicable)				
8. I consider my colonial language my first language. (if applicable)				
9. When I learn the English language, I'm also learning English culture.				
10. I am interested in learning English culture.				
11. The spread of English around the world is killing other languages.				
12. I want to speak 'standard' English.				
13. I want to speak non-standard English.				
14. English no longer belongs to native-English speakers. It's now a world language.				
15. English should only be taught by native-speaker teachers.				

In your groups discuss: Compare your answers with the other students in your group.

- Do you agree?
- Have your feelings on any of these issues changed? If so, which ones?
- Why do you think your feelings have/haven't changed?

✂ **Extension Activity**

Change Collage

How has this course changed you? Your beliefs? A lot? A little? Or not at all?
Find pictures in newspapers or magazines that express how you feel now about:

- Yourself
- Your own language (whatever that is for you)
- The English language

Put your collages up around the room for the other students to see.

Appendix C: Student Focus Group Interview Transcripts

Focus Group 1

R: How would you compare this class that you just had to a regular conversation class at this school.

ST3: Ah…this one is funner that one, because there are…they're so boring.

R: The conversation classes?

ST3: Yeah.

R: Why was this one more fun?

ST3: I don't know, because I learned something about English and history.

R: OK.

ST3: And I like history.

R: Do the rest of you agree with him.

[general response yes, ST5: No, this was more boring]

R: This was more boring for you.

ST3: That's our opinion.

R: No, no, I want to hear your opinions. SO, ST5, why did you think this one was more boring?

ST5: Because I don't interesting a lot [inaudible] I don't know….I don't know…I honestly….I talking about our native language about something I my case I don't' care, really, it's stress.

R: OK.

ST6: I like…um…this um…class because they show that um…how English is…was spoken, and also the culture [inaudible] I don't like also because the topic about colonisation//

R: //You didn't like that?

ST6: No, I didn't like because when…when I think about that it make me angry and I don't like to think about that, I think it's the past.

R: You think it's the past, OK. Alright, anyone want to add anything?

ST1: For me I liked it [inaudible] but I liked it because we got a specific top…topic…a specific topic and we discussed this topic. And I learned a lot…a lot of things: how…what English belong from, and...um how English was spreading around the world. Between that class and ah…

R: conversation…

ST1: Conversation class…

ST3: We had fun.

ST1: I found it….Yeah, it's interesting.

JR [inaudible] it was fun.

ST4: Um…I don't speak in class, it's like, [inaudible] where you just use the topic…not very important just to use…speak…

R: Speak English, yeah just to speak.

ST4: Just to speak. But I think it's not a good one for me. I like it.

R: ST2?

ST2: I think that…ah this class was very interesting because…um the teacher give…give…gave us the opportunity to…to speak or to improve your real language in the…the good and important subject.

R: OK, alright.

R: Generally would you say this class was a positive or negative experience?

[all say 'positive' except ST5 who doesn't answer. Student all talk over each other]

R: Sorry, ST3?

ST3: There are 34 mother tongues, I learned in this class.

R: [laughs].

ST4: In Kenya they used to speak English like a first language, I didn't know that.

R: OK. ST5, negative for you?

ST5: No it was positive, but I didn't [inaudible], no it was positive.

R: Did you enjoy any part of the class?

ST5: Yes, sometimes.

R: If…if we ran this course again, would you recommend other students to take the class?

ST4: Yes.

ST3: Yes, but I would take it.

R: You'd take it again?

LT and ST3: Yes!

R: You'd take it again?

ST4: Yes.

ST3: But, it depend, if you are...if you…were…we get some…another information, you know, additional information…you have something…something new, yeah, that would be great.

R: OK. Would you like other classes on other topics, where the a…you learn English by learning something else, on a different topic?

ST4: Yes.

R: OK, do you feel like you got more or less discussion practice, actual conversation practice than you would have in a regular conversation class? Do you think you actually talked more?

ST6: Yes! Yes! I talked more because you must give your opinion

ST3: Ahah!

ST4: And I think the time wasn't enough because we wanted to speak//

ST3:
//especially both of you!

R: [laughs] And you!

ST3: No!

R: I have these classes on tape, I have proof!

ST3: Yeah, like, you may have like twenty tapes, you know, just those…those two girls speaking twenty-four-seven.

ST6: But is good [laughs].

ST3: Is good…it's good.

ST6: This is a big [inaudible] to improve my English, yes.

R: OK, speaking about that. This course, it focused much more on content than language studies, yeah? How did this affect your enjoyment of the course….actually we answered this question didn't we, alright. But you didn't focus on language skills, did you feel your language skills improved during this course, because the teacher did very little language work with you. So how did you feel about that? Did you want more language work? Did you think about it? Did you miss it? You were thinking much more about the topic than about language.

ST3: Is enough for me.

R: How do the rest of you feel? Did you ever think of that during the course, the teacher didn't go to the board and do language corrections… there was no language correction…. [students murmur 'yes] no error correction, very little. So, how did you feel about that? Did you want more, did you think about it?

ST6: I think a lot but…

R: Were you thinking, ''Where's the error correction!' were you missing it.

ST4: Yes, because when I was speaking I knew that I make (**ST6: Yes**) a lot of mistake//

ST6: But maybe also when you [inaudible] and someone//

ST3:
//Stop you…

ST6: stop you, it's not good//

ST4: //you lose you ideas, yeah.

ST3: You like that word, 'good'.

R: So, I think the teacher was…the teachers were concerned with not interrupting you because you were trying to express yourself. So, do you think that you still then improved your language skills?

ST6: Maybe…yes! Yes, I think once I made you want to …you want to answer…to..to…um yes.

ST4: I think it's not like before, like I started to learn English, it was like when I started…I am starting to speak the teacher must tell me and…ways, but it's become different maybe is more mistake, not very strongly.

ST6: I think also that the most important was to…to see how can we make a full sentence without making a lot of mistake, I think. That's why maybe….because I remember one day, I don't know who was speaking maybe ST4, and I correct her and then Dani say, Dani just say, 'Oh, it's OK,' because the most important wasn't the mistake, but it was that she wanted to say//

R: //Try to get her thoughts across…trying to get her thoughts across.

ST6: Yeah…yes.

R: Do you think this course helped you to…learn how to express more difficult, more challenging thoughts…because you were talking about, kind of deeper ideas, yeah.

ST6: Yeah.

ST4: Mhm.

ST3: 2050.

ST2: Mm.

R: You did have quite a lot of time...um where had to kind of (**ST4: Yes**) express your deeper thoughts. Do you feel more confident in doing that kind of discussion?

ST6: Yes, yes

ST2: I do.

ST4: Yes.

ST1: Because you are very free to express our opinions with…without feeling shame.

ST6: Yes, you are shame, yes.

ST1: Because sometime when they correct you, you are shame, you don't need to tell us that

ST3: [inaudible].

ST2: Maybe they know the answer but they can't speak because they are afraid.

R: They are afraid of making a grammatical error?

ST2: Yes.

ST1: And that so even you don't like to speak…among a lot of people. But this class gave us the possibility to express ourself and to be free to speak among people, I think.

ST4: Yes.

ST1: Everybody participates in the class.

R: Mhm. And so, do you think there is language value in…in a class like this? Where you're talking about, kind of, more challenging ideas, but you're not getting language correction, do you feel you're improving your English?

ST3: Yes.

ST2: Yes.

ST4: Yes.

ST3: Because reading…OK, when you read, you know if you had made a mistake.

R: Mm. OK, alright.

ST3: And also is the during the conversation is…during the conversation you can know that you…that is a mistake my…my…my classmate make. But if you don't speak you can't know if you can make a mistake or no.

R: Mm.

ST1: And during the conversation, I…I to understand or to notice some mistakes from my classmates.

ST4: And you told me, 'no' if you make a mistake you say that you know that I make a mistake.

R: So, you don't always feel like you need the teacher to be correcting you?

M: But it's also good so if they don't correct you then continue doing your mistake, you think that maybe it's OK.

ST3: Sometime you feel embarrassed.

ST1: Yeah, sometime, but sometimes also it's OK.

R: But for a course like this where you very focused on the content of the course and expressing your opinions, do you want error correction or do you think it's OK not to have error correction.

ST1: I want both.

ST4: Yes.

R: You want both.

ST1: I think it's OK.

R: Ok, alright. Um…when you got your…you wrote essays for me at the beginning of the course on why you were learning English, and then you wrote…um essays again when we talked about colonisation, yeah. On those Dani gave you error correction. Did she make any comment about the content of what you wrote or only…only grammar correction.

ST6: Only grammar.

R: And how did…how did you feel about that, because you wrote something quite personal and then you got it back just with grammar corrections. Did you mind?

ST6: No.

R: Did you wonder why Dani didn't think about what you actually wrote? Because it was meaningful to you, yeah?

ST4: Yeah.

R: You wrote something personal? Would you have liked to have the teacher comment on what you wrote…the content of what you wrote, or did you want just the grammar correction?

ST4: I think I want only…it's good the comments, but sometimes the more…the most important is the grammar.

R: Is it?

ST4: Yeah.

ST6: I don't care because the idea is yours.

R: The idea is yours…you don't care if the teacher//

ST6: Yes maybe a balance…I don't know.

ST3: I prefer both.

ST1: Me also, because some comments can help me to know is my thinking…my…my…my opinion about something.

ST3: Yeah.

ST1: Is it true or no. Another day I can correct I can try to be more…(**ST3: Accurate**) or more accurate something like this.

ST3: Yeah, that's what I was talking about. As I was saying, I prefer both, 'cos like the example, they asked me to comment something maybe I'm wrong…OK.

R: Mhm.

ST3: And if the teacher doesn't correct me I…I won't know if I'm wrong or not.

R: Alright.

ST3: OK?

R: OK. Error in class…in speaking.

ST3: Perhaps the sentence is correct, but maybe there are…what…what I'm saying is wrong.

R: What about the written homework, though, when the teacher commented on your grammar, but she didn't write anything about what you'd written, and it was personal thoughts, did you want the teacher to respond to//

ST3: Yes, I would like.

ST4: Yes.

ST6: Yes.

ST1: Yes.

ST2: Yes.

ST3: I would like it.

R: Yeah. ST5, you're very quiet, do you have anything you'd like to say.

ST5: No…no…no, it's OK.

R: Nothing?

ST5: No, it's OK.

R: OK, ah….the course looks very quickly at many different things about the English language, yeah? We looked at many different subjects very, very quickly, would you like to have a course that focuses more in depth on one area. For example colonialism (**ST6: Mhm**) we did, I don't know, maybe four days on colonialism, but there was much more we could have done, would you like a course that focuses very much in depth on

something like colonialism, or did you have enough in the four days?

ST4: No, enough [laughs].

R: Enough.

ST6: Enough for me.

ST3: It's never enough for me.

R: So would you be interested to do an entire course on colonialism?

Yeah, [inaudible].

R: No problem.

ST3: Not at all.

R: ST5! [laughs]

[students laugh]

ST5: Not only on colonialism but [inaudible]

ST3: Heather, [inaudible] about the colonialism of English, OK, and then we switch and go into Spanish and Portuguese//

R: //more specific about each…each country how it was colonised?

ST3: Yes.

R: Would anyone else be//

ST3: //It not just…not just English. I'll get bored.

R: No, no of course, but we…we did look at the way…we didn't talk so much about English countries, but would like a course that talks specifically about the colonialism of different countries and the history of the different countries?

ST4: Yes.

ST1: Yes.

ST6: Yes, for different counties.

[pause – looks at ST5 students laugh]

ST5: I don't know [inaudible].

ST1: But, we don't come from the same countries [inaudible].

R: Yes, I know you don't. And we don't always have all students from African countries either, sometimes we have students from South American countries, and Europe and….yeah. Alright. Is there anything else that you want to comment on, or would to add? Anything else you'd like me to know? About your experience on the course?

ST3: Yes. I loved the cake.

[all laugh]

R: Anything else anyone would like to add, or anything you'd like me to know?

ST4: It was a very nice experience for me because I learned something new. And, I think about English…firstly about English language I don't know about that.

R: OK.

ST6: Probably where English come from, this mixture…ooh I liked that [inaudible]

R: The lingua franca.

ST6: Yes. And also, that English take from French [laughs]

R: Yeah, and you thought it was the other way around.

ST4: Yes!

R: ST5, anything you'd like to add.

ST5: No!

R: No. You seemed quite bored on this course.

[students laugh]

ST5: If I had to choose, I wouldn't choose again this course.

R: Is that because you felt…kind of separated from everybody else.

ST5: I don't know why…but talking very nice about mother tongue…what is the [inaudible] I don't know really…it's nice to know but.

R: Alright.

ST1: I just wanted to say that during the course I liked your position because you were not like as a teacher, you are like, I don't know how to say in English?

R: They say, ‘researcher’.

ST1: Yeah, researcher. And you didn’t take your role as a teacher so we can talk as we want. Anther student made [inaudible] but they were not care about//

R:
//about me.

ST1: [laughs]

R: Good. Good. Thanks, everyone.

Focus Group 2

R: How would you compare this class to a regular general conversation class that you've taken here?

ST9: This one gives us the opportunity to express ourself.

R: Uhuh.

ST9: And…ah we can learn about each other about their opinion.

R: Uhuh. Do you guys agree with her, do you feel the same? Or disagree.

ST8: Yes, I agree with her. It's like she said, this class is different from the other class, it makes us…ah learn from others and it gives us lot of knowledge about (**ST10: culture**) different cultures, different languages. And give your opinion.

ST9: About what you think.

ST8: Yes, saying what you think.

R: Generally was this class uh…a negative or a positive experience for you.

ST8: It was a positive experience.

ST10, ST9, ST7, ST11: Positive experience.

ST10: Because it brings us something new that we didn't know before.

ST11: I didn't know about [inaudible] culture…about culture (**ST9: English** also) and now more or less I know.

R: OK. Alright. If we run this course again, would you recommend other students to take the course?

ST9: Yes, Of course.

ALL: Yes.

ST9: Of course, it's interesting.

ST10: Yeah.

R: OK, alright. Do you feel that you got more or less conversation practice in this class than in normal general conversation classes? Did//

ALL: //[students laughing volume increases] More! More!

ST10: More in this class, yes

ST9: More conversation.

R: And why do you think that was? Why did you talk more? I thought…sometimes you guys were yelling over each other and the class was so loud, why…why was it that you think that you spoke more in this class.

ST8: Because of…we start the class by speaking and we end up by speaking. And then we only speak we don't write, we don't uh…do grammar or only speaking.

R: How is it different than a normal conversation class? Do you not just speak in conversation classes normally?

ST8: We…we do speak//

ST9: //and the teacher…the teacher can give her…his opinion too, but in the afternoon class we think that everything we did the teacher just asked questions.

R: OK, just going back to the conversation classes, you've all taken a general conversation class before, yeah? [students nod, murmur 'yes'] So, in that class, that's meant just to have the students speak, so I still think that students spoke more in this class.

ST8: Yes.

R: Why did you…why did this make more conversation than a normal conversation class?

ST8: Because you…ah…afternoon class…we feel more free to give your opinion but in the conversation class the teacher bring specific topics so you have to talk only about the topic.

R: Isn't that the same though as this?, because I gave you a topic to talk about.

ST8: Yeah, but you can bring your…you can give your opinions.

R: So, do you think that you had more opinions?

ST8: Yeah.

ST10: Sometimes it becomes uh…a dialogue between us.

R: Mm. One thing I was thinking was that in this class you guys were enjoying it more because you were more the 'experts' than the teacher.

ST10: Yeah! [laughs] Yeah.

R: Do you think that was true? I think a lot of times the teacher's in the front being the 'expert' and kind of giving the knowledge to the students. A lot of times in this class it seems the students art the 'experts' and giving knowledge (**ST8: Yes, ST10: to the teacher, ST9: Yes**) to the teachers. Did you like that role?

ALL [loudly] Yes! [laughter]

R: Do think that made you enjoy the class more?

ALL; Yes.

R: Mm. OK. Um…this course focused more on…on content than language work, you know, it's much more focused on the discussion…the…the topics that we were discussing than on language work. How um…how did this affect you enjoyment of the course. Do you think you enjoyed more or less than other courses.

ST7: I enjoyed it more, in my opinion. I think we enjoyed it more because we had the time to express ourselves, to say what you think.

R: Um…would you be interested in taking other courses that focused on content? On this course, all the lessons were written before the course started, and it was designed to teach you something besides just English language. It was designed to teach you about the content and get English practice. Would you be interested in taking another course that focused on the content…that was designed to teach you about something along with English.

ST7: Yes.

ALL: Yes.

ST9: What not, it can bring you something more.

ST8: New knowledge.

R: OK.

ST11: And also…um was better because we mix different level.

R: Uhmh. Different levels of students?

ST10: Yeah.

R: Why was that better? You said it was better. Why was it better?

ST11: Hm?

R: You said that it was better because you mixed different students levels?

ST11: Yes.

R: Why was that better for you.

ST11: Yes, because I can know how another student from another level…um speak, yes.

