IMMIGRANT NON-NATIVE ENGLISH SPEAKING TEACHERS IN TESOL: THE NEGOTIATION OF PROFESSIONAL IDENTITIES

By

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This study examined how immigrant non-native English speaking teachers (INNESTs) in the field of TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) negotiate professional identities within the framework of a TESOL certification program. Three aspects of their identities were investigated: language-related identity, disciplinary identity, and teaching self-knowledge.

Two groups of participants were recruited. The first group (115 in number) had already completed a TESOL program and were ESL teachers. The second group (five in number) were all registered in a full-time TESOL program to become certified to teach ESL in Ontario, Canada.

A complementary, concurrent component mixed methods research design was adopted. The quantitative and qualitative data were collected through various data collection strategies. The analysis is informed by a number of theoretical concepts: identity, critical pedagogy, sociocultural theory, and teacher cognition.

The main findings are as follows. First, INNESTs viewed the native speaker
construct as consisting of multiple dimensions. The findings suggest that the construct is complex, contextual, dialogic, dynamic, ideological, intersecting, multifaceted, negotiable, relational, situated, and shifting as a developmental process as opposed to a fixed unitary state. Despite that, INNESTs continue to experience mostly conventional realizations of the construct.

Second, institutional certification serves as a symbolic discourse of de-professionalization for INNESTs applying for certification. INNESTs reacted to such discourse in different ways, accepting and internalizing or questioning and resisting it. The certification process did not distinguish the experienced INNESTs from their novice native-born teacher candidates; but it did provide them with recognition, acceptance, and legitimacy in the professional TESOL community.

Third, the majority of the INNESTs reported a high level of confidence by presenting a generally positive self-image. The findings highlight the importance of self-image in negotiating teaching knowledge in the TESOL community. Moreover, INNESTs’ cognition is influenced by conflicts they experience reconciling their new teaching context, their past learning experiences and teaching beliefs, as well as their instructional decisions.

Implications regarding ways to facilitate positive identity construction and professional integration are discussed.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This doctoral dissertation is about identity development and has taken a while to shape. As I reflect back on my journey at the University of Toronto, I cannot help but notice how I have benefited immeasurably from the insights of numerous individuals who have been involved in my own identity development and have influenced my personal and academic life in different ways along the way. The journey was lengthy and challenging due to unexpected life events, changes of priorities, and personal commitments, but it would not have not been successfully concluded if it was not for the roles that these capable and enthusiastic individuals played.

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TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

[ ] : Comments/words added by the researcher for clarification purposes

( ) : Uncertain transcription

(...) : Deleted material

… : Break in flow of sentence, or minor pause/break

X : Indecipherable/incomprehensible item, e.g., one word only

XX : Indecipherable/incomprehensible item of phrase length

XXX : Indecipherable/incomprehensible item beyond phrase length

CAPITALS : Rising intonation, loud utterance relative to the surrounding talk or emphasis by the speaker in original speech

Italics : Emphasis added by the researcher

Notes:

Confidentiality
All names and places mentioned in the transcripts have been changed to protect people’s identities.

Punctuation and Grammaticality
Few errors in the transcripts that impeded meaning in participants’ language have been corrected.

Quotations
Extracts quoted from the research participants are not necessarily in the order they were originally spoken.

Repetition of words, uh, eh, um, etc. have been taken out of the participant quotes as per the convention for handling quotes of this kind, and for readability.
DEDICATION

To

My father, Nasser Soheili-Mehr – the towering figure of strength, stability, endurance and resilience – for leading me to have a critical mind,

and

My mother, Zahra Kouhkan – the source of unswerving devotion, unfailing support and never-ending faith – for nourishing in me a compassionate heart,

and

The memory of M. H. M. ‘Shafagh’ for his loyal, selfless and devoted friendship, his sacrificing self-interest to moral and human principles, and sustaining non-stop perseverance in pursuit of social justice and equality.
It is through feelings, consciousness, hopes, fears, and desires, and the recognition of our powers and limitations that we stop being merely Us, and become Ourselves.

Frank Smith

Washing one’s hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless means to side with the powerful, not to be neutral.

Paulo Freire
PROLOGUE
EXPERIENCES AND MOTIVATIONS

Personal Experiences

The native–non-native speaker teacher dichotomy is not an issue in Iran because almost all English language teachers there are local, non-native speakers. In the aftermath of the Islamic Revolution in 1979, massive restructuring was conducted at all levels, from Kindergarten to post-secondary, to instill Islamic values in the education system. Shortly after the Revolution, all universities in the country were closed down for about 3 years and a new government department called “Cultural Revolution Secretariat” was formed to review the system and develop future education policies. The basic goal was to eliminate programs, courses, and teaching materials that advocated “Western” ideology. Because of this anti-Western atmosphere, almost all English teachers – along with other professionals from Western countries – left Iran. Only a very few foreign English teachers – mostly those with an Iranian spouse – remained in the country. With the closure of the universities, all teachers whether foreign or native Iranian lost their jobs although some were able to find work in the few remaining operating private language schools. It was in the context of such a school that I first became interested in English language teaching.

My first encounter with the “native speaker” construct (henceforth NS) took place almost a decade after the Revolution during my early school years when my father registered me in English language classes at a privately run language school in downtown Tehran. After completing the introductory courses in English grammar taught by an Iranian teacher, I began the English conversation program. In the first class, the teacher, Mrs. Haberian, who was a graduate of an American college, introduced herself as an American married to an Iranian medical doctor. At the time, she was also teaching at a major Iranian university north of Tehran. Although we had been encouraged to use Oxford Elementary Learner’s Dictionary during our grammar courses, in the
conversation class we mainly relied on Mrs. Haberian’s definitions of words and pronunciations. After all, we thought, why rely on a book when there is a walking dictionary right in front of us? There were moments, though, when she was challenged by students because she seemed to contradict what was in the dictionary. Her replies – such as “That sentence doesn’t sound OK to me!” or “To me, this word means…” – though not always satisfactory, were the ultimate authority for us given her NS status. During this period, and later throughout my years as second language teacher and teacher educator in Iran, my general observation was that both students and parents showed great interest in NS teachers and parents would pay higher tuitions to have their children taught by them. Clearly, there was a sense of linguistic authority and professional legitimacy attributed to such teachers in Iran.

**Professional Motivations**

Years later, I came to Canada with a B.A. in *English Language and Literature (ELL)* and an M.A. in *Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL)* as well as 8 years of English language teaching experience under my belt. For much of my first year in Canada, I was intrigued by the professional experiences of non-native English-as-a-second-language (ESL) teachers – individuals such as myself, working in various language teaching institutions and/or enrolled in Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL) programs. This interest has led directly to a thesis aimed at investigating the development of professional identity among immigrant non-native English speaking teachers (INNESTs) who have come to Canada under the “skilled worker” category. Such INNESTs have brought years of education and work experience to their new country. How their education and work experience is viewed and utilized in Canada is both personally and professionally compelling.

After visiting websites for both the national and provincial English language teaching associations, I soon realized that my experience in Iran with NSs was pertinent here too. Among the ESL and TESL jobs posted on these websites, there were consistent references made to the NS criterion.¹ To my surprise, though, for some of these hiring

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¹ Research shows that there is a strong preference for native English speakers among employers looking for
bodies, prior teaching experience was less important than being a native speaker.\textsuperscript{2} As far as the teaching positions in Canada are concerned, Canadian TESL certificate and/or Canadian teaching experience were the main requirements. The following advertisement (Figure 1) is a job posting with NS status and Canadian TESL certification as requirements:\textsuperscript{3}

\begin{quote}
A well-established, downtown-[…] ESL school is now accepting applications for teaching positions. We are looking for creative, enthusiastic and experienced ESL teachers for short-term, long-term and substitute positions to start shortly.

\textit{All candidates must be native-English speakers} [italics added], have an excellent knowledge/command of grammar, hold a university degree (BA) and be \textit{TESL Canada or TESL Ontario certified} [italics added].

Experience teaching exam preparation courses -- IELTS, TOEFL, Cambridge (CAE & FCE), TOEIC -- an asset.

If you meet these qualifications, please forward your resumé to […].

Only select applicants will be contacted for an interview.
\end{quote}

\textit{Figure 1.} An ESL Job Advertisement with Native Speaker Status and Canadian TESL Certification as Requirements.

English teachers. For example, Corcoran (2008) found that teacher-administrators in private EFL schools in Brazil expressed a preference for native English speakers, and paid them higher salaries than their better-qualified non-native speaking colleagues.

\textsuperscript{2} The TESOL International Association, an international organization for English language teachers, issued position statements in 1991 and 2006 entitled “A TESOL Statement on Non-Native Speakers of English and Hiring Practices” (TESOL, 1991), and “Position Statement Against Discrimination of Nonnative Speakers of English in the Field of TESOL” (TESOL, 2006) respectively. Both statements call for the removal of any language that supported discrimination against non-native speakers from their publications and those of their affiliates.

\textsuperscript{3} All information identifying the advertising institutions and teaching contexts as well as further description irrelevant to this section have been removed. Also, specific requirements under discussion are italicized.
Figure 2 shows a job posting with the employer’s preference for prior Canadian teaching experience:

Position: ESL Instructor for the August 4-Week Summer Program at […] University in […], Ontario.

Responsibilities include: planning, teaching, and assessing the acquisition of English language skills of non-native speakers.

Applicants should have one or more of the following qualifications:

• *TESL Ontario certification* [italics added] or equivalent, or
• An undergraduate degree as well as one or more of the following qualifications:
  a. BEd with a minimum of one AQ (Additional Qualification) course in TESL
  b. Master’s degree in a relevant field (TESL, Education, Applied Linguistics)

Applicants should have successful work experience in one of the settings below (listed in order of preference):

• Successful teaching experience in an intensive academic ESL course at the university level (English for Academic Purposes/EAP)
• Successful teaching experience in another ESL program (not an EAP Program)

Please note that preference is given to candidates with *teaching experience in Canada*. [italics added]

[…]

*Figure 2. Part of an ESL Job Advertisement with Canadian Teaching Experience and Certification as Requirements.*

The majority of job descriptions specify TESL certification issued by a Canadian licensing association as mandatory. Such is the case with the example in Figure 3:
Position: ESL Instructor

[…] College serves more than 11,000 students in over 20 locations across […] We provide training in academic upgrading and English as a Second Language, and offer certificate and diploma programs for health and business careers. Opportunities exist in the ESL & Languages Department for substitute instructors. Using your excellent organizational and interpersonal skills, you will ensure the successful delivery of ESL classes as assigned. Your ability to teach all levels of ESL will be an asset.

Qualifications:

• Bachelors’ degree with coursework in ESL is required.
• TESL Canada Certification [italics added]
• Experience teaching ESL to adults in a classroom setting is also required.

[…]

Figure 3. Part of an ESL Job Advertisement with Canadian Certification as a Requirement.

Requirements for TESL positions are even more demanding. For instance, the following advertisement (Figure 4) asks for 5 years of teaching experience, 3 years of which had to be Canadian:
Position: TESL Methodology Instructor/Trainer

[…]’s TESL Training program in […], Ontario, requires TESL Methodology instructors.

The ideal candidate must possess the following qualifications:

• An undergraduate degree in a relevant discipline
• A TESL certificate or equivalent
• Five full years (a minimum of 15 hours/week over a minimum of nine months per year) of adult ESL teaching experience, with at least three full years in a Canadian setting. [italics added]

Canadian experience should be reflective of the main program types: community-based, English for Academic Purposes, English for Specific Purposes and programs for international students.

[…]

Figure 4. Part of a TESL Job Advertisement with 3 Years of Canadian Teaching Experience as a Requirement.

The above job postings are typical of the types of jobs advertised here in southern Ontario.

**The Overarching Motivation**

Given the above personal experiences and professional observations, it is the NS construct and the professional experiences of INNESTs in Canada that are the foci of this thesis. The overarching motivation for the study, then, lies at the intersection of the following. First, my long ago experiences as a language learner in Iran showed me the importance attached to the NS construct. Second, my current status as an INNEST is an ideal starting point for action research in this area. Third, my journey as an immigrant has
enriched my reflections as a second language educator and facilitated critical readings of, and contemplation of, the issues facing INNESTs as well as my professional practices as a TESL teacher educator. This study, therefore, is a further exploration of professional identity development among immigrant teachers of ESL in the Canadian context – an area in which investigation has been very limited.

In this prologue, I have discussed my personal and professional motivations in conducting a study on NS construct. In the following chapter, I discuss the background of and rationale for the study as well as the study goals and research questions.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION, RATIONALE, GOALS, AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Introduction

This chapter situates my study. I begin by looking at the background of the study with an examination of the Canadian Skilled Worker Program, the problems associated with it, and its costs for skilled immigrant professionals in Canada. I then contextualize within the Canadian immigration system the status of immigrant teachers in general, and immigrant non-native English speaking teachers of ESL in specific. This is followed by a detailed discussion of the rationale for the study, a review of the research goals, and presentation of the study’s research questions. The chapter concludes with an overview of the organization of the dissertation.

Background of the Study

Skilled Immigrant Professionals in Canada and the Skilled Worker Program (SWP)

Historically, the international movement of individuals to different corners of the world has been a result of war or natural disasters or movement for economic, social, or political reasons. Immigrants to Canada in particular have traditionally been attracted by the possibility of better economic opportunities. The increase in the number of immigrants to Canada in recent years has been significant. In the past 15-20 years, some 3.3 million immigrants have come to Canada – nearly one quarter of a million annually (“Canada’s schools,” 2004). Canada’s foreign-born population is now at its highest level in 70 years and the visible minority population has tripled since 1981 (Statistics Canada, 2003).4

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4 In fact, according to a new survey, Canada is now home to 6.8 million foreign-born residents (20.6% of the population).
Immigration has benefited Canada immensely over the years. In the words of the former Deputy Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Michel Dorais:

Immigration has always contributed significantly to Canada’s economic and social prospects. Highly skilled immigrants and temporary workers are key in supporting the development of the knowledge-based economy and are an important source of addressing skills shortages. (Dorais, 2002, p. 4)

Immigrants to Canada come under different categories. For example, some come under the Live-in Caregiver Program or the Refugee and Humanitarian Resettlement Program. The majority of immigrants to Canada, though, are skilled professionals who come under the Skilled Worker Program (SWP). Initiated by Canadian Government in 1967, SWP is for: “people whose education and work experience will help them find work and make a home for themselves as permanent residents in Canada” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2003). SWP, under which application “is not difficult” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2003), is intended to attract highly educated and skilled professionals based on the assumption that the more educated and the more skilled they are, the more likely they are to qualify under the point system for entrance to Canada. In effect since 2003, the pass mark is 67 points out of 100. The main requirements are that “skilled workers have education, work experience, knowledge of English and/or French and other abilities that will help them to establish successfully as permanent residents in Canada” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2003) (Appendix A).

Problems with SWP

Acquiring a pass mark, however, does not necessarily mean that skilled professionals will be able to successfully pursue their profession in Canada. In fact, there are significant challenges. The roadblocks to successful integration into a professional

5 Galabuzi (2001, p. 7) reports that “of the skilled workers selected in 1998, 72 per cent had university degrees, a rate about 4 times that of Canadian born households.”
6 In January 2015, a 1200-point system named “Express Entry” was introduced to give priority to candidates who were most likely to succeed in Canada. Despite such changes, eligibility is still measured according to the same criteria used in previous programs (e.g., age, education, language proficiency, work experience).
7 The point system was introduced in 1967 to replace the previous race-based criteria for applicants. The argument for the new system was that it provides a fair and objective measure for the assessment of applicants. Some argue, however, that immigration policies still favor white Europeans (Jakubowski, 1997).
identity have already been substantially documented (Mamgain & Collins, 2003; Simon, 2003; Zulauf, 1999). These include, among others, discrimination, credentialism, and work experience requirements.

For example, in Ontario, Canada’s largest immigrant receiving province, systemic forms of discrimination in the assessment of immigrants’ professional training, work experience, and education persist (Burnaby, 1992; Podoliak, 1993).

A second challenge is a lack of recognition of foreign credentials. Reitz (2005) argues that in spite of the fact that immigrants are better educated than their Canadian-born peers, they tend to hold less well-regarded and less well-paid employment. He further suggests that the real problem is not with skill level, but rather with broad acceptance of, and effective utilization of, those skills in Canadian society. Examining the factors that negatively affect skilled workers’ professional progress, Li (2001) asks whether these are predominantly immigrants’ credentials, racial origin, or a combination of other factors.

A related issue is the non-recognition of immigrant professionals’ work experience by licensing bodies, certifying associations, and employment agencies. Even though immigrants in the skilled worker category have successfully passed through Citizenship and Immigration Canada’s (CIC) selection process, they find that they are ineligible for much of the available work suited to their experience and credentials because many employers require that they have Canadian experience. This requirement is understandably frustrating for many and/or inexplicable for others; their expectation is that since they have been accepted into the country as skilled workers, they will be given an opportunity to use those skills. CIC clearly mentions that prospective applicants

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8 More than half of all immigrants to Canada choose Ontario as their new home. More than 60% of such immigrants of working age range have some post-secondary education and/or professional background (Goldberg, 2001).
9 One recent study looks at systemic discrimination as a barrier to the integration of immigrant teachers in the K-12 education system (Schmidt, 2010).
10 Not only do immigrants have more education than their Canadian-born counterparts, they also tend to put greater emphasis on their children’s education. According to Duffy (Duffy, 2004b, p. A06): “The 2001 census showed that individuals in their 20s with immigrant parents were more likely to obtain a university degree in comparison with those with Canadian-born parents.”
11 In fact, one of the participants in the present study said that expecting recent immigrants to have
under the skilled worker category must have at least one year of full-time work experience within the last 10 years. By meeting this and other requirements, such as education, language proficiency, applicants “may become permanent residents because they have the ability to become economically established in Canada” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2003). As Morgan (1998, p. 54) puts it:

Many of them have been selected for citizenship by our government for their exemplary skills and education. Yet when they apply for the very jobs for which they were trained, they are told that they require ‘Canadian experience’ or ‘Canadian accreditation’ – a somewhat sophisticated form of discrimination that bureaucratically protects the perpetrator. Not surprisingly, those elite occupations with the greatest social power are able to perpetuate the myth that their ‘special’ training could not possibly be duplicated in a developing country.

With these systemic, regulatory, and experiential challenges to having their educational credentials recognized and professional experiences acknowledged in Canada, it is neither surprising, nor a secret, that many skilled immigrants do not find their own professional niche. Consequently, as Goldberg (2006) states, many of these skilled individuals end up doing unrelated and/or menial jobs – not commensurate with their skills – that do not require university-level education. There are numerous stories about educated immigrants living in Canada doing jobs such as pizza delivery, taxi cab driving, office cleaning or temporary, non-unionized, supply assistant teaching. For them, Canada has failed to keep its promises and the prospect of a better life has proven to be an illusion (Mazumdar, 2004). These barriers take a toll – economically, emotionally, and professionally.

Having discussed the systemic, regulatory and experiential challenges that these immigrants face, I now discuss the economic, professional and social costs associated with SWP.

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Canadian work experience is “a joke” in an endless, vicious, catch-22 cycle and a contradiction to the process of becoming a successful applicant to immigrate to Canada (See Chapter 7).

12 The days of the well-paid, yet low-skilled job are over. In fact, “a high school diploma is an absolute minimum to get even the lowest-paid job” (“Canada’s schools,” 2004, p. H06).
Costs of the SWP-related Problems

Economic Cost

The high unemployment rate among skilled immigrants is notable. Although the majority of new immigrants do well economically, Duffy (2004b) reports that a considerable proportion live in poverty. According to the report prepared and published in April 2004 by the United Way of Greater Toronto, the vast majority of poor people in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) are immigrants. In 1981, the number of Canadian-born families who lived in high-poverty areas was a little higher than that of the immigrant families. By 2001, there was a dramatic shift in the numbers in high-poverty neighborhoods: Canadian-born families (36.7%); immigrant families (62.4%) (Duffy, 2004b). Martin (2004, p. 73) rightly argues:

High unemployment makes competition for jobs brutal and keeps the workforce anxious and scared. Fear of losing one’s means of subsistence in an era of shrinking social programs is advantageous to employers since it keeps the working class docile. This is reflected in the fact that efforts to unionize are becoming increasingly futile.