R: So you can compare yourself and your progress, OK.

ST11: And I can do many [inaudible].

R: OK, alright. OK, speaking about that, did this course…do <u>you</u> feel this course challenged you to express more advanced thoughts… having to think of how to say more advanced things or the same in other classes?

[pause]

ST9: Maybe the same.

R: You don't think so? You know how in an IELTS test, for example, in the speaking exam each part gets more difficult, these concepts were more like level three. Do you think that this class helped you to express more complex thoughts? Or no?

[pause]

ST9: I don't know.

R: No? There's not a right answer.

ST8: There isn't different in regular classes.

R: The same.

ST8: Yes, because sometimes in morning class the teacher can ask you anything and you can also express yourself.

R: The same kind.

ST8: Yes, the same.

R: OK, alright. Do you feel that your language skills improved in taking this course? Because obviously, I mean you're here to learn English, so this was a class at an English language school, so, do you feel your English has improved (**ST9: Yes. Yes**) at all from taking this class. Why do you say 'yes'.

ST9: Because in the morning we can…we work with the book, the teacher asks you do this exercise and after listening but we didn't practice more speaking, because the teacher explain us the course but in the afternoon you can improve your speaking because you just have to speak, only speak, not anything else. We practice more speaking.

R: So, you think your speaking skills, maybe your fluency, might have improved?

ALL: Yes.

ST10: I think the ability of speaking…fluency…it helps, but like let's say grammar, things like that I think we…we don't pay attention…no attention only from the grammar…grammar…

R: Grammar classes?

ST10: Classes. From them, from the grammar classes. It help us to express…to speak.

ST8: And like ST11, you can see if you are able to speak more than…much better than the person who is in the level…

ST10: Yes.

R: The person in a higher level. OK. Alright. You didn't get a lot of error correction on this course.

ST10: Maybe, but the teacher didn't give.

R: The teacher…the teacher didn't give a lot of error correction to the students.

ALL: No [shake heads].

R: Did that bother you?

ST8: Yes.

R: Were you missing that? Did you want more error correction?

ST8: Yes.

ALL: Yes.

R: You want more of that?

ST8: We want more.

R: OK.

ST11: We make mistakes of some word maybe [inaudible] you know to pronounce that, you can't spelling when you write.

R: Mhm. OK. Does everyone agree? Were you thinking during the class, where's the error correction, or did you not think about it.

ST10: But the teacher can…wanted you… [inaudible] in the class after.

R: But then that's just going to be, yeah, less…less time for discussion then. But during the actual class did you think about it? Were you wondering?

ST10: No

ST9: No.

ST8: Maybe we were thinking that we were correct.

[students murmur assent]

ST8: We speak and she didn't…uh pay attention to correct us, we just think that, 'OK, it's correct'.

[students murmur agreement]

R: OK. Alright. When you got your writing back, your teacher focused only on grammatical errors and didn't give you any comments on the content of what you wrote. You wrote two things: you wrote an essay at the beginning on why you were studying English, and then you wrote a piece about colonialism halfway through the course.

ST8: Yes.

R: And both of those times your teacher gave them back to you with grammatical (**ST9: Yes**) corrections.

ST7: Mhm.

R: But the teacher did not write anything about…'that's very interesting' or//

ST8: Yes.

ST9: No, I…I saw this kind of thing on my paper.

R: Really!

ST9: That's interesting, yeah.

R: Oh she wrote, 'that's interesting' did she?

ST9: Yeah.

R: Did she? Anybody else have feedback like that?

ST11: One of my mistakes, I don't know which is because only she put (**R: Question mark**) yeah. I don't know (**R: You don't know why**).

ST10: She…she just correct my spelling.

R: Well, did anyone think about that, when you got your paper back, did you want you teacher to comment on the content of your writing, or did you not care? Did you just want the grammar checked?

ST8: I…I thought that maybe I wrote my…my essay right. She didn't make a lot of//

R:// no, but I'm not talking about the style, I'm just saying, did you want the teacher to comment on anything personal about what you wrote. You wrote quite a personal thing, about, you know, something personal to you, and then the teacher just corrected your errors and gave it back. Did you think about that, or are you fine with just getting error corrections?

ST7: I don't think…

R: You don't expect the teacher to care about the comment of what you wrote? You only//

ST8: //I do. I don't mind, I mean…the teacher has the right to correct your…your…write. But, I wouldn't mind if she correct my mistakes.

R: So, what…what about um…she could do both. She could correct your mistakes and also (**ST8: Yes**) comment on what you say [students murmuring yes]. Would you like that or do you not mind?

ALL: Yes.

ST8: I do like.

ST10: Yes.

ST10: Me too.

R: Did you think about that when you got it back or, what did you think.

ST10: Yes. Because I say that why the teacher didn't say that this part is interesting.

R: Because she only corrected your grammar.

ST10: She could…she could…she could give her opinion too, about the subject.

R: I think it's something teachers always discuss. We don't know exactly how much students want corrected and how much do students want us just to relate to the content of what they're saying. Because part of it also is putting across your opinions and expressions and your ability to express yourself. And um…it's a difficult thing for a teacher to know, you know how much error correction and how much just relating to their students…we don't know what you expect from us, so it's interesting to hear what you expect. OK. Um…the course looked very quickly at like a number of different aspects of the English language and we didn't have time to do a lot of subjects more in depth, because it was a very short course. So, would you be interested in taking a more focused course on one of the topics such as maybe colonialism? If we did that for a whole course or would that be too much?

[pause]

R: What do you think?

ST8: I think it would be better if we talk about different…

ST7: Different subjects.

ST8: Different subjects.

ST7: Yes.

ST8: If this month we…we…we spoke?

R: Mhm.

ST8: about colonialism. Let's say next say next month we could talk about something else.
R: So, you like the variety of topics.

ST8: Yes.

ST9: Yes

ST10: Yes.

R: OK. Is there anything that anyone would like to comment on or anything you would like me to know about this course?

[pause]

R: OK. Thank you.

Focus Group 3

R: How would you compare this class to a regular general conversation class that you had here?

[pause]

R: Better or worse? Same?

ST13: It is the same.

ST14: It's different?

R: You think it's different, you think it's the same. Why is it different?

ST14: It's different because, um… at a certain time you can see how....how the…the conversation or the course goes to where we want according to what we are talking about. But in…in morning class [inaudible] OK., OK, it's OK, we are going to do this, but then something we just [inaudible] what we want to say or what we want to express.

R: So, do you think that you had more control over the way the class went (**ST14: Yes.**) in this class?

ST14: Yeah.

R: How about compared to conversation classes, the type of conversation classes that you have in the afternoons, where they're just called 'conversation', was the it the same as those or different?

ST15: Different. [inaudible] here to express more of our opinion than in the other conversation class. And we had [inaudible] more time for this…maybe in other class maybe just for ten minutes…five minutes [inaudible] maybe we have more time.

R: More time actually devoted to conversation?

ST15: Yeah.

R: ST13?

ST13: [inaudible] don't know. In other conversation classes there are…like…there are different topics about everything but in this class we follow it around one topic.

R: Yes.

ST13: That's all.

R: But otherwise it seemed exactly the same to you?

ST13: Ahah.

R: OK. ST12?

ST12: Not really different, but just as she said, the description is much more focused on one topic, and also, personally because I know everything is recording, everything is [inaudible].

R: [laughs] Did that bother you? Did that affect the way you…you behaved in class?

ST12: Yeah…yeah, 'cos sometime I don't…I don't even say what I…yeah.

R: Because you didn't want it tape recorded?

ST12: No, not…not really because of that, but because I think this is to go….where?

R: [laughs] But you're name won't be on it.

ST12: Yeah, yeah.

R: But you still didn't' want your opinions anywhere, that could be anywhere.

ST12: Yeah.

R: OK,. Alright. Generally, would you say this course was a positive or negative experience for you?

ST13: Positive.

R: [surprised] Positive?

ST13: Yeah, for me because, I found [pause] more expectation about…about many thing.

R: Explanation?

ST13: Explanation, yeah.

R: More understanding of things? Or more…more knowledge.

ST13: I think, yeah. About many things.

R: OK. Positive or negative?

ST15: Positive, I think.

ST13: Why?

R: Why?

ST15: For the same reasons, it helped us to know more as we focused about English. So, maybe it helped to know more about English how it goes…how it's going, and…

R: That's nice. Positive or negative?

ST14: It was positive also, because in comparison of my culture, my home language it's…it made us to…to see where there is a difference or where there is not, and, you know, to express exactly who we really are, and who are now with English with the…the English culture, learning the effect, what we are [inaudible], where is the loss, where is the gain, um…it's positive.

R: ST12, positive or negative? Me too, it's positive also. There are some…some thing that…ah…I was told…I believed in, and I also knew that there are some people who are not necessarily thinking or believing in it just like me.

R: Mm.

ST12: In…in the case of colonisation, for example, I…I always knew that there were some people who…who found it positive, but I never thought that they could…that ah…strongly believing it at the…the point of discussion, trying to convince me of this position//

R: //So, it was….it was a positive experience for you because it…helped you learn something?

ST12: Yeah, and also…yes, it just permit me to see how people could believe in…in something that I think is wrong.

ST13: [laughs].

R: OK, alright. If we ran this course again, would you recommend this course to other students here?

ST13: Yeah.

R: OK, would you?

ST15: Yes.

R: [to ST12] You agree?

ST12: About… in the same topic?

R: The same topic…if I ran the same class again, would you tell your friends to take the class.

ST13: Yeah.

R: Why…why would//

ST13: //For me it was interesting because, you know, you don't only say what you think, you also…um receive…um…receive…

R: Information?

ST13: Yeah, information about whether the people…yeah, it's very interesting to have more knowledge.

R: OK, alright. Do you feel that you got more or less discussion practice in this class than you would in other classes.

[laughter]

ST13: [laughing] I think we had too much!

ST15: [inaudible]

R: [laughs] Sorry ST15?

ST15: A lot.

R: A lot. Why do you think that was.

ST13: Maybe we though topics were interesting [inaudible].

HM; Just because they are some critical and problematic issues.

R: Mm. And do you feel that your language skills improved during this course?

[silence followed by burst of laughter]

ST15: For me you know already the answer.

R: Do I? What's the answer, ST15?

ST15: [inaudible] but I think that, I don't' always speak or discuss most of times. In class I trying to speak and give opinion.

R: OK, so you feel your conversation, you fluency has improved.

ST15: Yeah.

R: Yeah.

R: Does anyone think that their actually language…their grammar or vocabulary, or anything like that has improved through this class?

ST13: Maybe vocabulary.

ST15: Yeah, vocabulary, yeah.

ST12: I also think my...yeah, I improved, 'cos…ah, just like she say, in that class you have much more time to discuss about one topic. It…it happened that…that I sometimes discuss English, but not as deeply as we had…but…

R: Mm. And do you that that has resulted in you…um having a lot of practice in discussing kind of these deeper issues and expressing the deeper issues? Do you think have more practice in expressing more challenging thoughts in this class than in a normal conversation class?

[pause]

R: I don't' know, what do you think?
\

ST13: Yeah, then in some conversation class. Sometimes you listen more to the teacher or to one specific person, yeah. I think I have…yeah, I learned more, I practiced also more.

R: One thing I noticed about this class that I was…I was thinking about, because it did seem that students talked a lot more in this class than I've watched in other classes, um…and tell me what you think…but I…I was thinking in a lot of classes it seems the teacher is the expert and kind of giving the knowledge to the students (**ST13: Yeah**) and in this class it seemed it is the reverse, that students are the experts and giving the knowledge to the teachers. Did you feel that?

[pause]

R: Or no?

ST14: But, what I can say is that…ah not as expert but as something that we have experienced and it was about colonialism. And, we know because we…we….we heard about it because we…we saw…we have seen many things about it and around us in our country. And, when we..we talk about it with conviction…you know, with strength because we know exactly what we are talking about. Not as expert, or teacher or something that we've learned, but something which is [inaudible] in us, and it's that, you know. And sometimes it [inaudible] as much as we can because it's something that [inaudible] read in the newspaper or//

R:
//Yes, so you…you have more knowledge about this topic than the teacher in this…in this class, yeah.

ST14: Yeah.

R: And did you like being in that position? Did you feel more empowered in that position, or the same.

ST14: [laughs] I don't like that expression, 'empowered' [laughs]

R: [laughs]

ST14: But, can say that it was a very good, um…what can I say… a very good place to express exactly what we think…that we can not do in morning class. And sometime you can think something…you think of a time the…the…how can I say, the place or the environment express…don't have necessarily. The point is I'm [inaudible] you don't have somebody who is…who can listen to you properly and try to understand what you mean, instead of what they want you to…to…to say or to mean…you see//

R:
//So, this course focused more on…on the content than on the language work. And how did you feel about that, did you think that there was too much focus on content or did you like that…you were focusing on getting information, giving information… on a specific topic. Because there wasn't as much language work as you would have in a normal class…yeah? Did you miss that? Did you like the focus on the content?

ST14: I…I really appreciated that because it's also good to be with people to discuss with people without having the same point of view or something to have somebody who necessarily doesn't think as you…you do. And it's good to exchange….try to understand his way…even though you are disagree, but it's good, you know, to share and it makes you try to think or to see….maybe it's not necessarily wrong but I can understand it,. Etc…

R: Mhm. So, what about the language work, though? Did you guys…did you miss a focus on language? 'Cos the teacher didn't' do really hardly any error corrections in this class, yeah? She didn't write wrong sentences on the board, and she didn't give you handouts with all your errors and make you correct them, so did you miss that? Do you feel that you were still learning English.

ALL: Yeah.

ST15: I think, when sometime, maybe when you speak you make mistake, when you carry on you are maybe more confident…sometime, like for example you say a sentence, there is a mistake, you must correct, you continue again, a mistake, so, sometimes//

ST14:

//Yes, exactly.

R: [laugh]

ST15: you feel…um//

// and you don't want to//

R: //self-conscious.

SN and ST15: //Yeah!

ST15: And, yeah, maybe your thought, you lose it a bit//

R:
//Mm Mm. So, you like that this was focused more on you expressing yourself?

ST15: Maybe when she finish if she catch…or something wrong she can write on the board.

R: Would you have liked that, at the end of classes for her to write stuff up on the board?

ST13: Yeah, it'd be fine…she would.

R: Would it be better? It'd be better if…if that had happened?

ST13: Yeah.

ST14: Yeah, it's good, and I think it's good if she could write on the board after. Because even if it was [inaudible] English as English as first language spoken, OK, even in French, for example…I can say quite very well, but sometimes even we are expressing something but the person in front can not necessarily understand the way you want to express that thing. It's not just about language…uh…about learning English it's also about ideas, ideals, you know, and sometimes you want just to share this but you don't have

the necessary good skills or the good language….the most important in what we were talking about, what is the…inside, not necessarily the language [inaudible] for me, I wanted to share something, to give something to express something and this is what is was all about.

ST13: Yeah, and I also think…I also think that if…if you could have been good or better because when we speak we have mistakes that we are used to…you don't know that it's a mistake, but then when…if they show you that this is a mistake…they just don't say anything, for example, just don't say…doesn't say anything, yeah, you think that is good and you think that is good and think that you spoke very well and you would continue making mistake.

R: So, you would have like error correction at the end.

ST13: Yes, at the end, yeah.

R: Alright. Ah, when Nicky gave back the…um your written work, she…she corrected you grammar on the written work. Did she comment at all on what you'd said? Were there any comments, ' that was very interesting, or…'?

SN and HM; No.

ST14: She didn't.

R: How did you feel about that…when a teacher does that? 'Cos the writing was quite personal, yeah? Some of you wrote the letters to the colonizers, that was quite a personal assignment, when the teacher just marks grammar error and just gives it back, did that bother you at all? Or did you not think of it?

ST13: She didn't just…in my…Ok in my correction…in my correction…she didn't put grammar error to correct, she actually put the right thing.

R: OK, but did she say anything about the content of what you'd written?

ST13: No.

R: Did you say, 'this is very interesting or//

ST13:
//Yeah, she told me that.

R: Did she say that?

ST13: Yes.

R: So, she wrote…she responded to you about the content and the errors both.

ST13: But she told me…she…she told me that…she didn't write it she just told me that it was interesting.

R: OK. What kind of feedback do you want from a teacher when you…especially when you write something personal like that? Do you want them to respond to the content of the message as well as the errors, or do you just want the grammatical error correction? What do you want?

ST14: I want…I want both. I want the teacher to ah…to correct the…the form, because it is the reason I am here.

R: Mhm.

ST14: But I want also the teacher to try to understand what I meant, OK. Because…uh you know I experienced something, I [inaudible] I was with Anisa and she gave me the…the…the copy and she [inaudible] 'you don't have any comments?' 'Nom, but you can see there is a lot of mistake in!', you know, and I just stopped and she didn't even talk about what it was inside, she just…she was just focused on//

R:
//the grammar.

ST14: On the grammar.