Statistics show that immigrants have suffered economically in Canada during the recent decades. Duffy (2004b), for example, compares the status of the average male immigrant who came to the country in the 1970s with the average male currently in the system. For the former, chances of unemployment were lower than those of a Canadian-born man for the first 5 years. Also, within 10 years, the 1970s immigrant’s annual income was equal to that of a typical Canadian. The situation today is dramatically different. Even after 10 years, an average immigrant’s earnings are just 80% of what a Canadian peer earns. Interestingly, immigrants’ inflation-adjusted income decreased by 7% between 1980 and 2000 despite the fact that immigrants in this period had more education than their predecessors. The decline cannot be attributed to Canada’s poor economy because Canadian-born individuals had a 7% increase in their income during the same time (Duffy, 2004b). According to 2001 census data (Duffy, 2004b), immigrants with less than 5 years of residence in Canada suffered an unemployment rate of 12.7% – higher than the 7.4% among the Canadian-born workers.
**Professional Cost**

The emotional burden of an inability to work in one’s area of expertise is hard to quantify but also hard to ignore. Immigrants who are unable to pursue their profession are left to choose between returning home empty-handed or accepting anything available to them in order to be able to put food on the table. This is a difficult situation that leaves immigrants feeling marginalized or excluded. Another difficult option for skilled immigrants is to move to the United States. Statistics Canada confirms that while the influx of highly skilled workers into Canada accelerated during the 1990s, so did the losses of highly skilled workers to the US. According to the 1996 Census:

About 39,000 degree holders entered Canada annually, both permanently and temporarily, from 1990 to 1996, including 11,000 master’s degree holders and PhDs. This compares with a total of about 10,000 university graduates at all levels leaving for the United States each year in the 1990s. (Statistics Canada, 2000)

This highlights the complex situation of skilled immigrants in Canada and the difficulties they face as well as the brain drain experienced by Canadian society.\(^\text{13}\)

**Social Cost**

New immigrants may feel pressure to integrate into the host country’s dominant norms of linguistic, social, and educational culture. This can ultimately force many newcomers to assimilate and, consequently, deny their own heritage language and cultural identity (see Cummins, 2001; Goto, 1997; Kaser & Short, 1998; Nieto, 2000). For these immigrants, being accepted in their new country involves an obligation to first adopt and master that country’s norms, which are considered to be superior. This attitude can lead to immigrants’ having a lower or subordinate status in comparison with the dominant group, creating an “unwelcoming atmosphere” (Kubota, 2001, p.31) for them because of their racial, cultural, and linguistic differences. As a result, new immigrants’ sense of belonging to their new country may be affected negatively and even damaged. Drawing on Brah’s (1996) work within the British context, Amin (2000), for example, maintains that immigrants who are members of a racial minority are at times seen as

\(^{13}\) In fact, Canada is losing a lot of brainpower to the US (e.g., DeVoretz & Laryea, 1998; DeVoretz & Iturralde, 2000).
living “in” Canada, but are not being “of” Canada. Taylor (1997) also points out that non-belonging for ethnicized and racialized immigrants occurs when they witness “who” gets hyphenated and “when.” Anglo-Saxon immigrants are rarely hyphenated; however, “many Canadians of colour are entirely accustomed to being asked where they come from or where they were born, regardless of whether they are first-, third-, or twentieth-generation Canadians” (Taylor, 1997, pp. 24-25). This is striking to note as foreign-born residents comprise the majority of the population in the city of Toronto, and almost half of Canada’s immigrant students settle in the GTA (Duffy, 2004c).

In the foregoing section, I discussed both the challenges (i.e., discrimination, credentialism, and work experience requirements) and the costs (i.e., economic, professional, and social costs) which many new immigrants face. In the following section I narrow the focus to look at the challenges faced by immigrant teachers.

**Immigrant Teachers**

With the growth of immigrant population, the demographics of Canadian cities have changed (Troper & Weinfeld, 1999). This has resulted in the ethnic and linguistic transformation of many schools in large urban centers, and in particular in the GTA. According to the 2001 census, 14% of students in the GTA were in ESL classes, and 40% of GTA residents listed a language other than English as their mother tongue (“Canada’s schools,” 2004). For example, more than 80% of the student population in Markham – which used to be known as an Anglo-Saxon community – speak English as a second language (Duffy, 2004a). Markham is a city of 207,000 and 56% of its residents are now members of visible minorities, mostly Chinese and South Asian (Duffy, 2004a).

As a result of these changes, and given the status of teaching as one of the top five intended professions in Ontario (Goldberg, 2001), more attention has been paid to the

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14 In 1996, 17.4% of Canada’s population and 41.9% of Toronto’s population were immigrants. In fact, the majority of skilled immigrants choose GTA as their intended landing destination in the province of Ontario. This number is on the rise each year: in 1994, 74% chose the GTA; in 1998, the number increased to 81% (Goldberg, 2001). It is no wonder that Toronto is considered, by many, to be one of the most linguistically and culturally diverse cities in the world.

15 A recent Statistics Canada’s National Household Survey shows that more than 70% of the population in Markham are visible minorities (Black, 2013).
increasing importance of and growing need for a more diverse population of teachers (Phillion, 2003; Stokes, 1999). Although the situation is different in the US (Su, 1996), in Canada there are more immigrant teachers than ever before at work in Canadian schools (Thiessen, Bascia, & Goodson, 1996).

There are several reasons why it is important to have more immigrant teachers in Canadian schools. First, immigrant teachers can serve as good role models for minority students (Graham, 1987). Second, minority teachers have gone through the same kinds of experiences, and can therefore better appreciate and address the needs of minority students (Stokes, 1999). Third, minority teachers can act as advocates for minority students. Moreover, immigrant teachers can help their minority students with strategies to better adapt to their new country and culture (Beynon & Toohey, 1995). Fifth, exposure to teachers from diverse cultural backgrounds can ultimately benefit all students in the classroom in that it, among other benefits, prepares them for the global, multicultural workplace in the future (Banks & Banks, 1989). These benefits, among others, have been well supported in the Canadian context (Thiessen, Bascia, & Goodson, 1996).

Recognizing this need for minority teachers, the Royal Commission on Learning (Ontario, 1994) reinforced the importance of a more diverse teaching force. Although the call was well received by many Canadian universities in Ontario as evidenced by their efforts to recruit more pre-service teachers from diverse backgrounds (Lundy & Lawrence, 1995), more work needs to be done. Anecdotal evidence from pre-service program at OISE/UT, for instance, indicate that less than 5% of pre-service teacher candidates opt for the ESL elective. This means that “the vast majority of teachers going into Ontario classrooms will have had little or no instruction in how to teach students learning English as a second language” (“ABCs of teaching ESL,” 2004, p. H05). In March 2003, the federal government announced new plans to double the

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16 The demographics of highly skilled immigrants in Ontario show that teaching was among the top five intended professions in Ontario between the years 1995-1999 (Goldberg, 2001).
17 For instance, OISE/UT professor Elizabeth Coelho who was teaching 30 teacher candidates in her course “ESL Across the Curriculum” stressed that “only 60 of 1,300 graduating students at the University of Toronto’s OISE will take the ESL electives in any given year (“ABCs of teaching ESL,” 2004, p. H05).
18 The term “English-as-a-Second-Language” (ESL) is generally used to refer to programs that provide language learning support and instruction to students who are learning the English language. It is a problematic term, though, since for many students, English may be a third, fourth, or even fifth language.
number of young people who know both English and French – the country’s official languages – over the next 10 years, that is, from 24% to 50%, by committing $381 million over 5 years to language education. Such generous plans did not exist for other languages, many of which are spoken by minority students as their first language. Professor Jim Cummins has criticized the lack of attention to students’ diverse linguistic capital – what he calls “suffering from a deficit of imagination”: “We’ve had 25 years of discussion about multiculturalism, yet we continue to churn out teachers with no knowledge of anything related to language development” (Duffy, 2004c, p. A26).

Cummins called for more support for addressing the needs of ESL students and for helping them to capitalize on their linguistic diversity. In view of cutbacks in Ontario that led to a significant decrease in the amount of ESL support provided to students by ESL specialist teachers, Professor Antoinette Gagné suggests that the policy in Ontario is that “every teacher should be an ESL teacher” (“ABCs of teaching ESL,” 2004, p. H05). Responding to the concern over teachers’ ill-preparedness to deal with ESL students, Gagné (2002), for example, initiated an “ESL Infusion” program, devoted to providing resources for teachers interested in learning how to better serve the needs of newcomer ESL students. The program consisted of a multiple-member team that delivered workshops to teacher candidates and a website (eslinfusion.oise.utoronto.ca) with tips for working teachers.

In the light of the above issues, immigrant teachers with foreign credentials could contribute substantially to education in Canada. Yet, according to Phillion (2003), immigrant teachers have been overlooked. These teachers come to Canada with wealth of knowledge and experience, speak the students’ first languages, understand specific educational, social, cultural, and religious backgrounds, and know students’ needs and the failure to fully utilize these skills is Canada’s loss. Immigrant teachers generally come to Canada under the SWP immigration category described earlier in this chapter. Every year, teachers with high expectations and professional qualifications from their homelands choose to live and work in Canada (Mawhinney & Xu, 1997). Like other

Although “English-as-an-Additional-Language” (EAL) has been used by some, I prefer “English Language Learners” (ELL), which does not imply any ranking in the order of languages one may speak. Because of its wide usage among language education professionals, and its official status for many language learning/teaching programs and associations, I retain its use throughout this dissertation.
professionals, they usually aim to find jobs in their own area of expertise (Salaff, Greve, & Xu, 2001). However, it takes time for new immigrants to learn the practices of Canadian society, in general, and more specifically, of the workplace, which are different from those they have experienced (Reitz, 2002).

In a particularly pertinent report, Mawhinney and Xu (1997) analyze the challenges of constructing a professional identity faced by foreign-trained teachers living in Ottawa. One finding from their report is that after their arrival in Canada, immigrant teachers soon discover that their foreign credentials do not satisfy the requirements for an Ontario Teaching Certificate. Moreover, many of these teachers simply do not have the resources and/or understanding of the requirements set out by Ontario’s Ministry of Education and Training to overcome the existing barriers to professional certification. Consequently, many end up taking jobs for which they are overqualified and overeducated. The discontinuity between their professional practice and their professional acceptance results in a significant loss to Ontario’s educational system of the expertise that these individuals bring to their new country. It also results in a high emotional cost for them. Furthermore, their experiences raise issues of equity in the increasingly multiethnic province of Ontario.19

Immigrant Non-Native English Speaking Teachers (INNESTs) of ESL

A large number of English language teachers around the world are not native speakers of English. Non-native speaking professionals face challenges not faced by teachers whose subject matter is their own first language. A major challenge is that they do not feel welcome and well received by many hiring employers. In fact, many language schools around the world are still in the habit of advertising teaching jobs for native English speakers only (Illés, 1991; Canagarajah, 1999b).

For the past two decades, there has been considerable research into INNESTs’ lives, experiences, and the challenges that they face (Soheili-Mehr, 2003). Major publications (Peikeday, 1985; Medgyes, 1994; Braine, 1999; Davies, 2003; Llurda,

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19 More recent studies have explored various barriers faced by immigrant teachers in the Canadian context (Schmidt & Gagné, 2015; Schmidt & Schneider, 2016).
2005a) have addressed matters of definition, and discussed linguistic, psycholinguistic, and sociolinguistic aspects of the issue as well as challenges, contributions, and teaching behaviors of non-native teachers. In addition, perceptions of non-native speakers of English have been the subject of various studies. These fall into two categories: students’ perceptions of non-native teachers (e.g., Moussu, 2002; Liang, 2002; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2002; Pacek, 2005) and self-perceptions of non-native teachers (e.g., Reves & Medgyes, 1994; Samimy & Brutt-Griffler, 1999; Llurda & Huguet, 2003; Inbar-Lourie, 2005) (See Chapter 2 for a detailed critical review and analysis of this research).

In 1998, a statement was initiated by George Braine (documented in Braine, 2003), and written with two other experienced non-native teachers of English (Bailey, Curtis, & Nunan, 2001, p. 111) for a caucus of non-native speaking professionals in TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, Inc.):

Despite the TESOL organization’s opposition to discrimination in hiring practices, nonnative speaker English teachers continue to face discrimination in obtaining employment. Although most native speaker colleagues are supportive, some administrators and colleagues appear to view English language teaching as the sole domain of native speakers. This attitude is highly ironic, considering our profession’s strident championing of multiculturalism, diversity, and other worthy sociopolitical causes, often on behalf of ESL students and immigrants. Although ESL students are praised and admired for the multiculturalism and diversity they bring into language classes, nonnative English teachers, who can also contribute their rich multicultural, multilingual experiences, are often barred from the same classes. As a result, many nonnative speaker English teachers feel the pressure of low morale and self-esteem, lack of recognition, and marginalization. As professionals involved in teaching English, we need to address these and other issues related to the role of nonnative speakers in the profession.

In an article written around the same time, Braine (1998) also questioned the validity of two excuses for not hiring non-native speaking teachers frequently trotted out: that ESL students prefer being taught by native speakers and that recruiting foreigners involves a complex legal process. Both the statement and the article were received warmly by many teachers – both native and non-native – around the globe, and evoked an immediate response. As a result, a caucus of non-native speaking teachers of English was officially established by TESOL in the same year.
Rationale for the Study

In this section, I present the rationale for the current study under six categories. First, I discuss the importance of the study in the Canadian context. Then, I focus on professional identity formation. Next comes the importance of critical practice. Fourth, the significance of sociocultural perspective in second language teacher education is highlighted. Then I briefly describe why investigating teacher cognition is of value, and finally, the importance of dynamic research methods is discussed.

Focus on Immigrant ESL Teachers in the Canadian Context

Skilled worker immigrants in the field of TESOL in Canada have generally earned their undergraduate and/or graduate degrees and worked as professionals in the field prior to their immigration. According to the report, “Study of ESL/FSL Services in Ontario,” prepared by Power Analysis Inc. (2000), 35% of all teachers in Ontario are “not native speakers of English,” and instructors in Toronto are by far the most likely to have a first language other than English – over 40%. Although research has been conducted on immigrant teachers in different contexts, examining teachers’ self-image with respect to whether they are native or non-native speakers of English, their self-perceived language skills, teaching challenges, and the effect of self-perception on their teaching (See Chapter 2 for more details), there has been little attention paid to the status of immigrant teachers in the field of TESOL in the Canadian setting. As a matter of fact, there have been no studies into the status, dynamics, and standards of the official TESOL certification process in the province of Ontario since the establishment of certification in 2002 (Soheili-Mehr, 2004). Nor has there been any research on teachers’ evolving

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20 I use the term “Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages” (TESOL) to refer to teachers, educators, and programs whose primary goal is to provide English language instruction and support to students who are learning English. The term is perceived, by some, to be problematic because it creates an us-them dichotomy and implies a sense of otherness. However, it is universally accepted and widely used among the professionals in the field.

21 Although TESL in Canada is distinct in certain ways from TESOL in the US, I use the term “TESOL” throughout this dissertation as I find it more appropriate. For one, emphasis on teaching English as a “second” language is neither realistic nor reflective of the diversity of speakers, many of whom are multilingual. Also, using the ordinal “second” might be taken to imply a ranking or preference associated with a speaker’s primary language. Third, from an academic perspective, TESOL is a more accurate description of the contents of the typical teacher education programs in Canada as they are designed to prepare teacher candidates for teaching both in Canada and abroad. The fact that almost all the programs
image of themselves while they are in a professional development or recertification program in a Canadian-based TESOL program. Also, at present, there is very limited information available on how TESOL teacher education programs in Canada address the needs of immigrant teachers in the process of certification. Based on Sanaoui’s (1997a) Directory of ESL Teacher Preparation Programs in Ontario, it is clear that, by and large, these programs do not address teachers’ educational, social, cultural, linguistic, and academic backgrounds, nor do they deal with their sociopolitical concerns.

An analysis of the literature related to non-native teachers and teachers-in-preparation reveals that a variety of needs and concerns are ascribed to immigrant ESL teachers. Kamhi-Stein (2000), for example, identifies lack of confidence, challenges to professional confidence, and lack of voice as important.

A key area of inquiry that this dissertation addresses is how the skills for which English language professionals have been permitted entry to Canada under the federal Skilled Worker Program are viewed at the local level by the gatekeeping professional licensing bodies. Furthermore, it addresses how immigrant teachers’ professional identity development – in the transition from their country of origin to the Canadian context – is shaped during the certification process by looking into their strengths, needs, and concerns.

Scrutinizing Identity Formation

The postcolonial critic Radhakrishnan (1996) notes that in the identity construction process, the burden is very often on the subordinate to affirm an identity, and construct and fit into a hegemonic essentialized self:

For too long, oppressed groups have been forced to constantly militarize their sense of identity, (1) as though their identities had no truth or significance beyond the expediency of polemics and strategy (when did we last hear of the practice of “strategic essentialism” by Western white Europeans?), and (2) as though the meaning of their lives has to be perennially played out in the context of dominant identities who supposedly have transcended the strategic and the political in the

recognized by TESL Ontario Association are also approved by TESL Canada Federation is reason enough for this claim.
name of their successful and “natural” history. (Radhakrishnan, 1996, p. xxvi)

Although the subordinate can try to construct a positive identity through constant struggle for the purpose of gaining recognition, it is often the powerful who dictate – and at times impose – the rules of the identification process to the subordinate because the powerful control resources. The subordinate group’s access to resources is frequently limited or denied and they often come to believe that they have little or no choice in the matter either. They are ultimately expected to play the dominant group’s game in an attempt to become like them. The history of identity construction is, thus, not innocent. It is a history of the effects of the subordination of one group by another.

By the same token, immigrant language teacher identity is not a natural construct; rather, it is in the product of practices that are potential sites for reconstruction, deconstruction of one’s sense of self, and the interaction of the two. Teacher identity is a concept that helps to describe differences due to particular power relations and related practices. The native speaker as an identity should not be taken for granted; it needs to be problematized in order to make visible issues of linguistic, social, and professional inequality, not to mention how inequality is reproduced (Canagarajah, 1999b). Moreover, it can help educators to explore possible alternative ways to resist the NS concept and break the reproductive structures maintained by its essentialism and centralism.

In theorizing identity, we are not restricted to concepts of postmodernism or poststructuralism. Vygotskian-based sociocultural theory (SCT) can offer complementary perspectives on the participatory aspects of learning and reconstruction of self and identity (Lantolf, 2000) (See Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion). Adopting such a perspective on teacher development has the potential to empower TESOL professionals to become contributors rather than merely borrowers in the construction of their own identities. In fact, the uniqueness of the TESOL field is a result of the role language plays in understanding interaction and learning. Therefore, it would be interesting to see how INNESTs, as linguistically and professionally constructed educators, identify themselves and/or resist identification within a TESOL teacher education program. The possible challenges of identification as “a site of struggle” (Norton & Toohey, 2002, p. 116), together with strategies that INNESTs make use of to deal with challenges, and how this
identification may influence their perceptions, participation, and practices within the TESOL program, are matters considered in the present research.

Importance of Critical Practice in TESOL Teacher Education

Another point to consider is the changes the field of TESOL has witnessed in recent years. Until recently, the focus of TESOL has been on promoting techniques to improve second language teaching practice in various settings. The primary goal was to “train” teachers to be successful in instructing language learners. In other words, the “technicality” of teaching was emphasized.

However, due to an increased interest in the cognitive aspects of learning and teaching, perhaps as a result of the inroads that SCT has made recently, a paradigm shift has taken place in TESOL: language teachers’ thinking and beliefs became the focus of teacher education programs. Teachers’ roles were given so much emphasis that Gee (1994) suggests that, “English teachers stand at the very heart of the most crucial educational, cultural, and political issues of our time” (p. 190). As a result, there has been a call for more critical language teacher education. This perspective views teachers as transformative agents who are responsible for providing language learners with equal opportunities for learning (Zeichner, 1998). In this approach, teachers are expected to be more sensitive to social, cultural, and political aspects of the teaching profession and to work to better understand teaching strategies and make appropriate choices for particular language learners. Despite the fact that this approach is of great value to language teachers with respect to the “what” of teaching, there are still areas that need more attention: the “how” of teaching – how to coordinate teaching, how to structure the learning environment, and how to contemplate one’s beliefs and practices to critically meditate on, question, and address power and inequalities in the relationship between the teacher’s roles and those of others in the learning and teaching community. One instance of such critical reflection is the process of (re-)defining the native speaker–non-native speaker dichotomy, the existence or lack of authority attached to each, and the influence of the dichotomy in certification, legitimization, and integration of immigrant teachers. This has not been adequately addressed within TESOL teacher education programs, and
is the focus of this study (See Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion).

**Importance of Sociocultural Perspectives in TESOL**

Typically, INNESTs who arrive in Canada on the recommendation of CIC feel competent in their area of expertise, have the broad perspective and skilled judgment of an expert, and are capable of functioning at a high level of integrated autonomy. In this thesis I examine these teachers’ sense of their own expertise after they enter Canadian TESOL certification programs. Hawkins (2004) rightly believes that the role of sociocultural perspective needs to be given more prominence in the field of TESOL teacher education as awareness of differences in perspective can help to develop critical and reflective practices in the teachers. As Hawkins says, it is important for teacher candidates “to engage in critical, reflective practices … and to envision their work as creating learning communities within which they also participate as teachers and collaboratively negotiate new understandings of their profession and practices” (2004, p. 6). How immigrant teachers for whom English is a second language, and more specifically, INNESTs of ESL, negotiate their professional identities in the framework of TESOL certification programs has received little attention worldwide, and no attention in the Canadian context. Moreover, there is a lack of detailed and empirical description of the sociopolitical realities of ESL teacher (re-)certification programs in Canada, and how ESL teachers-in-training construct knowledge together by sharing their opinions, experiences, and concerns within such programs. The investigation of these questions, among others, is the ultimate goal of the present study (See Chapter 3 for more detail).

**Investigating Teacher Cognition**

Because their mother tongue is a language other than English, INNESTs all experience learning English as a foreign language as well as teaching it. Given that, they have knowledge, beliefs, and thoughts about both learning a second language and teaching that same language. In other words, their cognitions were already shaped by their years of learning and teaching English before coming to Canada. Given that the Canadian TESOL teacher education program consists of courses on second language education (SLE) theories, ESL teaching methodologies, as well as a teaching practicum,
it is interesting to see whether participation in the program influences and further develops INNESTs’ cognition in terms of their teaching beliefs and classroom practices. Most of the studies on language teacher cognition and teacher education focus either on pre-service or in-service programs (Borg, 2006). The participants in the present study were already experienced teachers; yet, they were required to attend the program – initially designed as a pre-service program – alongside novice NS Canadians in order to obtain a Canadian ESL teaching certificate. Therefore, investigation into the cognitions of this understudied group is a significant contribution to the body of research on teacher cognition (See Chapter 3 for more details).