R: And how do the rest of you feel about this? Does it bother you or is that what you expect from teachers?

ST12: I don't think that it was problem she tell me was interested or not.

R: You don't?

ST12: Yeah, because just like you said it was a personal issue, so maybe Nicky was not as the same way like me.

R: Mhm. But I'm just wondering if you…if you…when you write something personal, do you think about how the teacher's going to respond to it when they read it, or do you just write it as a piece of English writing?

[pause]

R: Did you write that just to write your English and practice writing English, or did you write it because you want to put across your feelings and wanted someone to understand them? What's the line between, you know, English language practice and then, you know, writing something personal making someone understand you? What…what do you want from English lessons in that respect?

[pause]

R: Don't care?

SN; We expect that to…to…to say something to appreciate even…even if the person is not so….doesn't have the same opinion, but it's could be a good to say, 'yeah, I understand what you mean, or even if I partially disagree. I understand…I can see…I can, you know, it's not necessarily wrong, is…this is what is the…the discussion is or exchange, and it makes also to…maybe to…to…to go think again about your view about you opinion and etc, not necessarily to give it to you and [inaudible] a lot of mistakes.

ST13: [laughs}

R: Do you guys agree, you're being very quiet.

ST13: Yeah, I think, yeah…yes I agree.

R: If you've never thought of it or it doesn't bother you it's fine, I just want to//

ST13:
//Yeah, I think it'd be fine if they appreciate what you…what you...

R: Had written.

ST13: Had written. It's fine. And give you, like…give you, 'yeah you are doing well.'

R: But not just comments on how you wrote, questions about how you feel about this.

ST13: Yeah!

R: Do…do you expect teachers to respond?

ST13: No, I don't.

R: And it doesn't bother you if they don't?

ST13: No.

ST12: I do, I expect it and because of that, you know, the same [inaudible] that I get from Nicky, I just [inaudible] and I wanted to give it to another teacher to//

R:
//the same...the same one?

ST12: Yeah, just the same. Just to see what the other teacher will//

R: //say?

ST12: Yeah.

R: So, gave it to another teacher for comments?

ST12: Not yet, yeah.

R: But you want to?

ST12: Yeah.

R: But not about grammar, about content?

ST12: Yeah, about content.

R: Just to see what they'd say…OK interesting. UM, alright, the course looked very quickly at many different aspects

about English language: colonialism, the spread of English, English and culture, many different things very quickly. Would you be interested in taking a more focused class that looked more in depth at one of these issues? Like, for example, we cold do a whole class on colonialism, or would that be too much? Would you be interested in doing a whole course on one thing very in depth or not?

[pause]

R: Too much.

ST13: Yeah, I would be interested.

R: So you like this because it had a variety.

ST13: Yeah.

R: I think that's pretty much it. Is there anything else that anyone would like to comment on or anything else you'd like to say about your experience on the course that we haven't already talked about?

[pause]

R: Alright, thank you.

Appendix D: Individual Student Interview Transcripts

ST 1

R: Did you feel that your attitudes towards any of the issues that we discussed on the course changed during the course?

ST1: Can you explain another way?

R: Yeah, for example, when you did the questionnaire on the first day of class (**ST1: Ah, Yeah**) and then you did (**ST1: the same**) it again. Did you notice anything you felt differently about?

ST1: Yes, but I can't remember exactly but I saw some question, not really really different but…

R: Slight difference.

ST1: Yeah, the way you…you ask was a little bit different.

R: The way I ask….the questionnaire the questions were the same.

ST1: Yeah it was the same.

R: And you answered it differently.

ST1: Yeah, I answered differently, yes.

R: OK.

ST1: 'Cos the first time I think there…we…we didn't discuss first. And then after the…the speaking class there…there was something…there was something changed in my mind again, I answered in different way…differently.

R: So, you changed your mind because of discussing it and thinking//

ST1:
yeah, I understood else…more than my last…my first opinion.

R: Alright. Alright, we discussed some things like colonialism (**ST1: yeah**) during this course. Did it ever bother you at all to talk about these types of issues?

ST1: You want me to say if it was…

R: Did it bother you…did it upset you to discuss things like colonialism?

ST1: Not really, because It's not a new topic for me. We speak about colonialism every time, but it [inaudible] we had to give some advantages and disadvantages, it was difficult because some time we…we…we just got the advantages…disadvantages.

R: Um.

ST1: We don't know…we don't like…ready to give some advantages, but I didn't feel very sad.

R: You didn't feel sad or upset.

ST1: No, no, no, not…I don't think so.

R: OK. Um, what was the most important think that you felt you learned from this course?

ST1: From this course I learned about…ah…the spread…the spread is it?

R: Mhm.

ST1:…the spread of English, how English become…be…yes become powerful in all…um…all…all countries. And I learned also, ah, if we are learning English we are learning also the culture of American and British people. And where…ah…where English come from and [pause] the fraca…franc language is…

R: 'lingua franca'.

ST1: lingua franca, I that was a good lesson for me…lesson for me, because I didn't…I knew but not really that there was French people and another people, I knew that there was also Anglo Saxon…

R: Mm.

ST1: But now French…

R: The different languages that contributed to English.
ST1: Yeah, yeah English. And I understood also why English…ah gets a lot of French words.

R: OK, yes.

ST1: Because some words are not very strange for me, just the pronunciation, yeah.

R: OK.

ST1: Yes.

R: Alright. Was there a lesson that you just did not enjoy, the topic was not interesting to you or you just didn't like the class?

ST1: I can't say that I didn't really like, but sometimes more boring because we are discussing just in the same topic, same topic.

R: OK, which topics were the same? Like when we talked about colonialism or too long did you think?

ST1: Yeah, yeah, you take too long time, and…ah English also. But, it was interesting because we were…progressing is it?

R: Mm, yes.

ST1: We were not just in the same…um…same…not topic but the same level, something like this.

R: Yeah, same idea.

ST1: Yeah, idea yeah, yeah…the same idea.

R: OK.

ST1: It was OK.

R: OK. Um, Did you ever miss a day of this class because you just didn't feel like going to it?

ST1: Pardon?

R: Did you ever pretend to be sick so you didn't' come to this class?
ST1: No no no, No, I didn't…no, I don't think so, just the last days I was very busy because I wanted to do some shopping, that's why I didn't come, but it doesn't means that I didn't come because it's was boring or I didn't really like, no. I like…I like it [laughs].

R: [laughs] OK. Do you see language as related to your identity in any way.

ST1: Yes, language can relate my identity, yeah.

R: How?

ST1: Ah, I don't know if I can explain in that way because, you know, when I introduce for example myself, I give you my…my…my name…my first name and my language and then you know maybe I come from…I'm from Gabon or another country… I don't if is it…is it?

R: Well however you see it.

ST1: Because by…by my language you can know where I'm from and maybe my culture maybe something else we do in my…my country then your…to your country.

R: OK, alright. Is there anything, ST1, that you'd like to comment on, or just anything you'd like me to know about this class?

ST1: About this class?

R: That I haven't already asked you?

ST1: Uh, I don't' think something special, just to say I was really happy during the course because I learnt a lot and we spoke a lot, we were free to…to…to give our opinion and to express…ah that we felt about colonialism and English also. That's all.

R: Alright. Thanks very much for talking to me.

EK: OK.

ST2

R: Did you feel that your attitudes changes towards any of the issues that we discussed during these classes.

ST2: Yes, at first about…um… um… languages I didn't know many things and after…during the class I learned many…many things.

R: OK, alright. Was there anything that was different from that…that sheet that you filled in on the first day and the one that you filled out on the last day, was there anything that changed for you?

ST2: Yes, ah…at first I choose…ah I didn't remember about…mm…I think about the first language, at first I choose…um…I choose English, but next time I choose my colon…

R: You mother tongue?

ST2: Yes.

R: So, what was the question…what was the…the sentence?

ST2: [pause]

R: 'I think my first language (**ST2: Yes**) I consider my colonial language my first language (**ST2: Yes**). So you put down 'yes' the first time?

ST2: Yes.

R: And the second time you put down 'No'.

ST2: No.

R: OK. Why do you think that changed?

ST2: Yes, because, you know my…uh..uh…colonial language is not like French and with English you can…English open…uh…it's open…open language and you can learn about many things in the world. But not like French. When you are in a French country you can speak only French. But…uh… but …English you can go wherever you want, because they speak…they are people speak English.

R: Right. Um, you were discussing things like colonialism, did it ever bother you to talk about these issues?

ST2: Yes, sometimes because…ah…it remind me bad things, you know. When I speak…I spoke about colonialism and after when you see [laughs] white people you can be angry with them. [laughs].

R: [laughs]

ST2: [laughs] So. Yes, it's difficult, but I think it's better to forget the past and continue to learn about other things.

R: Were you ever upset it any class, did it ever upset you?

ST2: No, no no it was good.

R: It was good to talk about it.

ST2: Yes.

R: OK, alright. What was the most important thing that you learned from this course?

ST2: Ah, yes, that…um…English…ah…in English there are many… um…mixture of…ah…languages like French…so I didn't know. And now…ah English become the power…powerful language and before it was French I think, French or…I don't remember. So it was interesting for me.

R: OK. Which lesson, of all the lessons we did on this course, did you enjoy the most?

ST2: In this class?

R: In this class, yes, which day did you think was the most interesting for you.

ST2: Yes, when we spoke about languages.

R: Mm.

ST2: Yes.

R: You enjoyed that one?
ST2: Yes, I enjoyed [laughs].
R: Was there a class that you just did not enjoy? Any class we did during this course that you thought was boring…

ST2: No no no no no. Because, if… even if you don't…ah…want to be in the class…you can think that it's boring but finish to learn something new. I think at the end, maybe you were tired to come at school, but at the end you see everything everybody are excited to speak about something interesting so, you see that you…ah…didn't lost your time…waste your time. So, I think it's good.

R: OK, alright. Good! Did you ever miss a day of this class because you just didn't feel like going to this class that day?

ST2: Mm, No.

R: No.

ST2: No.

R: OK, do you see language as related to your identity in any way?

ST2: Yes, I think because it's like your, you know, it's like…a…your mother. So, when you go wherever you want, it's…it's like…it's your culture so with your language you can..uh…identity where the person come from. You know, when I…I see my friends who come from Equatorial Guinea, when they speak with accent I can..I can image that they come from Cameroon or Equatorial Guinea…yeah. I think it's true.

R: OK, alright. Is there anything else, ST2, that you'd like to comment on, or something you'd like to tell me about the class?

ST2: Yes, I think the class was very interesting. It's the first time since I'm at Language Lab that you had a special course like that, we were free to..to tell everything that we think…know…so I think it's very good for me…interesting.

R: Alright. Great! Thanks very much.

ST2: Thanks.

ST3

R: Did you feel that your attitudes changed towards any of the issues that we discussed in class during the course?

ST3: No, I didn't.

R: You felt exactly the same at the end as at the beginning.

ST3: Yes.

R: When you filled in the questionnaire on the first day and then filled in the questionnaire again on the last day, was anything different?

ST3: Ah…just a…a…a few…a few of them I changed. Like, for example, they are English, OK, but [inaudible] and…is…a…the business language because…ah…ah…United State and …ah…the United Kingdom they are the most powerful countries. First I say I…I was…um 'I was disagree'

R: Mhm.

ST3: But now I agree.

R: Oh, OK, so some things have changed (**ST3: Yea, some things**) a little bit, OK, alright. Um, we discussed things like colonialism during the course, this can be kind of a sensitive topic, did it bother you at all talking about it?

ST3: No, not at all.

R: Were you ever upset at any point during the course?

ST3: It just…it…it history.

R: OK.

ST3: We have to know about it, ah, I can't feel upset about something happened thousand of years ago.

R: OK, alright. What's the most important thing that you learned from this course.

ST3: That I learned, ah, the spread of the English and how many ma…mother tongue there are in…ah African countries.
R: OK.
ST3: Like example…for example, Gabon: 34 or Namibia: 200 something like that.

R: OK.

ST3: I didn't know that before, now I know.

R: [laughs] Was there a lesson that you enjoyed the most that was very memorable for you?

ST3: No, I…I take all of them the same way.

R: OK. Was there any lesson that you just didn't like at all that was boring for you?

ST3: Not really.

R: They're all OK.

ST3: Fine, is just a lesson.

R: Just a lesson! The same as any other lesson, in any other class?

ST3: No, of course not the same because they are different class.

R: Mhm.

ST3: But, I take everything in the same way.

R: OK. Ah, [looking at the register] hm, you were never absent in this class, were you? Or once, were you absent one time?

ST3: Mm-mm

R: You went home sick just one time.

ST3: Yes.

R: That was it, yeah…OK. Do you see you language as related to you identity in any way?

ST3: Mm, yeah, in some part, because…ah my identity is my …is the way I express myself, is the way I am, and language is a part of them.
R: OK, alright. Is there anything else, ST3, that you want to comment on or add, or anything that you want me to know about the course that I haven't asked you.

ST3: Just, it was... it was interesting course and I enjoyed, just that.

R: OK.

ST3: I really like it!
R: You did?

ST3: Yes.

R: OK, good. That's all. Thanks very much for talking to me.

ST3: Thank you.

ST4

R: Did you feel that you attitudes changed towards any of the issues during the course?

ST4: No, I didn't.

R: OK. You feel exactly the same at the beginning that you did at the end.

ST11: Not really but, I think the same.

R: Pretty much the same?

ST11: Yes.

R: When you filled in the questionnaire on the first day and filled in the same questionnaire on the last day, were…were…was there anything that was different?

ST4: Yes, different like…like about…about English. Like before I said I'm partially agree with//

R: //With 'I like English'?

ST4: Yes. But, the…at the end of the course I was completely agree.

R: OK, so you liked studying English even more.

ST4: Yes.

R: OK, alright. Ah…we discussed issues like colonialism, which is quite a difficult issue, were you ever bothered by having to speak about these things during the class?

ST4: Ah it was an interesting topic, I did like it and I knew about African countries and [inaudible] more than before.

R: OK. Um, did you ever feel upset at anytime during the class?

ST4: [laughs] No.

R: No.

ST4: No.

R: OK. What's the most important thing that you learned from this course?
ST4: That English was um…was a mixture of many different languages like French, Celtic…something. It was most very interesting.

R: OK.

ST4: The most very interesting.

R: OK. Which lesson did you enjoy the least? Was there a class that you just really didn't like the topic.

ST4: Um…nothing. I did like all…all the topic.

R: OK. Did you ever miss a day of this class because you just didn't feel like going to it that day [laughs]?

ST4: [laughs] I don't, I'm not sure. Maybe one day or…I don't know.

R: [looks at register] You missed only one day, was that because you didn't want to be in this class or just because you didn't want to be at school at all that day.

ST4: No, I went to the dentist.

R: Oh, OK, alright. Do you see language as related to your identity in any way?

ST4: Um, Yes.

R: OK, how?

ST4: Um like I…I used to [pause] I used to learn the language English and I used also to know about the culture and maybe it change me a little bit.

R: Knowing English has changed you?

ST4: Yes.

R: Because you've taken on some English culture?

ST4: Yes, yes, I think so. [laughs].

R: OK. Is there anything else, ST4, that you'd like to comment on or anything that you want to tell me about the class?

ST4: No, it was just very interesting class, I learned a lot about thing that I've never know before. And I think maybe next month we can take again.

R: [laughs] Well, I'll have to write another class first.

ST4: Yes, but it was very interesting.

R: OK, great. Thank you very much.

ST5

R: ST5, I know that you did not enjoy this course very much.

ST5: Mm-mm.

R: What was it about it that you did not enjoy?

ST5: Because we were talking about… our…our county and our origins and I don't know anything about my county. It's true, it sounds strange but it's true I don't know many things about my country I'm… really…

R: And are you not interested in learning anything about your country?

ST5: Not really. I don't know, it sounds strange but many because… ah… when I was young my mother was always telling me bad things about my country and now I don't care. I don't know it's my fault or if her fault but//

R: // but what do you consider your country? What country did you spend the most time in?

ST5: In Spain.

R: And do you consider Spain your country?

ST5: No, I don't consider Spain. But even, for example, I have discussions… argues with Equatorial Guinean people because…I know I not a Spain…I'm not a Spanish but, if I had to say what I'm considered I think a little bit Spanish… 'cos I don't know how to speak my mother tongue and wasn't there only one month in eighteen years one month, so… yeah…I don't know. Maybe it had to be different because when you are not spend long time in your country when you go you must be excited but I wasn't I was…so that's why this class [sighs] I didn't like to speak//

R: Did it make you feel uncomfortable? Did you feel//

ST5: A little…little bit even they were making jokes with me about…so…I don't know… I don't know…I don't like it.
R: So do you think that the reason that you didn't like it was… was because you have a kind of a strange situation in that you didn't live in your country.

ST5: Yes, I felt separate…I felt separate. That's way.

R: OK, alright.

ST5: I don't like [inaudible].

R: Were there any things that happened in the course that you did find interesting?