Significance of Incorporating Dynamic Research Methods

As noted by Hansen and Liu (1997), despite the fact that many researchers in education have considered identity to be a dynamic phenomenon, most research methodologies used to study identity do not allow for such dynamism as they do not typically gather data over time (See Chapter 3 for more details). A review of all the research methods used in studies on INNESTs shows that three kinds of research methodologies predominate: (a) (self-)reflective non-empirical research, (b) qualitative research methods, (c) quantitative research methodology. Fewer than a handful of studies have used more innovative research designs, such as a mixed methods (MM) design (See Chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion of research methods used to study non-native teachers in TESOL). To avoid the problematic nature of snapshot cross-sectional research, the present study undertakes an MM approach, uses multiple data sources, and involves the collection of data in stages. This dynamic methodology is more appropriate to the dynamic and complex nature of identity formation and provides a detailed description and analysis of identity development among the participants in the study over an extended period of time (See Chapter 5 for more details on the research methodology in this study).

In this section, I have discussed the rationale for this study and in the following section I present the research goals and questions.
Goals of the Study and Research Questions

Research Goals

Broadly speaking, the aim of this dissertation is to contribute to our knowledge of the INNEST experience by interrogating the NS concept. I seek to clarify the ways this construct is understood and used by INNESTs in three different aspects: (a) as speakers (i.e., individuals); (b) as speakers in relation to native and non-native peers and instructors (i.e., individuals in relation with other individuals in a TESOL program); and (c) as speakers working towards certification in the larger professional community (i.e., individuals in a community). Participants in this study critically negotiate their professional identities as non-native speakers by looking at their past, examining their present status, and investing in their future in the ESL profession. The participants’ accounts are defined and interpreted within different theoretical traditions, and their implications are discussed.

More specifically, the main goals of this study are to examine the professional experiences of INNESTs of ESL enrolled in a TESOL program and to investigate the development of their professional identities in the Canadian context. This I do by addressing the questions in the following section.

Research Questions

The research questions in this study are multidimensional, stemming from a review of the literature and personal experience with INNESTs as well as my own status as an immigrant, a non-native English speaker, a language teacher, and a TESOL teacher educator. My main area of inquiry is:

*How are INNESTs’ professional identities constructed within the framework of a TESOL certification program in Ontario?*

In light of the above overarching question, I address three main aspects of INNESTs’

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22 The initial research questions of this study were reformulated in response to the evolving findings from the data as well as feedback from the thesis supervisor and other readers of earlier drafts.
identities: their linguistic capital (or language-related identity – i.e., the “NNES” in INNEST – the “non-native English speakers”), their professional position (or disciplinary identity – i.e., the “I” in INNEST – the “immigrant” seeking professional certification), and their teaching self-knowledge (or self-image and awareness – i.e., the “T” in INNEST – the “teacher”). The following three questions are thus addressed:

Q1. How do INNESTs – as learners, speakers, users, and teachers of English – negotiate their language-related identities in the English-speaking Canada?

Three subquestions are used to answer this question:

Q1a. How do INNESTs perceive the native speaker construct?

Q1b. How do INNESTs identify themselves in regards to the native speaker construct?

Q1c. Are there any changes in INNESTs’ beliefs and self-identification during the TESOL program?

23 I use capital as Pierre Bourdieu does. According to Bourdieu (1984, 1986), human actions take place in social fields in which individuals, institutions, and other agents struggle for economic resources – money and property. Through struggle they try to acquire capital (i.e., wealth) to distinguish themselves from others. Bourdieu then extends the idea of capital to other categories such as social, cultural, and symbolic capital. He argues that each individual has a position in a social space where he or she is defined by every kind of capital he or she can possess and articulate within social relations. Through Bourdieu’s lens, language is not just a method of communication; it is also a kind of capital and a source of power. How an individual uses language is determined by his or her position in a social space.

24 It is important to note that different terms are used in this study to frame the research questions surrounding professional identities. The review of the literature provides detailed clarification as to what each of these terms and constructs means and why they have been selected (See Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion).

25 The thesis investigates change as a result of the Ontario TESOL program for one group only – the core participants. The design of the study was not meant to address change for the survey participants. As described in detail in Chapter 5, in the complementary mixed methods design adopted for this study, the qualitative data gathered from the five core participants was meant to be enhanced and supplemented by the results from the quantitative data gathered from the survey participants. That is why the core participants and the qualitative data collected from them were given a greater emphasis in the study. Therefore, it was not within the scope of this study to measure change among the survey participants. That is a subject for a future study. This has also been marked as a limitation in this research study.
Q2. How do INNESTs – as skilled professionals in Canada – negotiate their disciplinary identities and respond to certification requirements and Canadian professional norms in the course of participating in a provincial licensing association’s TESOL certification program?

This question is addressed through a discussion of the following two subquestions:

Q2a. What are the core INNESTs’ experiences with and views on provincial certification within the framework of a TESOL program in Ontario?

Q2b. To what extent and in what ways do quantitative data obtained from survey INNESTs, analyzed using an integrative mixed method, contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the certification process?

Q3. How do INNESTs – as professional ESL teachers – negotiate their teaching self-knowledge and awareness within the framework of a TESOL program in Ontario?

This question is explored through the following two subquestions:

Q3a. What are INNESTs’ image of themselves as teachers?

Q3b. How do INNESTs negotiate their teaching knowledge?

Overview and Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into a prologue, 9 chapters, and an epilogue. The prologue comprises personal experiences as well as professional motivations for conducting the study. Chapter 1 is an introduction to the background and rationale for the study as well as the research goals and questions. In Chapter 2 there is an extensive critical review of relevant research studies, focusing on the NS construct from different perspectives as well as on previous research into the non-native teacher in the field of TESOL. Chapter 3 consists of an overview of the theoretical frameworks used in and their relevance to the study. In Chapter 4 the research context is described and the
participants in the study are introduced. In Chapter 5 there is a detailed discussion of the research approach, methods, components, and tools used in the study. The discussion in Chapter 6 presents a description, analysis, and interpretation of the NS construct and identity in order to answer the first research question. In Chapter 7 the findings on the INNESTs’ perspectives on provincial TESOL certification and their integration into the ESL profession are discussed, and the second research question is addressed. Chapter 8 comprises an examination of the immigrant ESL teachers’ expertise and self-image and a discussion of the findings with respect to the third research question. In Chapter 9 the overarching research query and the three research questions are revisited, and there is a summary of the study findings. In that chapter there is also a discussion of the implications of the study and its limitations as well as directions for future inquiry. Finally, the epilogue concludes this dissertation with an update on the participants’ professional lives.
CHAPTER 2

A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON IMMIGRANT NON-NATIVE ENGLISH SPEAKING TEACHERS (INNESTS)

Introduction

The area of native and non-native speaker research is relatively young in applied linguistics and TESOL. However, a number of full-length books have been written on the topic over the last 25 years: Braine (1999, 2005a), Belcher & Connor (2001), Coulmas (1981), Curtis & Romney (2006), Davies (1991, 2003), Kamhi-Stein (2004), Llurda (2005a), Medgyes (1994), Paikedy (1985a), Singh (1998), and Snow (2007). These volumes, along with many journal articles, have played a significant role in opening new areas of inquiry in the area of native and non-native speakers of English, in general, and their role in the language teaching profession, in particular. Since non-native speakers of English now make up the majority of English language teachers in the world, interest in issues related to their education and practice has increased of late.26 This interest has been reflected in publications focusing on: the perceived advantages of being a non-native teacher in the TESOL field (e.g., Medgyes, 1992, 1994; Samimy & Brutt-Griffler, 1999); linguistic imperialism (e.g., Phillipson, 1992a; Widdowson, 1994); post-colonialism (e.g., Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999; Kamhi-Stein, 1999); student attitudes toward non-native teachers of English as a second language (ESL) or English as a foreign language (EFL) (e.g., Amin, 1997, 1999; Braine, 2005b; Tang, 1997; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2002); the native and non-native speaker constructs (e.g., Davies, 1991, 2004; Ferguson, 1992; Kramsch, 1998; Liu, J., 1999; Medgyes, 1992; Nayar, 1994); pedagogical perceptions (e.g., Reves & Medgyes, 1994; Inbar, 2003); and the struggles and triumphs of non-

26 According to Kachru (1996), “There are now at least four non-native speakers of English for every native speaker” (p. 241). As English is expanding rapidly as the lingua franca, the number of non-native ESL/EFL teachers is on the rise.
native teachers (e.g., Braine, 1999; Connor, 1999; Thomas, 1999).

In this chapter, I provide a detailed critical review and analysis of research on INNESTs. First, I define two key terms: *native language* and *native speaker*. Then I focus on the native speaker construct from linguistic, sociolinguistic, educational and professional perspectives. After that, I discuss some possible alternatives to the term *native speaker*. I then focus on non-native teachers and review the body of research in this area. In particular, I provide an overview of research studies in the Canadian context. At the end of this chapter, research methods for the study of non-native teachers in TESOL are discussed.

**Definition of Terms**

Before beginning the review, it is important to define the native language and native speaker constructs. Although “Native–Non-native speaker” has been used extensively by applied linguists and TESOL educators over the years, there is still no single, satisfactory, agreed-upon definition.

**Defining “Native” and “Non-native Language”**

According to David Crystal’s (2003) *Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*, *native language* is synonymous to *mother tongue* and *first language* (L1), and is defined as: “The language first acquired by a child … or preferred in a multilingual situation” (p. 108). Richards and Schmidt (2002), in *Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics*, offer a similar definition, emphasizing that one’s native language is learned in early childhood and “is often the first language … acquired” (p. 350). Along the same lines, *non-native language* is “a language which people use other than their mother tongue” (Crystal, 2003, p. 108).

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27 More recent works have problematized the native speaker concept in applied linguistics (Rudolph, Selvi, & Yazan, 2015); advocated for resistance to dichotomizing views of native speaker status (Houghton & Rivers, 2013); explored the ideological presuppositions in the determination of native-like competence (Choi, 2016); recommended focus on successes of L2 users as opposed to their failure to become like native speakers (Cook, 2016); and investigated the emotional burdens of NNESTs (Wolff & De Costa, 2017).
Defining “Native Speaker”

Defining who or what a native speaker is seems like an elusive task because it is not exactly clear what a native speaker knows based on being a native speaker of a language (Myhill, 2003). However, the various definitions that have been proposed for native language emphasize different characteristics and conditions, such as birth, parentage, and childhood. Strevens (1992), for instance, states that the terms “native language,” “mother tongue,” “primary language,” and “first language” are often used interchangeably. The primary language is usually the language initially used by the child’s mother, which is why the label “mother tongue” is often used. Given the above, a native speaker of English is someone whose first language, mother tongue, and primary language are all English. These concepts tie language to inheritance. For Rampton (1990) one’s mother tongue is inherited “either through genetic endowment or through birth into the social group stereotypically associated with it” (p. 97). Based on this assumption, Rampton argues that those who inherit a language presumably have a high level of proficiency in it. In Encyclopedia Dictionary of Applied Linguistics, Cook (1998) confirms that childhood language learning, expertise, and intuitions about language grammaticality are key characteristics of a native speaker. However, he goes beyond these and emphasizes that a native speaker can use his or her native language “automatically, accurately and creatively, and identifies with a community in which it is spoken” (p. 227). In other words, Cook (2003) clearly specifies three characteristics for the native speaker. First, he considers personal history: “Native speakers are … people who acquired the language naturally and effortlessly in childhood” (p. 28). Secondly, he points to expertise as a criterion to pass as a native speaker: “Native speakers … use the language, or a variety of it, correctly, and have insight into what is or is not acceptable” (p. 28). Thirdly, Cook refers to knowledge and loyalty: “Being a native speaker … entails knowledge of, and loyalty to, a community which uses the language” (p. 28). Although Cook’s definition is relatively comprehensive, it is not universally applicable. For instance, many English speakers in the inner, outer, or expanding circles (Kachru, 1985) may have grown up with another language at home. Then, by this definition, they would not be native speakers of English. Also, one may speak and use English as a first language but display cultural loyalty to a non-English-speaking community. Cook’s
notion of expertise, however, remains the strength of his definition.

**The Native Speaker Construct in Applied Linguistics and TESOL**

In this section, I review and examine the native speaker construct in applied linguistics and TESOL from four different, yet related, perspectives: linguistic, sociolinguistic, educational, and professional.

**The Native Speaker Construct: Linguistic Perspectives**

Although the native speaker construct has received full-length book treatments in applied linguistics and TESOL (Coulmas, 1981; Davies, 1991, 2003; Paikeday, 1985a; Singh, 1998), it is still rich in ambiguity and controversy, and needs more detailed analysis.28

The concept of the native speaker is, by many, attributed to Chomsky, who states, “A grammar is … descriptively adequate to the extent that it correctly describes the intrinsic competence of the idealized native speaker” (Chomsky, 1965, p. 24). Based on this view, any linguistic theory is conceptualized and constructed around the model of an idealized native speaker. Chomsky’s view places emphasis on the intuition of native speakers, who cannot help knowing what they do about their native language; i.e., they come by their knowledge naturally. For Chomsky, competence in a language has to do with intuitive knowledge of what is grammatical and ungrammatical. This has been the point of departure for many language theorists and researchers for many years. Linguists have traditionally considered the native speaker to be “the only true and reliable source of language data” (Ferguson, 1983, p. vii).

Coulmas’s edited volume *A Festschrift for native speaker* (1981) was the first of its kind, to focus on the native speaker as a central concept in the study of language. Given this emphasis, van der Geest, in Coulmas’ collection, characterized the native speaker as “the ultimate state at which first and second language learners may arrive and as the ultimate goal in language pedagogy” (van der Geest, 1981, p. 317). Confirming the

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28 Three recent volumes include Mahboob (2010), Houghton & Rivers (2013), and Davies (2013).
native speaker’s status, Mey (1981, p. 70) stated that: “Native Speaker is the final criterion of matters linguistic: his verdict settles all disputes, be they about sentences, linguistic postulates, innate ideas, or what have you. Like the Kings of Old, Native Speaker can do no wrong. He is above all laws: he is the Law himself, the Rule of the realm, the referee of the linguistic ballpark.” Likewise, Stern (1983) emphasized the importance of the native speaker’s competence, proficiency, or knowledge of the language as a goal and “a necessary point of reference for the second language proficiency concept used in language teaching theory” (Stern, 1983, p. 341).

However, Chomsky’s view, on which the above are based, is problematic in that it fails to take account of sociocultural factors. In fact, context plays a trivial role in it, as Davies (1999) argues:

Chomsky’s view … is a thoroughgoing ‘unitary competence’ view of language in which language use is contingent and the native speaker is only a realization of that competence at a linguistic and not a language level. For Chomsky, like many theoretical linguists, is not interested in languages: what he studies is language. (p. 533)

Alternatively, Davies (1995, p. 154) presents his own model of the native speaker, which is characterized in six different ways: childhood language acquisition, intuitions about idiolect and grammar, intuitions about the standard language, fluent spontaneous discourse, unique language creativity, and a capacity to interpret and translate into L1.29 Considering these characteristics, Davies posits that an L2, i.e., non-native, speaker can become a native speaker of L2 by all the above-mentioned criteria except for childhood language acquisition. In other words, if the criterion childhood language acquisition, as a bio-developmental feature, is removed, then it would be possible for the L2 non-native speaker to become a native speaker of L2, as the other five criteria are features of language proficiency, which is achievable. In fact, Davies moves beyond the earlier

29 Davies’s model is similar to Stern’s (1983, p. 346) specification of four main features which characterize language proficiency:
1. the intuitive mastery of the forms of the language;
2. the intuitive mastery of the linguistic, cognitive, affective and sociocultural meanings, expressed by the language forms;
3. the capacity to use the language with maximum attention to communication and minimum attention to form; and
4. the creativity of language use. [all italics in the original].

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linguists (such as Bloomfield), saying that learners of a second language can become, and so pass as, native speakers of that language. Davies’ contribution is notable for its attempt to re-define the native speaker construct to include both L1 and L2, i.e., native and non-native, speakers (2003, p. 9). However, Davies’ arguments give rise to questions. At the end of the book, he says, “even if I cannot define a native speaker I can define a non-native speaker negatively as someone who is not regarded by him/herself or by native speakers as a native speaker” (p. 213). This opens his discussion to the challenge he has faced over the years: Who is to judge? If, for example, a non-native speaker, according to Davies, assumes the confidence and identity of native speaker, but is still, for any reason whatsoever, not perceived nor accepted as a native speaker by other *native speakers*, what then? Davies does not address this issue, thus his argument for acceptance (i.e., membership) as a determining factor remains open to question. This stands contrary to his declaration that although “the theoretical debate about native speakers may be unresolved, but in the daily practice of language teaching and testing resolution is necessary” (p. 161). Moreover, Davies’ goal of establishing an understanding of native speaker status that is, “more ordinary and attainable by non-native speakers” (p. 9) seems unrealizable in the face of his apparently contradictory comment that only very few non-native speakers could reach this level in reality. Despite Davies’ detailed discussion, the reader also feels confused at his conclusion that the native–non-native dichotomy is created not only by native speakers themselves, but also by their non-native counterparts. These questions, among others, once again illustrate the problematic nature of the native speaker construct when it is understood, as it is by Davies, as having a relatively unitary and fixed status. Davies’ model is detailed, but it is not satisfactory. His approach, as he acknowledges, is not experimental; rather, it is more speculative in nature. Therefore, his model is more of theory than actual data. As a result his conclusions stand in need of support by empirical research.

Given the controversial, fuzzy, and therefore, problematic nature of the native speaker construct, Paikeday (1985a) challenged the native speaker’s status as the ultimate arbiter of the grammaticality and acceptability of language forms. According to Paikeday, the native speaker in its linguistic sense represents an ideal or a convenient fiction, and is therefore non-existent and *dead*. 

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Apart from the linguistic perspective, the native speaker construct has been the subject of inquiry by sociolinguists to identify who can be named a native speaker. With the development of a popular and political discourse that emphasizes learning and using a foreign or second language in different contexts (Labrie, 1993); spread of English around the world; and its usage status as “generally the first option” with different nations (Labrie & Quell, 1997, p. 22), English has been acquired and is currently used by many speakers in many different countries. The difficulty of drawing distinct lines between English and non-English-speaking countries was described by the Indian scholar Braj Kachru (1985), who arranged countries into three concentric circles. The inner circle refers to the traditional English-speaking countries where English is the primary language (the USA, UK, Ireland, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand). The outer or extended circle involves the earlier stages of the spread of English in the formerly colonized non-native countries, where English has become an official language and part of their main institutions, and plays a significant second language role in a multilingual setting: (Singapore, India, Malawi, and over fifty other countries and territories). The expanding circle refers to those nations that have accepted and recognize the importance of English as an international language. These countries have neither a history of colonization by members of the inner circle, nor have they given English official and prominent language status in their language policy (e.g., China, Japan, Greece, and Poland). This circle is steadily expanding. In these areas, English is taught as a foreign language. Ammon (2003) estimates that the number of English speakers in the inner circle is roughly 320 to 380 million, the outer is 150 to 300 million, and the expanding is 100 million to a billion. With the non-English-speaking countries “added as a fourth, ‘outside circle’,” Ammon (2003, p. 25) concludes that over three-quarters of the world’s population speaks English.

Kachru (1985) also classifies countries on the basis of their role in establishing or affirming norms of English usage. The countries in the “inner circle” use “norm-
providing” (i.e., standard) varieties. In the “outer circle,” “norm-developing” varieties of English are used, i.e., English that deviates from standard norms (Davies, 1989). However, English varieties in the “expanding circle” follow a standard variety from the inner circle, and are therefore “norm-dependent.” In this sense, as Kachru puts it, such norm-dependent varieties are “linguistic orphans in search of their parents” (1982, p. 50).

Scholars who have tried to define the native speaker construct on the basis of norms of language spoken in the inner circle (i.e., standard varieties of English) have been criticized for a number of reasons. First, the categories in Kachru’s model are neither fixed nor easy to determine: under certain circumstances “norm-developing countries can become norm-providing ones, and norm-dependent countries can turn into norm-developing ones” (Medgyes, 2000, p. 436). Moreover, it is not possible to define what standard English is. As matter of fact, linguists have wondered if any standard variety of English exists at all (Kachru, 1982). Standard English, of whatever variety (American, British, Canadian, etc.), is dependent upon an idealization of the “rules and norms to which learners attempt to adhere with varying degrees of success” (Medgyes, 2000, p. 437). If there is no such thing as “standard English”, then there is no standard for the speech of the native speaker. As such, the definition of a native speaker as someone who speaks a standard variety of English in an inner circle country is not valid from a sociolinguistic perspective.

The Native Speaker Construct: Educational Perspectives

The native speaker construct has not only been an area of inquiry for linguists and sociolinguists, language educators have also been concerned with the implications of the construct in educational settings. In fact, as long as a standard variety of English has been favoured in countries of the outer and expanding circles, educators have worried about whether the acceptance of an exclusive standard variety leads to linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992a), and ultimately discrimination against those who do not follow any standard norms. As a result, many have suggested an alternative solution: English as an International Language (EIL) (Smith, 1983). The advocates of this model argue that since non-native English speakers will soon outnumber native speakers (Graddol, 1997),
any user of English will be the owner of it; hence, there will be no sense to the
privileging of the native speaker (Widdowson, 1994).

Another issue taken up by language educators has been the question of whether
non-native learners of a language can hope to become native speakers of that language,
mastering all its subtle linguistic and cultural aspects. The bulk of research in the area of
research on native and non-native speakers, though, has not been able to offer any easy
solution. Kramsch argues that any person who claims to be a native speaker is one, only
if he or she is accepted “by the group that created the distinction between native and non-
native speakers … More often than not, insiders do not want outsiders to become one of
them, and even if given the choice, most language learners would not want to become
one of them” (1997, p. 363). Coulmas confirms Kramsch’s view: “The price of becoming
a ‘facsimile of a native’ is a change of one’s personality. Everyone may not be ready to
pay this price” (1981, p. 365). In reality, a very limited number of non-native learners of
a language can manage to, and may want to, change into native speakers of that language.