ST5: In the class. OK, maybe… only the first…what is the name, 'task'? The first we have to feel about 'completely agree' 'partial disagree' really, [laughs] it's sounds strange but I found interesting that thing but the rest… no. I didn't pay attention.

R: What about the thing about identities?

ST5: Identities about what…colonisers?

R: No, about yourself where you had to draw a chart…a picture about your identities.

ST5: [draws in breath].

R: You seemed happier in that class anyway then in some of the other ones.

ST5: OK.

R: Maybe.

ST5: I forgot…I forget it so yes, I think also, that thing.

R: But the ones about colonisation you didn't like at all.

ST5: [draws in breath] oh, it was the worst for me.

R: How about the ones about the history of the English language? Was any of that interesting to you or no?

ST5: No really, I don't know why. This class it was… [exhales breath] I don't know. I felt maybe it was different but, when…I don't know who teacher told me when… she told me what it was about I started to think, 'oh, maybe we would speak about countries' it was strange… I don't like really.

R: You didn't like.

ST5: Strange.

R: OK, alright. Um…let me just see. You didn't miss any lessons, ST5, did you? You were there 100%.

ST5: Yeah, unfortunately.

R: [laughs].

ST5: Unfortunately I was.

R: ST5, do you see language as related to your identity in any way? Do you think that the language you speak makes who you are?

ST5: For example, we're talking about English…for example?

R: Well any language. Do you think that your language is tied to your identity?

ST5: No, I don't think so. I don't know I can explain but no. It's like you… how can I say…[exhales breath] I don't how can I explain it, no… I understand your question but I don't know how I can say for example. [pause] Hm, I think the language…um…[exhales breath] how can I say 'makes'?

R: Uhuh, 'makes'…

ST5: You make the language not the language makes you…something like that…but I don't know how can I say…you understand for example how I say?

R: OK, yeah, no I think I do, yeah.

ST5: Now maybe because I speak English my [inaudible] may be different…. I don't know how can I say it.

R: What languages do you speak? Just Spanish?
ST5: Yes, [laughs] only.

R: Yeah, OK, and now English. So English is your second language.

ST5: Yes.

R: OK.

ST5: Really.

R: Alright. Is there anything else, ST5, that you want to add and anything else that you'd like to say about this course?

ST5: [laughs] This course…will be the next course again?

R: No.

ST5: No, [laughs] it's my only worry. No, I don't think. But, I don't know…a lot of people…it's because…we're in class they were speaking [inaudible] about this…about all things in there country. I was like that… only…

R: You felt left out.

ST5: waiting to…somebody ask me to…nobody asked me to talk.

R: But what about the sessions that were on, for example, the history of the English language where they were talking about history or something else that none of you shared?

ST5: Yes

R: You didn't feel any better doing that.

ST5: I didn't find interesting. I don't why but I didn't.

R: OK.

ST5: So, it's OK.

R: OK. Alright, ST5, well thank you for talking to me.

ST5: OK, thanks. Thank you.

ST6

R: Did you feel your attitudes changed towards any of the issues that we discussed in class.

ST6: No.

R: On that sheet…when you did the sheet at the first day of class and you did the sheet again on the last day was there anything that was different for you?

ST6: No. It was the same my opinions.

R: So, your opinions stayed complete the same, OK.

ST6: Yes, no…no change.

R: OK, how did you feel about discussing issues such as colonialism, did this bother you at all.

ST6: Yes, I know, it's difficult to talk about colonialism because, you know, it's African people who...ah…badly…treated badly, and it's difficult. I don't make…ah…a difference or judgement is life is…it's past I can't change it. But, only I think they maybe…ah treat us nicely because we are human and we are all from God, I think.

R: They should have treated you better?

ST6: Yes. And there are also positives because they show us…ah development, language is good.

R: OK, alright. Were you ever upset at any point during the course having to discuss these things? Did you feel upset?

ST6: No.

R: OK, alright. What's the most important thing that you learned from this course, if anything?\\

ST6: Yes, the thing that I said yesterday about where English come from…comes from, and…ah is…ah it's spreading in the world, yes. And also this information motivates me to continue to learn because before I didn't want to go…to coming English country because…but now, I…I think my true…my choice it was the best.

R: OK. Was there a lesson…a specific lesson that you remember enjoying very much that we did on this course?

ST6: Mm [pause] about um…um mother tongue, yes.

R: OK, you enjoyed speaking about that.

ST6: Yes, I enjoyed speaking.

R: OK, was there anything we did in class that you really did not like…a lesson that you thought was a terrible lesson.

ST6: [very softly] No, it was alright.

R: OK. Did you ever miss a day of this class because you just didn't feel like coming to this class?

ST6: Yes, is good.

R: Did you ever miss a day, did you not come to class one day?

ST6: Ah, I think only one day.

R: And did you do that because you did not want to be in this class?

ST6: [loudly] No! It's not that, because I was…um sick.

R: OK, alright. Do you see language as related to your identity in any way?

ST6: Yes, yes.

R: How.

ST6: Because with your language…ah language…can, maybe if you speak, immediately I know that you…we…we come from maybe English country or French country immediately. And when you speak your accent make your culture. All thing, I think language can determine it, yeah…your identity.

R: OK. Is there anything else, ST6, that you'd like to add or anything you'd like to tell me about this class?

ST6: No, I liked it. It was good.

R: OK.

ST6: Yes, it was really good.

R: Alright. Thanks very much for talking to me.

ST7

R: Did you feel that your attitudes changed towards any of the issues that we talked about on the course during the course?

ST7: No, I don't think so.

R: OK. Do you remember when you filled in that questionnaire on the first day of class (**ST7: Yes**) or actually, you came like a week late (**ST7: a week late, yes**) so, when you filled it in the first time, and then when you filled it out at the end of the course, had anything changed from the first time and the last time.

ST7: Not, no.

R: Nothing really, nothing significant, (**ST7: No**) OK. Um, OK, we discussed issues like colonialism during the course, did this bother you at all having to discuss theses issues?

ST7: Yes, I think it was good to discuss about it because we learned a lot of things that…ah we didn't know before so it was//

R:// But it didn't bother you? Did it ever upset you to have to talk about these things?

ST7: No.

R: No.

ST7: No.

R: OK. What's the most important thing that you learned from the course, do you think?

ST7: ah, yes, it was about some words (**R: OK**) in English. I didn't knew…know before that English took words in French and Latin, I didn't know. I though that, for example, French speaker we took words in English like [inaudible] like a lot of words I didn't know before.

R: OK. I think that was an interesting lesson for a lot of students mentioned that actually.

ST7: Is it?

R: Yeah. Was there…um a lesson that you just did not enjoy at all? A lesson that was boring or just you didn't like the topic?

ST7: Um [pause] I can't…I can't remember very well, but I think it was the last… the last one. I can't remember very [inaudible] I think the last one.

R: The last one with Dani? I think it was about whether or not native-speaker, non-native-speaker teachers.

ST7: Yes, yes.

R: You didn't like that one.

ST7: No.

R: Why don't you think you liked it? Do you know why?

ST7: I think because is…is…it didn't was about history.

R: Mm.

ST7: Because history is good to learn about history, is more interesting.

R: Alright. Did you ever miss a day of class because you just didn't feel like going to this particular class?

ST7: Yes, I miss maybe this class because it was different than all ordinary class. We spoke a lot together, we learned about each other culture so…

R: So, you liked this class?

ST7: Yes.

R: But did you ever miss a day…did you ever not come to school…not come to this class because you didn't want (**ST7: No.**) to come to the class?

ST7: No, no.

R: No, alright. Do you see language as related to your identity in any way?

ST7: Yes, maybe. Yes.

R: How?

ST7: Because I think the language it's like our culture, our past and it's important.

R: So, you think that language carries your…your culture?

ST7: Yes. Yes.

R: OK. Um, ST7, um is there anything else that you want to comment on, or anything that you'd like to tell me about the class that I haven't asked you?

ST7: No. I think we, the school have to do this kind of class more often, it's good.

R: OK.

ST7: And we have the opportunity to express ourself, and that's nice.

R: OK. Alright, that's all. Thank you very much.

ST7: Thank you.

ST8

R: Did you feel your attitudes changed towards any of the issues that we discussed in class during the course.

ST8: [pause] No, not really.

R: OK. Did you feel the same way at the beginning that you did at the end.

ST8: Yes.

R: When you filled in the sheet on the first day and the same questionnaire you did on the last day, were there any differences between the two questionnaires?

ST8: [pause] Sorry I don't understand, you mean//

R:
On the first day of class I asked you to fill in that questionnaire (**ST8: Yes**) and you filled in the same questionnaire on the last day of classes (**ST8: Yes**) , did anything change for you on those questionnaires from the first day to the last day?

ST8: You mean the idea?

R: The answers that you gave.

ST8: Yes…yes.

R: What changed for you?

ST8: Ah, for example the question…um if English is political language, yeah, because I remember in the first ah…ah…

R: class?

ST8: class, I put, I think that I wasn't agree, but in the last…the last class I say 'yes'.

R: OK, why do you think that changed for you?

ST8: Because…um I believe that…ah politics is by…like…by talking a conversation.

R: Is politics?

ST8: Is politics yes. Conversation and…I mean we comm….we communicate and know about white people are thinking by conversation by language.

R: Alright.

ST8: Yes.

R: OK. Um…we were discussing things like colonialism in this course, did you …were you ever bothered by having to discuss issues like this?

ST8: [pause] I wouldn't mind.

R: You <u>didn't</u> mind.

ST8: Yeah.

R: No, didn't bother you. Did you ever feel upset in class from anything we discussed?

ST8: No…no.

R: OK. What's the most important thing that you learned from this course?

ST8: [pause] The way English is killing others language.

R: OK.

ST8: Other languages, I'm sorry.

R: Which of the different lessons that we did on this course did you enjoy the most, or remember the most?

ST8: You mean in this month?

R: Yeah, this month. In this class was there ever a day that you had a lot of fun in the class or you remember being very interested, or you remembered it after the class finished.

ST8: The last…the last class, this class.

R: The very very last class.

ST8: Yes.

R: Why was that one memorable to you.

ST8: Because we were free to express ourselves, we discuss in group, we express our…our opinions.

R: On all the different topics.

ST8: Yes, the different topics.

R: Alright. And was there any lesson on this course that you just did not enjoy?

ST8: No, there isn't.

R: OK. Did you ever miss a day of this class because you just didn't feel like coming to class that day?

ST8: Yes.

ST9

R: Did you feel that your attitudes towards any of the issues that we talked about during the course?

ST9: No, I don't think so.

R: Do you think you… you feel now completely the same about everything as you did at the beginning of the class? Was there anything that we talked about in class that made you think about something differently or change your opinion about something, or learn something new?

ST9: Yes, like in the beginning when we…we answer about what we think about English language I give…ah…my opinion, but at the end it wasn't the same.

R: OK, what was it at the beginning and what was it at the end?

ST9: Ah, if I like my…ah…

R: …your colonial language.

ST9: Yeah,

R: Uhuh.

ST9: But I said…ah…yes, but at the end it wasn't the same [laughs].

R: [laughs]. Um…why do you think that changed?

ST9: Because I…maybe I didn't think…about… think about my colonise language more but at the end my uncle explain me well about it when he saw the paper on my table (**R: ahah**) and he tried to explain me and I give…I…I saw that he was right about it when he say that coloniser gave us something beyond another thing. They…they gave us something…they didn't give us something free, they want something more.

R: Hm. Your uncle talked to you about this?

ST9: Yeah.

R: OK, nice. OK, so we talked about colonialism. How did you feel discussing issues like colonialism, did it bother you at all to talk about that stuff.

ST9: [quiet] yeah.

R: Did it?

C: It makes me angry sometimes because I thought about but that they…they did…ah…on us like slaves…

R: Mm, and you thought much about this before?

ST9: Yes.

R: Yes. So these issues make you angry.

ST9: Yeah, it makes me angry. But I think…ah…every pe….many people can be like that.

R: Mhm. Were you ever upset during any classes?

ST9: Upset no! I didn't feel like that but… I didn't have any choice just to think and give my opinion.

R: Alright. What's the most important thing that you learned from this class?

ST9: Most important it's language…how English language is killing other language…ah languages, I think it's important because maybe our mother tongues is going to disappear.

R: Mm. And how does that make you feel?

ST9: [laughs] not angry or upset, but I think we have to…to…ah…to have…ah…we have to look for something to keep our mother tongue…our colonised language.

R: OK. Which lesson did you enjoy the most or which one is most memorable to you?

ST9: Class?

R: Mhm.

ST9: I think this class.

R: The one on killing languages?

ST9: Yeah.

R: You remember that the most.

ST9: Yeah, because it's…it's was the class that I improve my speaking but the others class…[laughs] and it's wasn't boring [laughs].

R: [laughs]Which lesson did you …um…which…which lesson, of these lessons, did you enjoy the least?

ST9: [pause].

R: Was there a lesson that you felt was boring or…

ST9: I don't remember [laughs].

R: Nothing. Do you remember being in class one day hoping it would end.

ST9: No! Everyday I was speaking I don't think any class is [laughs].

R: OK, alright. Did you ever miss a day of this class (**ST9: No, Never!**) because you just didn't feel like going to it?

ST9: No, never!

R: No.

ST9: Well…I don't think…

R: You were absent two times…on Fridays [laughs].

ST9: On Fridays…yeah, I remember when I had a stomach. I think that I told you that I didn't come…

R: …to the IELTS class.

ST9: And when I have a…

R: …toothache. So you never missed class because you didn't want to be in the class that day?

ST9: I don't like missing class.

R: Alright. Do you see your language as related to your identity in any way?

ST9: Yes, because with my language I have to…to express myself…to show how I am.

R: OK. Is there anything that you'd like to tell me or anything you'd like to comment on about the class?

ST9: Hm…just to say that it was a good class…ah…I think we have to…to create another class like that…ah… and people can improve their speaking…uh listening in one class like that.

R: Alright. Thanks very much.

ST9: Thank you.

ST10

R: Did you feel that your attitudes changed towards any of the issues that we discussed in class?

ST10: Um….yes.

R: OK.

ST10: [pause] I don't know how but I think yes.

R: Was there anything when you filled in the sheet on the first day of class and filled in the same sheet on the last day, was there anything that was different for you?

ST10: Yes.

R: What was different?

ST10: Um, for example my view of…ah…native speaker teacher.

R: Um, OK.

ST10: Yes, the first sheet I…I marked it 'I partially agree' and the second 'I partially disagree'.

R: OK.

ST10: Yes…no uh 'I completely disagree'.

R: OK, alright. So you think that native speaker teachers are no better than non-native speaker teachers.

ST10: Yes.

R: OK, and why do you think that changed for you?

ST10: [laughs] because here for example is not native-speaker teacher and I think I…I'm learning English and it was good.

R: OK, alright. How did you feel discussing issues such as colonialism, it's quite a sensitive issue. Did it ever bother you to talk about things like this?

ST10: Yes.

R: OK, why?

ST10: I don't…I don't agree with colonialism and I don't…I didn't like this topic. I prefer language…

R: OK.

ST10: Yes, because I think colonialism made appear the past and I think it's not good.

R: OK. Did it ever upset you to have to talk about these things?

ST10: Sorry?

R: Did you ever feel upset in class to have to discuss this?

ST10: Uh, no…no. Not really.

R: But you think it should stay in the past.

ST10: [laughs] Yes.

R: [laughs] OK. Um, what's the most important thing that you learned during this course?

ST10: Mm, about language and you…I…I learned of different culture…ah…ah student in the class, yes like Equatorial Guinea, yes.

R: OK, that's very nice. Which lesson, specifically, did you enjoy the most or which one did you remember the most from the class?

ST10: [pause} maybe…I don't know…maybe English language, yes…I think.

R: What did you do in class that day, do you remember?

ST10: uh…no [laughs].

R: OK, was there a class that you just didn't enjoy that you just hated and you didn't like to be in class that day?

ST10: [laughs loudly] No! I don't think so.

R: Did you ever miss a day of this class (**ST10: Yes!**) because you just didn't (**ST10: many**) feel like going to it that day?
ST10: Many times, I think three times.

R: But you skipped class because you did not want to go to this class that day?

ST10: No, no! I …it was during all day, yes.

R: You missed the whole day, (**ST10: Yes [laughs]**) you never just didn't come to this class.

ST10: Yes [laughs].

R: [laughs] OK.

R: Is there any…sorry…do you see language as related to your identity in any way?

ST10: Sorry?

R: Do you think language in tied to your identity…who you are…in any way?

ST10: Yes, I think.

R: How?

ST10: The characteristic…character and the civi…civilisation, culture, I think, is yes.

R: Is tied to language?

ST10: Yes.

R: OK. Is there anything else, ST10, that you'd like to comment on, or anything that you'd like to tell me about the class?

ST10: Ah, no.

R: OK, alright.

ST10: It was good! [laughs].

R: Good, alright.

ST10: Bye!

ST11

Did you feel that your attitudes changed towards any of the issues discussed in the class, during the course?

R: ST11: In…in this month?