The Native Speaker Construct: Professional Perspectives

The professional and practical significance of the native speaker construct is very
well highlighted by Paikedy (1985a), who pinpointed the discrimination by potential
employers against those who are not native speakers or do not have the ideal language
proficiency of the native speaker: “Native speakership should not be used as a criterion
for excluding certain categories of people from language teaching, dictionary editing, and
similar functions” (1985, p. 88). He suggested that proficiency be used as the criterion for
employment, and that proficient user replace native speaker in employment
requirements: “the people we refer to as arbiters of grammaticality are not really so
because true arbiters of grammaticality are proficient users of languages, not just native
speakers” (1985, p. 53).

Alternative Terms for Native Speaker

Considering the various problems associated with, and controversies related to,
the native speaker construct, scholars in both applied linguistics and TESOL have
suggested that “native speaker” and “native-speakership” be replaced by other terms and qualities. For example, Rampton (1990) coined *expert speaker and affiliation*. Kachru (1992) uses *English-using speech fellowships*. Jenkins (1996) suggests *bilingual speakers* to describe both fluent non-native speakers of English as well as English native speakers who are fluent in another language. Edge (1988) argues for the use of *accomplished users of English*. In his book *The Native Speaker Is Dead!*, Paikeday (1985a) uses *proficient English user* in a number of instances.

**The Non-native Teacher**

As discussed in previous sections, the native speaker construct can be examined from different perspectives: linguistic, sociolinguistic, educational, and professional. The professional practical implications of the native speaker construct have been at the centre of researchers’ attention recently. After the seminal works of Phillipson (1992a) and Medgyes (1994), and a little later, Braine (1999), more research emerged on issues relating to non-native English teachers. In this section, I critically examine the research conducted on the non-native speaker and, in particular, the non-native teacher.

According to Medgyes (2000), a non-native English speaking teacher (NNEST) is “a foreign language teacher, for whom the foreign language they teach is not their mother tongue; who usually works with monolingual groups of learners; whose mother tongue is usually the same as that of their students” (p. 444). This definition is certainly not flawless and inclusive. First, as admitted by Medgyes himself, NNESTs do not always teach monolingual students. Second, NNESTs teaching in a multilingual environment may not share their students’ mother tongue. Most important of all, one may question the validity and legitimacy of the term *non-native teacher* before a clear definition is offered for its umbrella term *non-native speaker*. Since the concept of the native speaker (as discussed in previous sections) is fuzzy and controversial, the term non-native speaker may not be clear either. As well, there is the view among some scholars, such as Singh (1998), that the native speaker is a political construct: a game played “because some people like to play the ‘non-native’ speaker game!” (p. 36) in order to “identify a class of underprivileged non-native speakers” (p. 39).
Historically speaking, the focus of the English language teaching (ELT) world was on native teachers and their needs and problems. As a result, non-native teachers were generally overlooked. One possible reason may be the fact that most research in ELT was conducted by native speakers themselves (Holliday, 1994). This trend began to change in the late 1980s due to the recognition of the growing number of non-native teachers (Norton, 1997; Widdowson, 1994). The first full-length book completely devoted to the non-native teacher was *The Non-native Teacher* by Medgyes, published in 1994. Medgyes provides a detailed description of the features that distinguish native teachers from non-native ones, calling them “two different species” (1994, p. 27). He emphasizes that the native and non-native speaker concept does exist when it comes to language teaching “not only in reality but also, and more significantly, in the minds of millions of teachers” (p. 1). Medgyes contends that teachers have the choice to describe themselves as native speakers, but should accept the related responsibilities “in terms of confidence and identity” (p. 16). Moreover, Medgyes (1994, 2000) lists six competencies that non-native teachers possess. These competencies have been noted by other applied linguists as well:

- the ability to provide a good learner model for imitation (Edge, 1988; Ur, 1996);
- the ability to teach language learning strategies more effectively (Seidlhofer, 1996);
- the ability to supply learners with more information about the English language (Palfreyman, 1993; Widdowson, 1992);
- the ability to anticipate and prevent language difficulties better (Phillipson, 1992b);
- the ability to be more empathetic to the needs and problems of learners;
- the ability to make use of the learners’ mother tongue in their teaching (Atkinson, 1987; Hancock, 1997).
Medgyes, based on his large-scale study, further concludes that native and non-native teachers do differ in terms of their language proficiency and teaching behaviour (Reves & Medgyes, 1994). However, difference does not necessarily mean that one is better or worse. Given that, he calls for hiring processes to be based on teachers’ professional abilities, and not their linguistic backgrounds.

**The Non-native Teacher: The Label**

The negative semantic load of “Non” in the label “Non-native teachers” has been questioned by a number of researchers. Braine (1999, p. xvii), for instance, noticed that the term “non-native teacher” did not appeal to some members within the TESOL organization. Therefore, he solicited a more appropriate term to better address the identity crisis that existed among concerned members:

- second language speaking professionals
- English teachers speaking other languages
- non-native speakers of English in TESOL
- non-native professionals in TESOL
- non-native teachers of English
- non-native English speaking professionals
- second language teaching professionals
- non-native English teachers

As well, to oppose any disempowering dichotomizing practice, Brutt-Griffler & Samimy (1999) put forward “international English professionals”.

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31 Minh-ha (1989, p. 99) argues that the problem with “non” labels is that they “take the dominant group as point of reference, and they reflect well the West’s ideology of dominance (it is as if we were to use the term “non-Afro-Asian,” for example, to designate all white peoples).”
TESOL Caucus in 2008, the idea of finding a name/acronym for the Caucus which didn’t have the negative connotation that the “Non” of NNEST does – which focuses on what one is not, rather than what one is – was raised and discussed on the Caucus E-List. A number of alternatives were suggested by the members to solve the label problem (Nonnative English Speakers in TESOL Caucus E-List, 2008). For example, a member proposed “Anglophone Speakers” as it helps speakers keep their identity without the ‘Non’ of the NNEST, especially that ‘Anglophone’ is used in many English departments to refer to literature written in English by non-native speakers of the language – literature written by native speakers is usually studied as American, Canadian, or English literatures. Or to add a positive tone, another member recommended “Bilingual English Speaking Teachers” (BEST) and “Multilingual English Speaking Teachers” (MEST). Moreover, a number of members argued that since NNEST is about “us” and our identity rather than about issues, the linguistic aspect of the term should yet be maintained. As such, a member suggested “Speakers of Other Languages Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages” (SOLTESOL). Honoring the diversity of the Caucus members, one other name suggested was “Diverse English Speaking Teachers” (DEST). Another alternative, “Legitimate Teachers of English” (LTEs) was believed to be appropriate since it had the advantage of taking one’s language learning/use history completely off the table and implicitly emphasizes the need for qualification.

Recently, the term *Internationally Educated Teachers* (IETs) has been widely used, as an alternative to “non-native teachers” in the Canadian context (e.g., Ontario College of Teachers, 2006) to refer to teachers who either have been educated/trained and have taught in other countries prior to their immigration to Canada, or teachers who have had their schooling and/or higher education and/or lived and/or worked somewhere outside Canada. Although this term may be appropriate for teachers with teachable subjects within the K-12 system, and although it has been used with good intentions to include immigrant teachers from different parts of the world, one cannot ignore its usage due to political correctness, and its implicit ignorance and problematic nature. This is especially true when it comes to English language teachers with diverse linguistic backgrounds and identities. For instance, this term may be used for teachers from any country in the world where English is the official and main language. Based on this
definition, a teacher from the UK would be an internationally educated teacher. Moreover, despite the positive connotation of the term highlighting the institutional and educational/schooling differences between Canada and other countries, it does not necessarily capture the sociocultural differences. Again, based on the above-mentioned definition, a teacher from the US would be considered an IET. In addition, key words in the term are *internationally educated*. One may question the validity of the term concerning the status of teachers who have received Canadian education, but have worked outside Canada for an extended period of time. Would they still be internationally educated?!

Although use of the label “non-native” is ideologically-loaded and problematic by providing legitimacy to the native–non-native dichotomy, it is still used widely by TESOL professionals around the world. Moreover, it has been the key terminology in much of the literature reporting research on non-native teachers. Therefore, using alternative terms might distort the literature. Besides, there have not been any substituting terms that are as commonly acceptable as “non-native”. Having said that, I will side with Holliday (2005), who wisely refrained from joining the alphabet soup argument, and simply accepted NNEST as the term to be used in the professional discourse. As a matter of fact, doing away with the term does not solve the problem; rather, problematizing it, revealing its politics, and resisting the ideology behind it are what should be done. For my part, while acknowledging its limitations, because of the popularity and universal understanding of the term, NNEST, and lack of other globally accepted terms, I too will use the acronym, begging for the indulgence of others who yearn for a new term.

**Research Studies on the Non-native Teacher in TESOL**

In this section, I review the studies that have been conducted on the status and experiences of non-native English speaking teachers in the fields of applied linguistics and TESOL. The topics have been arranged under The Native–Non-native Dichotomy; Non-native Teacher Trainees in TESOL Programs; Strengths of Non-native Teachers; Non-native Teachers’ Self-perception; and Students’ Attitudes toward Non-native Teachers. I will then provide an overview of research studies in the Canadian context. At
the end of this chapter, research methods used in the study of non-native teachers in TESOL will be discussed.

The Native–Non-native Dichotomy

Most studies of non-native teachers have focused on the appropriateness and relevance of the native–non-native dichotomy. One of the main arguments in the body of literature on the dichotomy is intended to establish the problematic nature of dividing teachers into native and non-native, and seek ways to offer alternatives. Higgins (2003), for example, raises the issue of ownership of the English language and suggests it as a possible alternative concept as teachers have “varying degrees of ownership because social factors, such as class, race, and access to education, act as gate keeping devices” (p. 641). Another group of researchers (Rampton, 1990; Liu, J., 1999; and Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001) criticized the native–non-native dichotomy for its contextual complications as well as the difficulty of categorizing teachers as either native or non-native. Alternatively, these researchers propose a continuum that would make it possible to include different cases without falling into one of only two standpoints. Cook’s idea of multicompetence (1999, 2007) goes beyond the native–non-native dichotomy and is an alternative to the non-native deficiency model. He suggests that individuals who know more than one language are multicompetent and have a distinct compound state of mind. In Cook’s multicompetence model, there is no overlap between NSs and NNSs; it allows individuals to define their status taking into account their prior language learning and using experiences, and demonstrates to them that they are “successful multicompetent speakers, not failed native speakers” (Cook, 1999, p. 204). Research shows the relevance and value of Cook’s model. For example, Pavlenko (2003) supports Cook’s notion of multicompetence and argues that language teacher education programs can offer an alternative imagined community of multicompetent speakers rather than the traditional deficit-based native–non-native paradigm because it can allow “teachers to construe themselves and their future students as legitimate L2 users rather than as failed native speakers of the target language” (p. 251). In another study, using a poststructuralist concept of identity, Golombek and Jordan (2005) argue that language teacher education programs – through activities, readings, and mediation, can indeed change non-native
speaking teachers’ identities from “deficient” and allow them to re-imagine themselves as multicompetent and legitimate speakers. Their findings, too, show the value of Cook’s concept of multicompetence as an alternative to the native–non-native dichotomy.