R: Mhm, in this month.

ST11: Yes, of course.

R: What's changed?

ST11: The first…the first hand, I think that I didn't express the class to partic…the participation. I always keep quiet…

R: OK.

ST11: But, I think the last [inaudible] I start to…I started to give opinion.

R: During this class you started to give more opinions?

ST11: Yes.

R: And why do you think that was?

ST11: About?

R: Why? Why did you start to give more opinions in this class?

ST11: Um, the first thing was because…um…it was to mix…um or ….I don't know you or the mix different level. And I think my level this low for other student for other student the level is…

R: High.

ST11: height.

R: So is that why you didn't speak?

ST11: The first time.

R: But you were speaking more later, so why did you start speaking more?

ST11: After to [pause] I don't know how to say…after to…to…to be…

R: After you were in the class?

ST11: In the class two…or one two weeks I know each other…how one of them is explained…yeah. I listen to… to him or to her…

R: So you started feeling more comfortable in the class?

ST11: Yes.

R: OK. Did you attitudes change towards any of the topics that we discussed? Did you learn anything during the class?

ST11: Yes.

R: What did you learn? What was the most important thing that you think you learned?

ST11: Ah…different…different language, how the language start.

R: OK.

ST11: How…wa…what…what was the problem between the…the different language, how is the…the…the more powerful language now and why before is it not.

R: OK.

ST11: Yes.

R: Alright. Um, which lesson…ah…did you enjoy the most during this course? Was there a day that you really enjoyed in class?

ST11: I think about the language.

R: OK.

ST11: Yes.

R: Alright. Was there any lesson that you did not enjoy…that you were bored in class or you didn't like the topic.

ST11: [laughs] No bored, no…no.

R: OK. Did you…um…do you see language as related to your identity in any way?

ST11: Please?

R: Do you think that language is tied to your identity?

ST11: Yes.

R: How?

ST11: for example if I travel…I travel…ah..different..ah…

R: to different countries?

ST11…to different county…

R: Ahah.

ST11: …just to speak Spanish the people…um…can know that she's from Spain or she speak Spanish.

R: OK.

ST11: Yes.

R: OK, Ah…did you ever miss a day of this class because you just didn't feel like coming to class today?

ST11: Today?

R: Any day. Did you miss one of your class because you just didn't want to go to it that day.

ST11: Oh, was to I think once, yeah I didn't…

R: You didn't want to come to this class.

ST11: Yes, but I have a problem so I didn't…

R: So you didn't want to come to any class, it wasn't this class?

ST11: Ah, oh no, after break.

R: After break.

ST11: No before break, the…the last class before break.

R: You didn't go to that class either.

ST11: No.

R: OK, alright. Would you like to tell me anything else about this class or make any comments?

ST11: Um [pause] no.

R: Nothing?

ST11: No.

R: OK, alright.

ST11: But, I think very very good.

R: OK great.

ST11: Yes.

R: Alright. Thanks for being in the class.

ST12

R: So, ST12, can you tell me anything you'd like me to know about your family background. What your parents do, where you're from… just anything you'd like to tell me.

[pause]

ST12: Something that I find… I think is relevant?

R: Mhm.

ST12: OK. My father is Chadian and my mother is from Nigeria (**R: oh, OK)**. She's also Muslim. And uh…

R: And how did they come to live in Gabon?

ST12: They just… met in Chad… they get married in Chad. (**R: uhuh**) and that was about… it was about 1980 something. And, uh, because of the war which happened in Chad… there was a war in this [inaudible] that's why my father left Chad, but he first went to Sudan when he… left Chad he went to Sudan (**R: Uhuh)** but he didn't stay much there. After that just was straight in Libya. In the Libya he stayed about five…five or six… I'm not sure about that… yeah… he just work and just… had some capital and just went to Gabon.

R: And why did he choose Gabon?

ST12: I don't know but when he came in… when he came to Gabon… it's long time ago now, it's about two… it's about twenty years now… and … uh… at that time Gabon was seen as, uh… you know El Dorado?

R: What?

ST12: El Dorado?

R: El Dorado.
ST12: Yes, something like an El Dorado in Africa, so that's why.

R: Alright. [laughter] And were you born//

ST12: // it was… it was… it it was… ah… it was a …. a country which was still … grown…

R: It was still growing.

ST12: Yeah

R: OK, alright, alright. And were you born in Gabon?

ST12: Yeah, I was born there. That's why I'm Gabonese.

R: OK.

ST12: Otherwise [laughs] I'd never be.

R: Otherwise you'd be Chadian. [surprised] otherwise you'd never be! So you don't consider yourself Gabonese?

ST12: No.

R: OK. Alright. And what does your father do?

ST12: He's a trader.

R: A trader. And does he trade between countries or just within Gabon?

ST12: Yes. He has started… but just for sometime… way.. there was some times when he went to Burkino Faso… do you know it?

R: Yeah.

ST12: In West Africa. And he tried to… to… like install? (**R: Uhuh)** Install…

R: … his company

ST12: … but didn't work well. So, he just stop it and never go back again. And the last company he made it was Point Noir in Congo. He also tried to fix some job there with another partner… yeah… and it's draining actually.

R: It's draining?

ST12: yeah, they are running this.

R: It's running.

ST12: It's running.

R: OK, alright. Um, OK, let's talk more specifically about the course. We discussed a lot of issues on the course (**ST12: Umhum**) do you think that your attitudes have changed at all towards these issues? Or are they still the same as when you started?

ST12: Yeah, I think they are still the same… and in some point… maybe made stronger 'cos you know, we used to say, maybe you never heard that… uh… we used to say in our place when we are facing these white people we must be very careful.

R: Um.

ST12: Yeah, we could find… one who not show you… uh… could harm you or something like that. But, there is so many way to harm you not only like…

R: …not only physically.
ST12: Not only physically and that's why… and when you said… I think it's maybe exaggerating… (**R: Mm**) but just, I'm very considering this. Cos there is something… not if you are white you want to harm me… I think that is exaggerating… but in generally I think that's true… and even what you are trying to say… what you are trying to do with us, that's also… I think it's part of this [inaudible] of harm us because… [pause] not want to hurt you, (**R: No no**) but we say the white people in many way would want to… the word is *brainwash*?

R: Yeah, that's right.

ST12: That is what they use the most to fragilise our culture just to reach us in someway.

R: So you said that before this class you've already been thinking about these things. Has this class made you believe this was even more true?

ST12: Yeah.

R: Yeah. Alright. So, how did you feel discussing issues like colonialism and all these things we've talked about in class? Did it bother you at all to talk about them?

ST12: In some way, 'cos… and you can see also in… all the students that you have used to do your research, we are all African (**R: Yes, yes**). We are all African, but I do think that we have so many [unsure of word] divisions?

R: Yes. Mm, definitely.

ST12: Yeah, on most of the points. So, that's the place I bit bother. 'Cos I'd like that all of us we have had some common position.

R: Even more common than just Africa?

ST12: Yeah.

R: Like from the same country?

ST12: No, but what you said… you asked me if this has bothered me, and I said, 'yes it bothered me' not because we are from Gabon or from Congo, but because of we our all African we should have had some common position regarding this point.

R: Oh, it bothers you don't have a common ground on these issues together (**ST12: yeah**). You wished that you all agreed on these things?

ST12: Yeah.

R: OK, alright. Were you ever upset at all during the course at any point.

ST12: Not upset but sort of… how can I say this… not upset, not upset, but just ashamed of some of their opinion.

R: Some of the other people's opinions?

ST12: Yeah, I ashamed of this when an African tell me that the colonisation is a positive thing for him. I'm ashamed of him and I'm pity of him.

R: Yeah. And I was surprised, actually, that so many people felt it that way.

ST12: Found it posititve?

R: Yeah, yeah, it was surprising. What's the most important thing you've learned from this course? If anything?

ST12: From this research?

[pause]

R: Or maybe not that you've learned, maybe something that you've been thinking about and this has made you think more about it.

ST12: Yeah, there is something that I was thinking about and it appears to me that it… you can see from all of this students… they are from African… but I can say that no one is very coming from a background as mine. (**R: Yeah**). I can say they are all agree in some point which I strongly disagree. I don't know if because of my background or…

R: Yeah. Did that make you feel more distant from the rest of your classmates?

ST12: Yeah.

R: Yeah. You do come quite a different background than the other students.

ST12: Yeah.

R: Yeah. And… um… which lesson did you enjoy the most… or which one was most memorable to you?

ST12: OK. Um.

[pause]

ST12: Nothing coming my mind.

R: Nothing. Nothing was memorable on the course. Was there a lesson that you just didn't enjoy//

ST12: // I think I enjoy it.

R: All of them?

ST12: This course?
R: Mhm. Or was there a specific lesson that you remember enjoying or finding something terribly interesting… or was there a lesson that you really hated that… that day… that was a bad lesson… you didn't like the topic or you didn't like the discussion it generated?

ST12: No, I think I quite like all of them.

R: yeah, but nothing specific.

ST12: Nothing specific.

R: OK. Did you ever miss a day of class because you just didn't feel like going to it?

ST12: Yeah.

R: [laughter] And why… why did you do that? Was it this class in particular that you didn't want to go to… or you just didn't want to be at school that day?

ST12: No, it was particular this…

R: … this class?

ST12: yeah.

R: OK, and why?

ST12: It was the time… last week… when we did… we asked to make the poster…

R: Yes, and you weren't in class that day!

ST12: Yeah.

R: Do you not like making posters or do you not like the topic?

ST12: Yeah, I think I did not like the topic.

R: You didn't like the topic.

ST12: Hm

R: You were doing the survey on accents?

ST12: Yeah.

R: And what was wrong with that topic?

ST12: [pause] I was not… just didn't like it.

R: Just didn't like it. Just didn't find in interesting?

ST12: No.

R: OK, alright. Do you see language as related to your identity in any way?

ST12: Yeah.

R: OK, Why? In what way?

ST12: 'Cos I think I define myself when I… when I say… it define myself the language I speak… [inaudible] related to my personality.

R: You're talking about Arabic?

ST12: Yeah.

R: You do feel very close to… the language as part of you… yes?

ST12: Yeah.

R: OK. Is there anything else that you'd like to comment on or anything else you'd like to tell me about class?

ST12: Excuse me?

R: Do you want to say anything else about the class or anything else that you want to comment on or want me to know?

ST12: No I think I've said….

R: … said everything.

ST12: Yeah.

R: Alright. Great, thank you.

ST 13

R: Did you feel that your attitudes changed towards any of the issues that we discussed on the course?

ST13: Maybe.

R: When you did… when you did the questionnaire at the beginning… on the first day of class and the last day of class what changed for you on the questionnaire?

ST13: Ah, OK… um… few things like if… if I like learning English.

R: And what… how did it change?

ST13: [laughs] At first… the first day I wrote that… um… I partially disagree… the last day I wrote that I completely disagree.

R: Alright, I why do you think that changed for you?

ST13: Yeah, because I learned more about how we are imposed to learn English… to learn a language. Yeah, not only the language and also the culture and… yeah.

R: And that makes you angry.

ST13: Yes. I don't like it.

R: Uhuh, OK. Um… we discussed issues like colonialism. Did it ever bother you to have to talk about these issues.

ST13: No. I felt confident about talking about these 'cos… I have… um…. chance everyday to talk about it so, I felt confident… I wanted to express myself… yeah.

R: OK. Um, were you ever upset at anytime during the course.

ST13: Yeah… but not because of the… topic or because of the class… because of some comments…

R: From other students?

ST13: Yes.

R: OK. What's the most important thing that you learned from this course?

ST13: [pause] mm. [laugh] I don't know…. I learned… ah… mm… [pause] yeah, the spread of English. I learned more but I can't remember them exactly. Yeah, but I think…

R: Was there any lesson that you remember well that you really enjoyed.

ST13: Yeah, when we talk about the… different… um… accents.

R: Oh, OK.

ST13: Yes. [laughs].

R: [laughs] you liked the Afrikaans one.

ST13: No! [laughs].

R: Was there any lesson that you did that you just really didn't enjoy… didn't like that topic or you thought it was boring or…

ST13: No.

R: OK. Did you ever miss a day of this class because you just didn't feel like coming to it?

ST13: No, I missed because I had to… not because I didn't want… I didn't feel like coming.

R: OK. Do you see language as related to your identity in any way?

ST13: [pause] um… Ok which language exactly? My… the language I speak?

R: Any language. Do you think that language is related to identity?

ST13: To identity?

R: Mhm .

ST13: Oh, I think so.

R: How?

ST13: For example, when… is not my case… anyway… but when you… for example in English… when you speak English… yeah… they…. that… um. Is relate… yeah…. When you are for example an English speaker you know they will just OK, he's an English speaker and maybe not because… maybe because you… I don't know. Ah, I don't know how to say. Mm [pause] yeah. When you speak a language you're part of it and it's part of you… that's all.

R: OK. Is there anything else, ST13, that you'd like to comment on or anything that you'd like to tell me about this class?

ST13: Like what?

R: Anything that I haven't asked you that you'd like to add.

ST13: Mm. No. [laughs].

R: Alright [laughs] thank you.

ST13: OK. Pleasure.

ST14

R: Did you feel that your attitudes changed towards any of the issues that we discussed during this course?

ST14: Um. I think yes, but not too much. I think it change an issues that… now I can see other culture as something that I need just to… to change my…. How can I say… to have a better job. But also to appreciate other people culture and the way they think and what's… what makes them in high level than my culture. But it makes me also appreciate my culture in his originality… his authentic… and this is what I have learned.

R: OK. We discussed issued like… um… colonialism during this course. Did it ever bother you to talk about these types of things.

ST14: Not at all. We have a lot to say about it so, I really enjoyed talk about it.

R: OK. We're you ever upset at anytime during//

ST14:
// Not at all… at all. Just to express… you know… thing that you… you think… you… that you keep somewhere deep down in your mind but it were just a platform to express it and to be… to be understood. You see what is very important for me is to be understood. Not to see there like… see it like a criticism but really to see the bad side and the good side.

R: OK, alright. Um… what's the most important thing that you learned from this course?

ST14: [pause] Uh… the most important thing… not that I learned but that I really realised is that we need… we need to… uh….other people culture to most appreciate ours and we need to see… to appreciate our culture… culture… ah….towards ours and it's… I can now not necessarily see how the culture lies something bad not necessarily undervalue mine… it make me… you know….to make a balance in my own opinion.

R: OK, alright. Which lesson on this course did you enjoy the most? Was there something that stood out for you as memorable or interesting?

ST14: [pause] I… I don't know exactly, but what I can say is that I really… a…. appreciated….you know… the way Nicky and you have given such an interest in what we wanted to say during a class. It's very important sometime…you know…as we are foreigners but especially English people sometime they don't want to really know what is happening in your…our county… this continent etc… But you really… you have given a really interest are what we want to say and makes you discover what is going on there and it was very interesting I can say that…in that way.

R: OK, good. Um…. was there any lesson that you just did not enjoy… you didn't like the topic or you found it boring?

ST14: [pause] What I didn't really appreciate is maybe the essay about write a word to our colonisers.

R: Mm.

ST14: You know… I know that it's not going to have any effect… so. But I did it because I respect what the teacher asked me to do so… I didn't really enjoy it because I know that they are not going to read it… they are not going to make any efforts or…

R: OK, alright. Um… Did you ever miss a day of this class because you just didn't feel like coming to this class.

ST14: Yeah, you know initially I asked to be in conversation class. But after that when we started doing class and topics I found out that it wasn't that bad… you know. I know that I like to talk sometime…. I'm very talkative sometime…but I… it was good because I… It was like conversation class without being conversation class and it was… for me it was OK 'cos I did what I want and

we did something different at the same time so it was OK.

R: OK. Do you see language as related to your identity in any way?

ST14: Say that again?

R: Do you think that language is tied to identity?

ST14: uh….what is the meaning of that 'tied'?

R: It's related to… it has to do with.

ST14: Yes… yes I totally think that is related because as I'm learning I'm learning also English culture and you cannot… you cannot learn the one without the second one because they are connected. And it makes you know when they say that word… what is the background of this word and how this words has evaluated through years through centuries etc… and why people now speak standard English instead of… you know… Celtics or others of their languages. And I think its makes me understand and appreciate and take as personally to take what is interesting and important for me and what is not.

R: You're taking those parts as part of you… as part of your identity.

ST14: Yes.

R: OK. ST14, is there anything else that you'd like to comment on or anything you'd like to tell me about this class…anything I should know?

ST14: [pause] Just… keep doing this. It's very important…you know…we are in class all the time about course…use of English, etc… Sometime you just want something different…something…you know…make us to be involved deeply and keep doing this and it make…maybe I'm…I'm convinced that other student will tell you that it's really enjoyable.

R: OK. Great. Thank you very much.

ST14: OK.

ST15

R: Did you feel that your attitudes changed towards any of the issues we've discussed during this course?

ST15: Yes, specially about colonialism.

R: OK, how?

ST15: Before, I use to think that it was just a very bad things which happened to most of African countries but now I see that apart from all the bad things it has the impact… the bad impact it has on African country, I also see the positive things.

R: OK, so the class has made you see colonialism more positively!

ST15: Yeah, more positively than before.

R: Really? OK. And when were discussing issues like colonialism, did it ever bother you at all to talk about things like that.

ST15: No… no, it was fine… no problem.

R: Were you ever upset at all during the course?

ST15: No… no. It was OK.

R: Alright. What was the most important thing that you learned from this course?

ST15: Maybe… um… to share different point of view. Because sometimes… for example for the colonialism I always thought that it was a bad things but we see… we saw that they also did good things, so it… yeah… different point of view of people. It was good, yeah.

R: OK. Um… was there a lesson in particular that you really enjoyed? Something that you thought//

ST15: // Colonialism [laughs]. The colonialism.

R: Talking about that in specific you liked.

ST15: Yeah.

R: OK. Was there anything or any topic that we discussed in class that you just didn't enjoy… or a class in particular that you didn't enjoy?

ST15: Not really, no.

R: OK, did you ever miss a day of this class because you just didn't feel like coming to it? You never missed a day of class at all, did you?

ST15: [laughs] No.

R: I don't think you've missed a day of class in three months! Have you ever missed a day of class here at all? Never?

ST15: Never.

R: [laughs] Do you see language as related to your identity in any way?

ST15: Sorry?

R: Do you think language is tied to identity?

ST15: [pause] Hmm, language is tied identity?

R: Do you think that your identity is related to the language//

ST15:
// I speak.

R: Mhm.

ST15: Yeah, I think somehow is related to the language I speak. Um, for example, for most of African county when you only speak the language of the coloniser, it's like you reject your origin or something like that. Maybe in Europe it's different, but in African… in Africa coun… in African country when you don't speak your mother tongue or the language of your country is like you are not interested or reject your racine… your roots… or things like that. I think somehow I'm related to the language I speak.

R: OK. Is there anything else, ST15 that you'd like to comment on or anything that you'd like to tell me about this class and you're experience with it?

ST15: I like…. really enjoy the class. I… yeah… I really enjoyed the class. I think it's one of the good class I've ever had since I've been here at Language Lab. I really like it.

R: Ok, great. Alright, that's all.

ST15: [laughing] OK.

R: Thanks for talking to me.

ST15: You're welcome.

Appendix E: Individual Teacher Interview Transcripts

T1

R: OK, so I read you paper this week and ah generally it seemed like it was positive.

T1: Yeah.

R: Would you consider a positive or negative experience?

T1: More positive I think.

R: What made it a positive experience for you?

T1: It was the fact that…that uh the topics made them speak so much (**R: mm**), the negative side being where they just couldn't get it, and then I was really agonizing, it happened actually four or five times I think. But the rest of the time, I remember thinking at the beginning, the first few classes like, 'wow, they're just given a topic and they just explode!' you know in this respect. And it was also positive because these are questions and issues we haven't ah…really discussed before.

R: OK.

T1: While normally in a conversation class you go over the same topics all over again. You are interested in what the students say, but it is the same thing, and this was refreshingly new.

R: OK. You've answered a few other questions, one of them I think was *how was it the same or different from other conversation classes*, so one thing is different that the topics (**T1: Topics**) are new, is there anything else that was different?

T1: Yeah, again what I put in my feedback was the language…ah feedback, normally I wouldn't feel comfortable in a conversation class without giving language feedback, or input for that matter. But, it didn't…as I said…it did feel that for a conversation class this element should be there, but then I also felt, 'how exactly am I going to incorporate this,' you know, it's…it's …you…you've been pouring your heart out and then some teachers goes on writes your mistakes on the board, you know. It doesn't work (**R: mm**) this way somehow. That's why I didn't even try it. So, that's how it was different from any other conversation class I normally have.

R: OK, well, you said that…um this is a topic that's new, that we haven't discussed these issues with students before, why do you think we have stayed away from these issues?

T1: I think it just didn't occur to it, I don't think that we've, actually, consciously avoided them. I just didn't see them anywhere, it didn't occur to me to discuss that. I might have considered colonialism a bit of a touch…touchy subject myself, but it turns out it isn't. So, I might have avoided it if it came up in any other context, but basically the books we are using are not Africa-centred, so they wouldn't even think of anything like that.

R: Yeah, definitely. This is the first time a course here has focused on content (**T1: Mm, yeah**) rather than language, outside of the language…ah…correction aspect, how do you think this affected the course?

T1: The fact that it's conten…content//

R: //the fact that it was content-focused instead of language focused.

T1: I think it just generated a lot more discussion than it would have…uh… with some like 'floating questions' added to some language input, which normally happens. Uh, and it felt more natural, as I said, that's why it felt very unnatural to me to give language feedback because all these discussions seemed more like uh…I'm honestly expressing my opinion and your honestly expressing yours, it felt like an earnest discussion and exchange of

opinion more than a language…a course or a language lesson.

R: Mm. So, that said, do you think the students got…um some language input. What do you think that they learned from the course as far as linguistics, language…

T1: I think they did start using some phrases and…uh and words much more often and ones that they stumbled upon before mainly associated with colonialism, but probably not as much as I would like to see them actually take on board. But they did improve a bit, they started in a…like they were…because the topics a bit overlapped, so they required the same type of vocabulary, so if in the beginning they were not sure then they heard other people using words and they incorporated them in their own speech. So, I think…um I have the feeling that at the end they…they felt much more comfortable discussing…uh…language-resource-wise then before. They were looking for words all the time in the beginning, and after that, after they'd read some texts and they'd heard other people talking I think they took a lot of vocabulary on board.

R: All right. Ah… [pause] OK, looking at language…um error correction, you said that in spoken…that you did very little (**T1: mm**) language correction in this class. Um…what about the students' written work? I noticed that you…um gave the written work back with error correction on that.

T1: I did, yeah.

R: Did you respond at all to the content of the students' written work?

T1: No.

R: Why do you think that you do the opposite for the written work than you do for the//

T1: I felt safer in their writing and I thought that was the expectation as well (**R: mhm**) for me to actually give them language feedback on the writing, because they're also topics which we had…we had discussed in class, so I responded then, other people responded then. I felt first of all that it was more written practice from my point of view, because they were more or less talking about the same issues that we discussed. So…I don't normally give feedback on content anyway in writing, so I think I just did the 'teacher thing' and focused on language.

R: I'm just wondering though, because you said that that was what their expectation was….

T1: I think they expected... and I fully expected [inaudible] to give it corrected.

R: And as far as their spoken…did you not think their expectations to get corrections in the//

T1: I…I felt that they were so involved in what they were actually saying that they would be resentful if I start picking on language items.

R: Mm.

T1: That's why I didn't. It would…it would sort of made 'not-so-valid' what they were…their opinions…what they were saying. I tried to respond to the content there to make the whole discussion more valid. I…I felt….I didn't want them to feel like they were in a language class.

R: Mm, OK. But with the written work you did?

T1: With the written work I didn't mind because it was sort of out of class. You know it didn't feel like they were pouring their heart out in this…

R: In the writing.

T1: In the writing. It felt more like a//

R: // a mechanical written exercise.

T1: Yes, 'cos they knew they had to write something and they were quite annoyed to actually write it.

R: Right.

T1: So they were like, 'OK, let me give her something'.

R: OK. You [inaudible] very personal anyway//

T1: It didn't…it didn't feel that way. There was nothing surprising, there was nothing they haven't actually shared during the class.

R: Hm.

T1: And, it wasn't so well developed so well…with so many arguments. It didn't feel like anything personal or like a true opinion expressed.

R: OK, alright. Um…OK…. [pause] What do you think the students…you said that you think the students developed…um their vocabulary (**T1: yeah**) during the course, what do you think the students felt that they got out of the class personally. Do you think they felt that they've improved something…since there wasn't a lot of error correction, do you think that they noticed?

T1: To be honest, I don't know, I'd like to ask them that [laughs], where they feel that they've improved discussing topics…uh…I'm not sure…uh in the this respect. I think, it's more content-wise, that it made them think about issues that they never thought before.

R: Mm.

T1: But I don't know, did you ask them?

R: I did ask them. They…they like the class, but as far as developing their language, I don't' think so much. I think that they need something more concrete, and they need the error correction to make them realize they're learning.

T1: Although I feel that quite a few of them actually needed the fluency practice as well, and they just needed to speak, they needed to struggle to express their ideas. So, I'm sure that it helped, because I don't think they've talked so much in any other class.

R: Maybe this kind of thing needs to be made more explicit to them. Maybe students aren't able to [inaudible] so much on their own, they're used to//

T1: //We can also…we can also ask them and say, 'Listen do you want me to give you feedback at the end or not?' And once they say, 'yes' I would be comfortable doing that as well. And I could say, 'This is primarily a fluency class, it's for you to speak fluently without hesitation' and this sort of thing.

R: Maybe if that was made more explicit maybe then they would//

T1: //they would feel that I've been doing something.

R: Yeah. Again, I don't think students think about these things so much until you bring them up and they're forced to think about them.

T1: You know, I also think it depends on the students. These were mostly students who were not paying for themselves, so it was like a pleasant way to pass the time more than 'how much did I get out of that'.

R: Mhm.

T1: Yeah, I think with a different class it might have been…they might have raised the point of, 'actually, what am I doing here? I don't want to just speak. I'm not paying to just speak for an hour.'

R: Yeah. Yeah, that's a good point. Um… [pause] Right, so just two more questions, one is um… did you in anyway run this course based on my assumed expectations?

T1: Yes!

R: How would you run this class differently if I wasn't watching.

T1: Um, I would supplement a lot more. I felt that the material wasn't enough, I was like struggling to stretch it. And um…like I said the quote, I might fit it more to my class and skip some topics probably now that I know that just…they don't get right, yeah.

R: What about the…um extended…um…

T1: …activities. I didn't do much of these.

R: No, you didn't, and they were meant to stretch the…the lessons.

T1: Yeah, I felt that they were giving them even less…uh language practice or input, and that…I'm not very big into posters, I don't see, to be honest, a lot of use. They're not really talking, they're not really reading, it's basically… so, that's why I avoided them, some of them for other reasons…I don't remember all of them now.

R: Some presentations and some research projects…

T1: I…I think I had different ideas about all of them, but the ones with the posters I think I'm just not into posters. I think don't see…I think it takes up a lot of time and I'm not sure what they get in return. Ah, what else was there?

R: There were some where they do a cultural presentation, there's one where they do a presentation in their own language//

T1: //I also didn't want to give them a lot of homework because they reacted very…when the first few times they had to write something. I struggled with all of them but ON was very…uh open about it, 'Ah! Are we going to have homework all the time?" And I though, "OK, let's keep it here." So, that was one of the considerations I think, and then it was a bit of… my class was a bit inconsistent in a way, they didn't get along with each other very well//

R: // You don't think?

T1: Oh, yeah, JR was such a disruptive…uh…influence there. Nobody wanted to sit with him that why they'd all [inaudible] sit at that table. And the moment somebody was late I said, 'Sit here!' and they were "oh". And then MT was…you know extremely shy. So, um, I don't think collective…collectively they would have operated very well. The other table, LT dominated, so, I don't feel like this class actually works together very well.

R: Mm. OK.

T1: I was a bit scared of giving them anything collective and I think I was right…I was proved right by what T2 gave them. You remember they had to make a presentation about the future of English and this was such a disaster, they couldn't care less and who had the questions and I don't care.

R: The interesting thing was the day before they seemed very keen, it just didn't carry over to the next day. When they were actually talking about it we were thinking how well it was going and we were very keen to record it the next day//

T1: //That's another thing that…a lot of stuff when you actually transfer it to the other day you've lost momentum and it just doesn't work.

R: Yeah, yeah. OK. Last question, will your…uh…will your future teaching be affected in any way from having participated in this course?

T1: I might, probably be tempted to include some of these questions if they arise naturally…um and extend them more with all the ideas I got from that class, 'cos I saw they're quite interesting for them, and…um similar topic or an opportunity occurred within another course, I something I'd be tempted to incorporate some of these…like for the

names, you know, one of these handouts, probably, yeah.

R: Is there anything else that you'd like to comment on or anything you want to add that I haven't asked.

T1: I pretty much included it in my feedback, actually, I can't [inaudible] but that's…yeah, I think I said everything I could.

R: OK, thank you.

T2

R: OK, Um…you pretty much answered this in your paper, but could you say something about whether or not you considered this class or positive or negative experience, you were saying that you considered it generally rewarding but also some problems.

T2: Yeah, I think it was positive and I think…ah the students appreciated and enjoyed it. I think just at times I did feel like I wasn't sure what I was doing, if I was going in the right direction, not that it…maybe that's the point, it doesn't have a clear direction, but that made me feel a bit...um insecure and maybe the students as well, I don't know.

R: Um, actually, that just kind of brings up a point I had down here, um…did you run the course in anyway based on my assumed expectations? Did you feel like you were having to guess what I wanted maybe?

T2: Yeah. I did feel a bit like that, yeah. I think because…um…well, I don't know, I knew that you'd put a lot of work into this (**R: Mm**), and also because we're both studying at Wits, I mean, you know…we're kind of…I had an idea of how you wanted this to go…or how I thought you wanted it to go and then I didn't really…that's why I didn't supplement that much 'cos I didn't really want to steer off topic.

R: OK. So, if you were doing this and I wasn't watching you, how would you have done it differently?

T2: I think I would have supplemented quite a lot more like with newspapers articles and …um…ah that kind of thing, um…but not completely differently, I think I just would have felt a bit more confident to use my own stuff.

R: OK, alright. Um…OK, how was this class the same or different from other conversation classes…normal conversation classes that we teach at IH?

T2: Um.

R: Besides the fact that everything was given to you…all the materials were obviously pre-pre-prepared.

T2: Yeah, well obviously the content was completely different, and I think…um…I think the students were more consistently engaged in the topic then they…they are with conversation classes. With conversation…general conversation classes some things work really well and other things don't and it just depends on, you know, that topic, but I…I do feel that they were quite engaged and quite interested even thought it was the same…similar theme.

R: Mhm.

T2: Um, so I think it worked really well in that sense, and also as I've said...um in my feedback, I was drawing from them a lot of the time because there was no lesson plan, there wasn't…I mean, I planned what I was going to do (**R: right**) but I didn't really know how it would go. And I guess that's also the positive, 'cos I really relied on them to give me the information, so yeah.

R: Uhuh. Did you find yourself doing anything you wouldn't' normally do in normal conversation classes that you were doing in this one…you're saying you're taking more from the students//

T2: //yeah well…yeah, also I didn't do feedback so there was a lot more just letting the students, you know, speak and not really correcting them as much as I would usually.

R: Yeah, because there was no…um…(**T2: input**) real error correction which I think is a real big difference between this //

T2: //Yes, completely, but I just…sometimes I thought, 'Ok, today I'm going to do error correction,' and I just didn't feel comfortable doing it.

R: Mm.

T2: I…I just didn't, you know, I just thought, it's just going to make it so stilted and like, 'now I'm correcting their language when they're talking about something that's quite personal and controversial and difficult.

R: Mm.

T2: It could be difficult for them to talk about this, so I didn't really want to, you know, interfere with the way they're thinking and…yeah.

R: It's interesting because, you know…It's something that I actually…I didn't think for the first couple lessons, and then I noticed, and I noticed that both you and Dani weren't doing it.

T2: Yeah, well at one point I actually asked her, 'Are you doing anything like this?' 'cos I felt like I'm not doing what I'm supposed to do…like, you know, how I've been trained to teach really, and…um, I think that's also why I sometimes felt a bit like…am I doing the right thing?

R: Is that because I was watching you? Would you…if…if you were teaching a class on the same topic and I wasn't watching, would you have done error correction then? Or//

T2:
//Um, maybe a little bit more, but not that much more. May…yeah. But, I think because it was new for T1 and me, we didn't really know, you know, we went in not quite knowing what to do.

R: So, that…that said, do you think the students got…um and kind of language work out of this class? Do you think that they gained anything?

T2: Well definitely, I…I don't' know in terms of language work, I think maybe there could have been a bit more of a focus on…maybe like 'how to express themselves more abstractly' and that kind of thing. I think it might have assisted them, actually, um…and…but I think it really did like make them think about these issues which is good, as I said, for like the IELTS, for university, I think it's good that we're engaging them in this kind of…

R: Abstract discussion.

T2: Yeah, yeah, definitely.

R: Um…right [pause] OK, this is somewhat related to that, this is the first time that a course here has focused on content, you know, more than language (**T2: yeah**). It really was a very content-specific course, it was like we were trying to teach them something other than English with this course. How do you think this affected the course?…obviously the language…the lack of language work.

T2: Yeah, but at the same time, I mean, it's like task-based in a way, it's like you're not…so, I think…also, you have to get a good balance because not having that language input and not going in there saying, 'OK, today we're going to do collocations,' and I think…um they also felt freer to…to explore what, you know, they were thinking about this subject, and not maybe as anxious as they would if they were forced to use certain language.

R: Mm.

T2: I don't know.

R: Did you feel the students got more or less conversation practice…actual speaking practice in this class than they would in a general conversation class.

T2: I think they got probably a bit more, because um…'cos there wasn't like…it was very student-centred, I think.

R: OK. Let's talk about the…the topics on the course. Um…obviously this are, you know, kind of big issues that I know I personally haven't discussed with students before. Have you ever discussed any…any issues similar to these with your students before?

T2: Um…it has come up once or twice, not in as much depth, but…um students have like commented on the type of French that they speak…um is it French colony or is French from a Belch…Belgian colony, and

like which is better. I've heard debate this topic and then…um turn to me and say, 'but English is just…um imitating other languages, you know, you're just stealing our language,' kind of thing, so I think it…it's definitely…um something that students want to discuss, because…but I haven't really engaged in any depth, you know, with these topics.

R: Mm. And…um why do you think you haven't…ah used these topics before? I mean we're always desperate for conversation class topics, but I've never heard any of these before…have you ever heard of any teachers discussing colonialism before?

T2: No, I//

R: //Why do you think we shy away from it so much?

T2: Well, I think because it's not in the coursebooks, we…we haven't really received input on this, it's just a… it's a different perspective and I think that it is…well, maybe…not as sensitive as we thought it was, but…um…I think it is a sensitive topic that we…we need to approach carefully. And, um…maybe we just haven't, actually, sat down and thought about it before.

R: Mm. Having run this class now, would you use these topics in you classes from now on? Would you talk about//

T2: // It depends on the class, I think. Um…it depends on the level and the class. Yeah, I would definitely try…um [pause] yeah.

R: Would you recommend other teachers use these types of topics in their class? Do you think it's beneficial in any way?

T2: I think it depends very much on the teacher.

R: Mm.

T2: And, I think the teacher would have to be willing to do this. I don't think it's for all teachers.

R: Mm. Probably. Um, just one more question along the lines of going back to the grammar, how did you respond to the students' written work? You were saying that in class you did very little error correction, no real linguistic kind of input//

T2:
//I corrected their…their grammar…um and I didn't…I didn't really say much, um…because I didn't quite know how to respond to their written work, must I respond with another letter?...or…I just corrected some of their grammar.

R: OK.

T2: And, yeah. But in retrospect I would do it different…I think I would do it differently next course, I would respond much more to the content. But I have…before…I usually do say something and I do try and comment on the content. I think, maybe Dani and I just felt like it's quite a sensitive topic and we didn't quite know what to do, but…um in previous classes when I have responded to the…the content, it's worked really well, like students really like that. So, I would do that in future.

R: And the grammar…do both parts?

T2: Probably, yeah.

R: OK. Um…why did you….so you just didn't//

T2:
//I think I just didn't know what to say, like what…yeah. [laughs]

R: I thought it was very interesting how both you and Dani just know error correction in spoken (**T2: and only error correction!**) and then in written it's only error correction. It's just very typical isn't it?

T2: That's true, I hadn't though of that.

R: [laughs] yeah! Um…will your future teaching be affected in any way from having participated in this course?

T2: Mm! Definitely, I think…um I…I'd really like to start looking at things from a more critical and abstract, you know…um view and way of looking at things. And, I…I'd really like to get students more engaged and looking at things in a different way, because I think it's our responsibility as educators. I mean, it's actually quite a big responsibility especially now that we have this knowledge, you know, we can't just pretend that we don't have it. Like…um all about English has spread and that kind of thing, I think it would be wrong to not use that somehow and try and help the students and…um get them to look at these issues critically as well.

R: Alright. I've just got one last question, Is there anything else that you'd like to comment on, or anything that you'd like to add that I didn't ask you in these questions?

T2: Um [pause] no, I can't really think of anything now.

R: OK, thank you.

Appendix F: Teachers' Written Responses

T1

I found the course a refreshing and enjoyable experience as a whole. The topics were original and the students reacted to them with interest and enthusiasm. Right from the very first class there was a noticeable increase of student engagement with the topic. The discussions were heated and very interesting opinions were expressed. As these are not issues normally discussed in class, it was interesting for me not only as a teacher but as a normal human being to discuss these issues and hear the students' opinions about them. I can sincerely say that even after having taught these students for over 5-6 months and having discussed numerous topics with them, I was still very much interested (and often surprised) to hear their views on these issues. I also could not restrain myself from sharing my own ideas or experience on the subject as the discussions were very spontaneous and engaging and the teacher-student barrier was quite often non-existent. We were just equals discussing an issue which interested us all. Nevertheless, I do not think that my personal feelings about the material affected the course. I think the fact that both the students and I actually had personal feelings about the topics just helped turn the lessons into real discussions and not just a language exercise. I do not feel that any of the topics are too sensitive and that any of the teachers in our school will feel uncomfortable using them.

The course also made me realize how much we take for granted that certain views are universally shared. Although I have taught students in a multi-cultural environment for a long time and consider myself aware of cultural differences, I also fell into the trap of assuming that the students agree with certain viewpoints and based whole lessons on that. Consequently, a few of the lessons just did not take off as the students did not accept the fundamental idea they were built on (e.g. that language and identity are intricately connected, that colonialism is a negative phenomenon, that language constantly changes etc.), which made me feel a bit uncomfortable trying to get them started on a topic. Most of the students being quite young, they also lacked the maturity to grasp some of the ideas which were more abstract and required some in-depth analysis of reality (e.g. the politics of English language teaching, the ideas in Johnny Clegg's song etc.). They have not experienced colonialism first-hand and had some vague ideas about it. They also did not seem to know a lot about their country's history in this respect and had completely accepted colonialism as something natural (to the point that they were surprised to learn that not all countries in the world had been colonized). This was especially evident in "You without your language". It was very obvious that the students had not have the same experience and could not relate to the text. In addition, some of the quotes were linguistically slightly above the level of my students.

One thing I was a bit uncomfortable about was the fact that this was, after all, a class in an English language school and I felt that some language input or at least feedback was needed. However, the topics were so interesting and the discussions so heated that it did not seem appropriate to provide language feedback at the end of classes. Students were quite focused on expressing and justifying their opinions and I do not think that they themselves perceived the debates as a part of language learning, so naturally and effortlessly were they provoked to start them. It was more a forum for expressing views and exchanging ideas than a language lesson. This is, undoubtedly, one of the strongest features of the course as we strive all the time (and not always successfully) to provoke exactly this kind of spontaneous and internally motivated language output. Thus, although I would like to add a language element to the course, I am unable to suggest a way of doing so without affecting the spontaneity of the discussions.

T2

Overall, I found the course rewarding to teach and I feel it was a useful and enjoyable experience for both me and the learners for the following reasons:

- it was new and this gave it a 'freshness' and spontaneity in the classroom,
- it was learner-centred as most of the ideas and 'knowledge' were generated by the learners,
- it was engaging and motivating for the learners as the topics were of a personal nature and the learners seemed to enjoy 'telling their stories',
- it was empowering to a certain extent as learners could 'teach' me (the teacher) something I didn't know before and also because it helped raise learners' awareness of some of the issues in critical theory,
- it helped develop the learners' ability to analyse key societal issues in a more in-depth manner which is an essential skill required for the IELTS exam (writing and speaking) and also at a tertiary level.

Although all the materials were prepared beforehand, I was a little lost at times around what exactly I should be doing with the worksheets. I felt clumsy and unsure regarding the content of the materials and my role in the classroom. I wasn't sure how to guide the discussions or even if I should be guiding them at all as I didn't want to impose too many of my ideas and beliefs onto the learners. Also, it didn't seem appropriate to give the learners language input or to do error correction and feedback in the way we have been trained to do and expected to do at The Lab. The content elicited through the materials was of a very personal, controversial nature and I felt that to correct the learners' language would invalidate their experiences. Also, to provide language input would take away from the spontaneity of the discussions.

I wasn't sure if I was doing a 'good' job or not as I had no standards to measure myself against. I also found myself dragging out some of the discussions on the worksheets as the extension activities would have taken too long and gone over the hour and I wasn't sure where to look for supplementary materials or if any additional materials I found would be appropriate or 'on the mark'. I also felt this way as a result of being unofficially observed everyday. This was anxiety provoking especially since I had never taught this course before and I knew how much time and energy had been invested in the design of the course. Also teaching the course in the last period of the day was quite draining – the learners were tired and the ideas and concepts weren't easy to discuss and think about in depth at this time of day.

The positive side to me feeling unsure is that it helped maintain the spontaneity of the lessons as it meant that I relied a lot on the learners' responses in making decisions about what activities to do and how to guide the discussions. I think it would definitely be useful to run this course again and teachers at The Lab would feel comfortable to do so with more guidance regarding the aims and background to the worksheets, where to find supplementary materials, role of the teacher and students, and how to deal with resistance to the topics (i.e. what to do if learners just don't want to discuss certain issues or don't feel an issue is an issue in the first place). More models of what is expected from the learners would also be useful (for example, in the worksheet entitled 'Culture', learners needed a more concrete example of what to do for the extension activity in order to know what to focus on in their presentations).

The worksheets that the learners engaged with and seemed to enjoy the most were: 'English and You' – this was a good introduction to the course and students seemed surprised by some of the questions, 'Names and Families' – learners enjoyed discussing the meaning of names, reading about teachers they know, and talking about their own names, 'Language of Africa' - learners didn't hesitate to come up with a poem, song etc. in their African language which they wanted to explain to me, 'Colonialism in my country' – learners seemed to enjoy writing letters to their colonisers and this was empowering for them, 'Investigating Accents and dialects' – they enjoyed hearing different English accents and they had anecdotes regarding some of the South African dialects which they are exposed to on a daily basis in a variety of contexts, and 'English and the Future' – T1's class enjoyed this more than mine did. I think it was useful and engaging for the learners to think about the processes that led to the domination of English in the world.

In order to round off the ideas discussed in the course, it would have been useful to spend more time focusing on what the learners can do now they have this awareness, especially after completing the 'Conspiracy Theory' worksheet. I feel that I left the learners in the lurch as I didn't take the discussion to a more empowering conclusion. I'm not sure what this conclusion would be but I needed to emphasise and make more explicit the role of the learner in the future of English and how their awareness and personal action could shift the domination of English in the world.

I have dealt with some of these issues in previous classes (e.g. critical reading) and I will continue to deal with them in future classes but perhaps on a less intensive basis (i.e. twice a week). Learners seem to enjoy engaging with issues from a more critical perspective. I would like to develop my materials so that my lessons are more socially relevant, ethical and useful to learners outside the EFL classroom which is what this course began for me in many ways.

Appendix G: Interview Schedules

Student Focus Groups

1. How would you compare this class to regular conversation classes?

2. Generally would you say this course was a positive or negative experience?

3. If we ran this course again – would you recommend other students take it? Why or why not?

4. Do you feel you got more or less discussion practice than you would have in a regular conversation class?

5. This course focused more on content than language studies. How did this affect your enjoyment of the course? Would you be interested in taking other courses that focused on content over outright language work? Why or why not?

6. Did this course challenge you to express more advanced thoughts and ideas more or less than other courses?

7. Do you feel your language skills have improved through taking this course? Why or why not?

8. You didn't get a lot of error correction on this course – Did this bother you? Would you have liked more error correction?

9. Your teacher focused on grammatical errors with your writing even though they were personal essays. Would you have liked a personal response that focused on the content of your writing – or were you happy to get grammatical feedback?

10. This course looked very quickly at many aspects of English language study. Would you be interested in taking a more focused course on one of the topics such as colonialism?

11. Would you like to comment or add anything to these questions?

Individual Student

1. Did you feel your attitudes changed towards any of the issues during the course? Why or why not?

2. How did you feel discussing issues such as colonialism – did this bother you at all? Did you ever feel upset at anytime during the course? If so, when?

3. What's the most important thing you learned from this course?

4. Which lesson did you enjoy the most / was most memorable for you? Why?

5. Which lesson did you enjoy the least? Why?

6. Did you ever miss a day of this class because you just didn't feel like going to it?

7. Do you see language as related to your identity in any way? How?

8. Would you like to comment on or add anything to these questions that I haven't asked?

Individual Teacher

1. How was this class the same or different from other conversation classes you've taught at IH? Did you find yourself doing anything you wouldn't normally do it classes?

2. This is the first time a course here focused on content more than language skills – how do you think this affected the course?

3. Overall would you consider this teaching this class a positive or negative experience?

4. Have you ever discussed these issues (ie colonialism, the power of the English language, etc..) with your students before? If not, why do you think you haven't?

5. Having run this class, would you use these topics in your classes now? Would you recommend other teachers bring up these issues with their classes?

6. What do you think the students got out of this class? Do you think they found this class valuable?

7. What language work did you do with the students during this course? How is this different from what you normally would do in a conversation class? Why do you think you did it differently for this class?

8. How did you respond to the students' written work? How is this different form other classes? Why / not? Do you ever respond only to the content of students' writing? Why / not? Why did you handle the students' written work differently than their speaking practice?

9. Do you think this class was valuable to EFL students? Do you feel they developed their language skills in any way? Do you think the students found this class valuable in terms of developing their language skills?

10. Did you in any way runt the course based on my assumed expectations? How would you have run the course differently if I were not watching you?

11. Would you like to comment on or add anything to these questions?

Appendix H: Field Notes (Day 1-5)

Class 1

Day 1

Students absent: ST7, ST2

Time	Notes	Comments
2.05	T sets first task for sts – filling in questionnaire. T clarifies 'standard English' ST3 voices interest in speaking 'non-standard' English.	
2.10	T asks sts to discuss Qs – compare responses. T monitors and assists getting them on task.	Both groups start off tentatively – nervous about tape-recorder?
2.20	Discussion carries on – grows louder as sts seem very eager to debate points – T continues to monitor but sts work well independently and discussion still strong when she isn't w/ group. A lot of interest around what lg their family members speak.	Credibility to other languages?
2.30	T stops discussion in groups – prompts open-class discussion 'Is English killing other languages?' Students interested in topic – divided on feelings. ST1 raises issue of colonial language vs. native language.	
2.35	ST4 states she know colonial lg and native lg. Task – discuss if native languages dying? – sts opinion split. ST4 thinks colonial lg killing native lg – ST8 disagrees.	Sense of pride in native lg ST4 seems irritated – folds arms and sits back.
2.40	T asks if English lg is spreading culture – most sts disagree – unless you study in English speaking country. T specifies difference between learning a culture and adopting a culture – sts agree generally that English does not influence them. ST4 says would like to learn other culture. T leads sts to understand that lg cannot be divorced from culture.	Sts seem quite 'Western' already influenced by Western culture so much they don't notice difference?
2.45	T asks sts to express feelings in written form as to why they are learning English. Some sts grumble about written work.	Seemed to have enjoyed class.

Day 2

Students absent: ST7, ST2

Time	Notes	Comments
1.50	T intros subject of social identities – sts involved – shouting out their different identities. Uses example of Teacher Anisa's social identities – volume/enthusiasm goes up – sts eagerly guess her identities ST6 moves to sit at a table by herself – ST3 joins her at table.	Seem to understand this concept immediately Anisa very popular teacher Too crowded?
2.00	Sts asked to discuss in which identities Anisa feels powerful/powerless? Lots of discussion and debate – ALL sts actively participating. T monitors to ensure sts remember to consider when Anisa is less powerful. ST10 laughing – lots of smiles in the group.	Sts seem at ease with tape-recorders – not interfering w/ discussion – they grasp these concepts easily Sts seem to really be enjoying topic.
2.05	T introduces idea of identities clashing – sts come up with one example then silence and quiet group discussion. T asks sts to list their own social identities – ALL sts working – heads down immediately ST3 and ST6 chatting in corner.	Sts suggest ideas and seem to understand – more difficult for sts to come up with examples for this. Finished already?
2.15	Sts discuss roles in pairs – told to consider power/clashes/lg spoken. All groups discussing happily – smiling and some laughter in the room especially groups 1,3 – group 2 a bit more serious but very involved - lots of discussion involving hand-gestures and whole bodies involved in discussion. Discussion carries on in all groups without any prompting from teacher – sts all seem on task and speaking in English. Conversation keeps getting louder instead of dying out. .	More serious sts?
2.25	T stops discussion – sts must to told to stop several times Open-class discussion – ST5 says he feels most powerful as a speaker of Spanish Sts talking over each other – sts interested in other sts' answers – all sts smiling during discussion.	Very engaged in discussion! More comfortable. Eager to share Good class bonding exercise.
2.28	T gives sts posterboard and asks them to create poster of identity but leave circle in centre blank. All sts begin working immediately. Silence in room as all sts write A few students talking but only to clarify points about writing. Some sts checking words in dictionary T collects posters as sts finish – trying to rush them to finish.	Eager to share identities with classmates Worried about time.
2.36	T puts posters up around room (without names) sts must write name of person they think it is. Sts grouped around posters – some chatting and laughing ST10 first one to finish and sits down.	
2.41	Sts instructed to take paper back Sts respond immediately someone guessed 'Mr Mbuya' [school Principal] as a joke on a st's paper. ST3 offers for the class to read his poster. T asks sts if they read anything interesting – no sts respond.	Know time is almost over – losing concentration after mingle activity.

Day 3

Students absent: ST7, ST2

Time	Notes	Comments
1.50	T asks if names are important? Can names impact on character? Sts mostly agree this is true. Someone names 'miserable' will be miserable.	
1.55	What info can you get from person's name? T asks to discuss in groups how people in their country choose children's names – sts all actively discussing – conversation starts immediately.	
2.00	Open-class discussion on country traditions of naming- ST4 says oldest son must be given fathers' name – other children can be named what the parents wish. Twins have pairs of names – special names for twins from different tribes. T asks is sts know why they were named what they were. ST6 named after political figure in France. Sts agree this name has made her a strong woman. ST1 named after woman her brother liked – 2 women in her family named the same.	
2.05	T sets task of sts reading 3 name stories – sts mush say which one find most interesting – sts eagerly reading. Sts discuss – takes a few seconds to get going. Discussion going well – getting louder. Sts conversation seems to have gone beyond discussing task – talking about personal experiences and their names – now discussion turned to whether or not women should take their husband's name. – ST6 thinks they must.	Some sts still reading Interested in topic – bonding for sts.
2.15	T asks sts which situation on the worksheet they would most like to follow: traditional/ original/ after children Sts asked to discuss in pairs but whole tables keep talking together – though all seem actively involved frequently talking over each other.	
2.20	Open-class discussion – should married women take husband's name? Both groups talking – not listening to the other groups.	
2.25	Sts asked to fill in family tree – sts do willingly	
2.30	T re-group sts – asks them to discuss Qs w/ new partner. Sts start discussing easily . ST4 says she doesn't like her 'other' surname – it's too long and ugly. All sts participating fully.	Even ST11 who normally is very quiet.
2.40	T ends pair discussion – open-class discussion of who likes/doesn't like their names – sts share things they learned about their partner. Everyone talking at once – group not listening to each other.	Sts seem very close in this class.
2.43	Sts in group 2 start packing bags.	

Day 4

Students absent: ST7

* T only used intro paragraph from worksheet – ideas from this were basis of initial discussion – actual worksheet itself not used

Time	Notes	Comments
1.50	T asked sts for definition of 'language' – sts suggest combination of words, sounds, symbols. T tries to guide sts to understand that lg reflects how you see world – sts have difficulty understanding this. T asks if lg connected to identity – sts say 'no' ST1 explains how lg is a part of what identifies her Task: does changing language change identity – sts discuss in groups – divided but conversation is better. f/b to class – 1 group says no – lg and identity not related. 2 groups say sometimes. ST3 makes argument that they can be related - group 2 says no – not at all.	What about issues of Christianity and Westernisation? – interesting worksheet topic. Confusing sts a bit – haven't thought of this before – don't have strong opinion.
2.00	T writes quote on board "Through choice of language people constantly make and remake who they are.' – sts asked to discuss quote – debate going stronger now – volume in classroom rising. T rephrasing again – has studying English changed you in any way? – Group 2 still firmly 'no' ST3 says yes – but it can change your life – heated debate.	I assumed a lot in designing materials that sts would simply agree w/ this concept without being led into it.
2.05	T asks how many languages spoken in sts' country – some say 43 (Gabon) some say 10 (E.G.) – discussion of languages that have disappeared in country.	
2.08	T gives sts handout on endangered languages – tells R she's sorry that she hasn't done the prepared worksheet yet but sts started talking about it. Convo in class – sts all actively participating – most sts body language involved – leaning forward – hand gestures, etc…	Would be nice to add component of languages dying to the worksheets. Enthusiasm infectious when most interested – enjoyment levels go up for all sts.
2.19	T brings it back to open-class discussion.	10 min discussion!
2.20	Sts given opinions about previous handout that were posted on the internet – sts asked to √ ones agree with and x ones disagree with.	Great addition but perhaps too many quotes – sts are taking too long to read them all
2.30	Sts asked to share which ideas they don't agree with - sts having productive discussion.	T adaptation better than original – more in depth and probing of issues than mine.
2.36	Group 2 discusses they don't' need a unifying language	
2.42	T closes group discussion – asked for each table to give one comment ALL sts in group disagreed with. Sts still discussing as leaving.	Never hear sts discussing something off topic – even when teacher isn't around – different from normal convo class – very strong st opinions.

Day 5

Students absent: ST7, ST2, ST1, ST10, ST9

Time	Notes	Comments
1.52	T asks how many official lgs in their country?– what lg can they get an education in? A lot of confusion about what is an official lg and what is not. ST3 seems tired – laying head on arms – some discussion in Spanish to clarify – sts don't seem to know – some agree that Spanish is the basic language.	Sts comfortable discussing colonialism – something I thought may be a 'taboo' topic.
2.00	Sts asked what are official lgs of other African countries – T guides sts to look at wall map – sts go to look – debate on how many colonial languages in Africa – sts think 4 – aren't sure about German.	
2.05	Debate on whether French from France and French from Belgium are the some – ST3 says 'no'.	
2.06	T gives sts worksheets to check their answers – sts surprised Italian as colonial language – also surprised another country has Spanish as colonial lag besides E.G.	
2.10	T asks if sts like colonial language – ST3 says he loves it! ST6 says she would prefer her official lg to be English rather than French. – T asks sts to discuss together. ST8 says 'they want to change our culture' about colonisers Group 1 is worrying about sharpening a pencil – no discussion for about 1 min – T at table with group 1. ST8 says she thinks Spanish is killing native lgs – she ends up switching into Spanish – only ancestors use the pure mother tongue. ST3 and ST8 both now say a native lg is their 1st language and Spanish is the second.	Smaller class takes more time to get convo started. Doesn't this mean lg connected to identity?
2.20	Open-class group 1 all says colonial lg is 1st language. T asks if its right that colonial lg is official lg? ST6 says you need common lg to communicate.	Interesting how no one really has problem with this.
2.23	T asks if there are ever movements in their countries to get rid of colonial lg? ST4 says no this is an advantage that the colonisers gave them to give them their culture and language – they can go to France and understand. ST4 says her country was happy to be colonised.	Interested in only how practical lg is as means of world communication – not where lg comes from or what it means – don't equate it with identity.
2.30	T asked sts to think of which people you'd talk to in a typical day – write list. Sts grumble a bit – say they mix Fang and Spanish etc. all the time – no difference.	
2.36	T asked how countries choose official mother tongue lg – sts say they chose majority lg. ST4 says everybody in her country doesn't speak French - all speak Lingala trying to preserve and Swahili.	

Class 2

Day 1

Students absent: ST14

Time	Notes	Comments
3.00	T sets first task of filling in questionnaire.	
3.08	T asks sts to discuss open-class since sts numbers are low – sts seem happy and interested to discuss topics but since class is smaller – discussion calmer than last class. – sts answer each question in turns. ST13 says she doesn't like learning English – she prefers French - she didn't choose to learn English – she must learn English to work in U.K.	
3.15	ST13 says her company chose her to study English - and sent her to S.A – not happy or excited about it.	Interesting as she has been one of our top sts - student of the month – and made excellent progress since she's been here.
3.20	ST15 agrees that to have a future in Congo you must speak English – confusion as to whether or not language is political ST12 doesn't think language is tied to power.	
3.25	ST12 Introduces topic of colonialism – thinks countries colonised by English given more freedom than countries colonised by French. ST15 says Belgium has encouraged Congo to stay dependant on them. ST13 says she doesn't like Spain – they exploited E.G. – seems a bit angry was initially reluctant to answer – feels relations in E.G. are better with French and English than with Spain.	Students seem more comfortable discussing issues of colonialism than anticipated.
3.33	ST13 brings up issue of how people in her country wear American clothes and want to emulate 'Americaness' – says most children in her country want to go to America.	Seems angry about this.
3.38	ST12 says French is not his lg – doesn't feel lg is part of him – feels forced to speak French – said he would like to study in Arabic . ST15 says she likes colonial lg. ST13 parents encouraged her to speak Spanish - not used to mother tongue – speaks Spanish at home – speaks mother tongue with friends. ST12 questions this – ST13 defends position – aggress she knows Spanish better than mother tongue. ST13 questions if ST12 knows Arabic more than French – he admits he doesn't but he likes it more.	
3.40	St15 says she wants to know English for practical reasons – not interested in English culture – ST13 agrees – ST12 interested ST13 says it makes her angry that even the level of domestic worker at company must learn English in E.G. her voice gets louder – obviously agitated. All students agree English is killing other languages.	

Day 2

Students absent: ST14

Time	Notes	Comments
2.52	T goes through concept of identities w/Anisa as model – sts question how Anisa can be both Egyptian and South African – sts reading – ST15 looks bored – head on hand – questions how identities clash. T gives personal example of identities clashing – ST15 shrugs.	Not set up very well – sts not so sure what's expected of them - teacher lecturing more than eliciting. Doesn't really understand or care.
3.00	T asks for examples from Anisa – ST13 offers some examples Task: if speaking Arabic makes her powerful/powerless? ST12 says he doesn't see how power tied to speaking a lg.	ST12 tied to Arabic.
3.05	Sts discussion is dependant on T prompting – each on asked in turn for opinion – ST13 leaning on desk – though will give considered responses when asked. Discussion about powerful/powerless – ST12 raises point that a speaker of 2nd lg could feel powerful when speaking to someone who only speaks one lg – unless the 2nd lg speaker doesn't speak the lg that well. T asks for examples of identities clashing – ST15 offers answer immediately – still lots of pausing.	Feels like T is working very hard to keep discussion going. Due to small group?
3.11	T ends discussion and gives sts paper and pencils to make posters – sts immediately start working on posters ST13 spends some time searching for the right colour pencils Silence – all sts actively working all sts choosing different colours to make posters attractive ST12 finishes first – T gives task of selecting pictures from magazines that represent his identity.	Seem to enjoy this kind of creative task.
3.20	St15 made a mistake and starts over. ST12 goes to get more mags to look through.	Perfectionist- All seem interest in project but seems uncomfortable – no one is chatting – again due to small size of class and T sitting at table with them / tape-recorder/me?
3.28	T calls end to time – sts still in middle of making posters and reluctant to stop - ST12 starts to tell group but still trying to cut out of mag at same time – ST13 colouring during speech – ST15 colouring now too. ST13 doesn't seem to be looking or paying any attention – focused on finishing poster - T asks if sts have questions for ST12 – St13 shakes head and doesn't look up – ST15 reluctantly? Stops working and listens – ST13 ignores ST12's talk.	
3.35	ST12 describes why he chose pictures – but can't really explain just likes the pictures.	
3.36	ST13 is asked to explain her poster – T instructs other sts to listen & ask questions – ST12 sticking picture to poster w/glue ST13 demonstrates understanding of clashing identities – Christian vs. young girl – discussed pressures of modern life – ST12 back to cutting pictures out of magazines.	Trying to pay attention as well – really wants to cut out pictures.

Day 3

Students absent: none

Time	Notes	Comments
2.49	T asks sts to discuss own questions in 2 pairs. Open-class discussion – ST14 gives lengthy story about how names affect personality.	T has been frustrated with small class size – trying to stay out of initial discussion and let sts discuss in groups Sts seem more engaged – extra person makes a big difference.
3.05	T plays question game with sts – have to guess which teacher and where their name comes from - sts interested – all participate – sts read to check predictions. Open-class discussion – more lively than before.	
3.13	Sts asked to compete family tree – laughter some sts say they don't know al names – start completing quickly – sts all working T asks sts to compare diagrams and give any additional info they would like – some still writing – silence – 1 group starts a few seconds later the other group starts – laughter – sts all engaged in discussion – first group finishes – starts related discussion about families.	Seem to enjoy – bonding activity – Africa families not so straight forward / more complicated relationships.
3.20	Sts asked to talk about discussion questions – both groups discussing animatedly.	
3.40	T asks sts if this is an accurate depiction of 'family' for them – sts say 'no' – in African culture 'family' is much wider - Linked by tribes – people could go into each other's homes and help themselves – people from same tribe can call each other brother and sister – T introduces S.A. work 'Ubuntu'.	

Day 4

Students absent: none

Time	Notes	Comments
2.50	T asks sts to name official SA language – lists to board – sts race to list as many African lgs as they can individually – ST13 starts looking at her neighbour's papers – sts have difficulty thinking of many. T gives sts map to check and see what they missed – ST14 says the map is too difficult to read and stops – T prompts to start again.	
3.05	T asks sts to tell class lg spoken in their countries – ST15 starts quite happily.	Sts seem interest in sharing culture w/ teacher – this class turns the sts into the 'experts'.
3.10	ST14 says sometimes she prefers to say something in mother tongue because there are specific things she can say better in that way ST12 questions this – ST14 says she can't express it exactly in French – ST12 says he's surprised since most Gabonese speak French better than mother tongue – ST14 says young people don't even know who they are anymore.	Lg tied to identity?
3.15	T describes how some lgs here tied to stereotypes – do sts have these experiences in their own country? Sts agree.	
3.20	ST13 brings up issue of how some people in her country want to marry white people or coloured people only – trying to behave like white people – don't' behave traditionally.	
3.25	Sts asked to think about something to perform in their lg and then explain it to class – sts have 5 minutes to prepare – T leaves class. Sts start signing and speaking in other languages – laughter – snapping fingers – everyone seems to have something in mind immediately – sts start discussing in English – back to other languages- seem to be practising on each other.	Is presentation only for teacher and me?
3.35	Sts presentations – ST15 proverbs – speaks only to T T asks ST15 to repeat says it sounds so nice – ST15 laughs willingly repeats. ST12 asks what it means – ST15 explains for him – mix of mother tongue and French.	
3.34	ST12 proverbs – against colonialism - don't recognise border put ion by colonisers.	
3.39	ST14 Proverbs – 1st don't have to act like a man to have power.	
3.43	ST13 proverbs.	Patterns of anti-Western / anti –feminism.

Day 5

Students absent: ST14, ST15

Time	Notes	Comments
2.55	ST13 sings song – carry over from yesterday's lesson – religious Christian song.	
2.57	T asks sts to define culture – write down what they think of when they think of culture – sts writing quickly – easily ST12 says culture is the part of him that defines him – ST13 asks him how he could explain Arabic culture to someone who doesn't know it – ST12 says lg an important element of culture ST13 describes culture as tradition ST12 describes as beliefs.	
3.05	Sts asked to read quote and describe how it makes them feel.	
3.07	ST12 says it's true to a certain point – sts having difficulty expressing feelings.	Not sure they understand text.
3.08	T tries to explain quote – asked again for sts reaction – ST12 not convinced – says it's true for some people – not all people who are colonised – ST13 agrees w/ text – the reason they're speaking Spanish today – didn't give them the chance to develop lg – books, etc… in mother tongue. ST12 explains 3 things that can happen when cultures meet – accept, reject or mixture of a culture.	Maybe need to find some historical text to back up what this quote expresses. Does she believe the colonisers did this deliberately – to control?
3.15	T asks if colonisers took on any traits of the colonised people – ST12 says yes – gives example of white people who practice voodoo - ST13 says quote makes her irritated – ST12 says he's indifferent.	
3.20	ST12 says colonialism is positive in that it gives them access to a world language – though negative if you lose you natural lg you lose a part of you culture.	Lg tied to identity.
3.24	ST13 explains how the colonisers exploited the country and did nothing to help to develop it. ST12 tries to interrupt but ST13 cuts him off quite angrily ST12 says that the colonialism did good as well – asks who built schools? ST13 says they should have done more – gives example of SA – says the colonizers took gold etc… but they still build the country – ST12 tries to get St13 to acknowledge that the colonisers taught them as well. ST12 admits the Gabonese government is still very dependant on France.	ST13 seems quite angry – shouting. But was the education spreading Spanish culture as well?
3.30	T asks sts to think about how their country would have been different if not colonised by France / Spain. ST12 says colonialism seriously influenced culture in Gabon – says some people ashamed for their cultural heritage – want to be French. ST13 says they still have tribes so haven't lost all culture – thinks most people preserve their culture – ST12 says Fang carries a lot of pride – says it would have taken a lot more time for Gabon to be what it is like today – says all building in Gabon was done during colonialism – positive effect – St13 agrees.	

3.35	T asks if colonisers made them think they needed their help and it's still I their mindset – ST13 says they can't do it alone – says the French had sophisticated materials and they couldn't have built alone. ST12 questions if now Africa has the science and can do this alone – ST13 says she feels more linked to France than since this country is helping develop them more than Spain.	Very presumptuous of me to think this course will change these sts minds – they have strong beliefs - some different from each other – but strong beliefs.
3.40	ST12 and ST13 agree that the colonisers educated people to help the colonisers – form of control.	
3.45	ST12 tells story that colonisers told people how to pray with their eyes closed – when they opened them all their land was gone – had Bible but no land.	