Non-native Teacher Trainees in TESOL Programs

As has been noted, the number of non-native speakers of English has been growing worldwide in recent years (Govardhan, Nayar, & Sheorey, 1999; Crystal, 2002; Graddol, 2006). As a result of this growth and due to the high demand for English teachers, the number of English teachers has increased (Braine, 1999; Liu, J., 1999; Prodromou, 2003; and Graddol, 2006). Although there are no reliable statistics on the number of non-native teachers in the world, Canagarajah (2005) estimates that non-native teachers make up 80% of the world’s English teachers in both EFL and English-dominant countries. Moreover, many non-native speakers of English go to English-dominant countries to attend TESOL programs. England and Roberts (1989) and D. Liu (1999), for instance, in two different studies, found that almost 40% of all the students in US-based TESOL programs are non-native speakers.

As far as the contents of TESOL programs are concerned, various studies have shown that the programs need to be redesigned to better address non-native students and teacher trainees’ needs. In a survey of TESOL programs in the North American context, Govardhan, Nayar, and Sheorey (1999) found that some programs do not cover issues pertaining to non-native teachers’ teaching needs in EFL contexts appropriately. Similarly, Polio and Wilson-Duffy (1998) were able to locate only a few courses in TESOL programs that address non-native student teachers’ future teaching challenges in their countries. This has been reiterated in different ways, and by different researchers, with respect to the inadequacies of theoretical and practical issues in TESOL courses across North America (Braine 1999; Oka 2004; Holliday 2005). In particular, the lack of practicum opportunities for non-native teacher trainees has been documented (Reid, 1997; Mahboob, 2003). As a result, it has been suggested that TESOL courses be redesigned to better meet the needs of non-native students (Kamhi-Stein, 2004; Brinton,
Strengths of Non-native Teachers

Although some earlier studies have explored the differences between native and non-native speakers (Kachru, 1981; Coppieters, 1987; Edge, 1988; Kresovich, 1988), most of them supported the idea that the native speaker is the ideal teacher of his or her language. Medgyes’ work (1992), however, provided a comprehensive and detailed comparison of native and non-native teachers of English to identify the ideal teacher. The results of his study suggest that the ideal English teacher is one with a high degree of proficiency in students’ first language as well as near-native proficiency in English. In a follow-up study, Medgyes (1994) specified six positive characteristics of non-native teachers: 1) They provide a good model to their students; 2) They know and are able to teach language strategies; 3) They can supply information about the English language; 4) They are aware of language difficulties and can predict and prevent them; 5) They are empathetic to students’ learning experience; and 6) They can benefit from sharing students’ native language. These positive features have been re-examined by other researchers. Barratt and Kontra (2000), for instance, found that native teachers are at a loss to make useful comparisons and contrasts with students’ first language. Also, they are not able to empathize with their students’ second language and culture learning experiences, a finding that was confirmed by Árva and Medgyes (2000). Cook (2005), agrees with Medgyes that non-native teachers can “provide models of proficient users in action in the classroom,” and are “examples of people who have become successful users” in the real world (p. 57). In a study in the US, Nemtchinova (2005) examined host teachers’ views on the non-native student teachers during their practicums. Among her findings were that non-native trainees’ have good contact with their ESL students, good prior preparation, good rapport with students, and are sufficiently aware of US culture.

32 In a recent article, Akcan (2016) published findings of a study on novice NNESTs and the effectiveness of their teacher education program. It discussed the NNESTs’ initial concerns and challenges, which included lesson delivery, managing behaviour, and unmotivated students. In another study, Anderson (2015) contrasted NSTs and NNSTs in initial TESOL teacher training courses. The findings reveal that NNESTs had more prior teaching experience and qualifications than their NNST counterparts.
Non-native Teachers’ Self-perception

A number of studies have focused on non-native teachers’ perceptions of their strengths and weaknesses. One of the very first studies in this area was conducted by Reves and Medgyes (1994) with 216 non-native teacher participants. A major finding in this study was a direct correlation between teachers’ poor self-image and their negative language performance and feeling of inferiority. Other studies have also reported the effect of occasional linguistic mistakes on non-native teachers’ feelings of inadequacy and self-doubt (Braine, 2004; Morita, 2004). Corroborating this, Samimy and Brutt-Griffler (1999) note that their non-native participants find it difficult to feel qualified when their linguistic abilities are constantly doubted in their teaching environment. An interesting study on non-native teachers’ self-perceptions was conducted by Ellis (2002, 2004) in Australia, in which she focused on multilingual-ness instead of merely native–non-native-ness. A major finding with regard to teachers’ self-perceptions is that native and non-native multilingual teachers have “more in common with each other than with the monolingual teachers” (p. 96). In the Canadian context, Sahib (2005) studied NNESTs’ confidence and self-image in TESL. Her findings suggest that teachers’ self-image may be affected by concerns over their language proficiency and inadequate familiarity with Canadian cultural norms. Sahib also found that the TESL program that her participants were attending was not successful in addressing NNESTs’ needs. One of her recommendations is that NNESTs should work and associate with NESTs for better integration into the Canadian TESL community and the development of a better teacher self-image.

Students’ Attitudes toward Non-native Teachers

In addition to the studies on non-native teachers’ self-perceptions, several studies have examined students’ perceptions and beliefs about their non-native teachers in both ESL and EFL contexts.

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33 The terms “self-perception” and “self-image” have been used in the literature by different researchers and they refer to the same construct. Pennington and Richards (2016) use teacher’s “self-knowledge and awareness.” All three refer to teachers’ awareness of their teaching strengths and weaknesses.
One of the very first studies of students’ attitudes is Moussu’s (2002), in which she found that ESL students at a US university did not like having a non-native teacher at the beginning of the semester. However, their attitudes changed for the better by the end of the semester. In the same context, Mahboob (2003) and Mahboob, Uhrig, Newman, and Hartford (2004) found both positive and negative student attitudes towards their native and non-native teachers. Although students have a positive attitude toward their native teachers because of their oral language skills, extensive vocabulary, and cultural knowledge, they perceive them negatively for their poor knowledge of grammar and their lack of experience as ESL learners. Students like their non-native teachers because of their experiences as ESL learners, and because of their explicit knowledge of grammar. In the EFL context, Cheung and Braine (2007) investigated the attitudes of 420 Hong Kong university students towards both native and non-native teachers. The results reveal that students like native-teachers because of their linguistic fluency and cultural knowledge. On the other hand, non-native teachers are viewed positively for their empathy with students’ learning challenges and their similar cultural background. Other comparative studies of attitudes towards native and non-native teachers include Benke and Medgyes (2005), Lasagabaster and Sierra (2002, 2005) and Pacek (2005). Students’ attitudes towards their non-native teachers are reported to be positive in all of these studies. The results from all these studies suggest that students’ attitudes towards non-native teachers are not necessarily negative, and that students appreciate non-native teachers’ experiences and expertise.

**Research Studies on Non-native Teachers in the Canadian Context**

The review of the literature presented in this chapter so far reflects a fact about the research on the native and non-native English speaking teachers: it is still mostly contextualized and carried out in English-speaking environments, particularly in the US. Recently there has been a growing interest in this area in the Canadian context.

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34 Sung (2014) suggests that students perceive NESTs to have better interactive teaching approaches and correct pronunciation, but poor grammar teaching and examination skills. Students perceive their NNESTs to be efficient in grammar teaching and teacher-centred teaching methods. Aslan and Thompson (2017) found that being a NEST or NNEST did not have a significant effect on students’ perceptions about their teachers.
The research study by Amin (1997, 2000) is, to the best of my knowledge, the first major Canadian study conducted on non-native teachers in the field of TESOL. In her doctoral study, Amin interviewed five visible minority women about their teaching experiences in Canada and found that some language learners assume that there is an “intrinsic connection between race and language ability.” Hence, they showed preference for “White teachers over non-White teachers,” assuming that only the former “can be native speakers of English” (p. 580). In other words, Amin’s participants believe that their students think that only Caucasian teachers can be native English speakers.

Zhang (2005) studied immigrant non-native teachers’ diverse experiences in ESL hiring processes in Canada. Zhang identifies the barriers and challenges INNESTs face when looking for ESL jobs as well as their empowering strategies and teaching characteristics.

Hodge (2005), through narrative analysis, illustrates the ways non-native teachers respond to the discourse of business and colonialism, and the questioning of their legitimacy as language teachers in the context of a private language school in Vancouver. Hodge highlights the importance of language as a cultural tool in non-native teachers’ success, and reinforces the importance of achieving a comfortable level of English proficiency in order to be able to operate effectively in the Canadian workplace. Another significant finding in Hodge’s study was her discovery that, in the discourse of the ESL business, it is assumed that neither a non-native speaker nor an immigrant has a deep understanding of the Canadian culture. Within the constraints of this imposed discourse, non-native teachers need to constantly struggle to remain in the profession.

Most of the other studies in the area have mainly investigated the experiences of non-native teachers in the K-12 teacher education context and not within TESOL programs. For example, Mawhinney and Xu (1997) analyze the challenges of constructing an identity faced by foreign-trained teachers living in Ottawa. One finding from their report is that after their arrival in Canada, INNESTs soon discover that their foreign credentials do not satisfy the requirements for an Ontario Teaching Certificate. Moreover, many of these teachers simply do not have the resources or the understanding
of the requirements set out by Ontario’s Ministry of Education and Training to overcome the existing barriers to professional certification. Consequently, many end up doing menial jobs for which they are overqualified and overeducated.

In another research project, Gagné and Inbar (2005a, 2005b) conducted a comparative study of non-native teacher candidates’ identity constructs and the role of language proficiency in their personal and professional lives as well as their confidence in their own English proficiency and their degree of satisfaction with the teacher education program. Their study shows that non-native participants vary in terms of the degree of support they want within the framework of their pre-service programs to improve their proficiency skills and to facilitate their acculturation to the new society.

Gambhir (2004) studied non-native teachers in a Canadian university pre-service B.Ed. program (a similar context to that of Gagné and Inbar (2005a, 2005b)) in order to identify non-native teachers’ needs with respect to developing language skills and knowledge of Canadian culture. A major finding of her study is that non-native teacher candidates gain “by accessing support networks, drawing explicit connections to their past experiences, and developing strategies for coping with discrimination” (p. ii).

Within the context of primary and secondary schools in the Greater Toronto Area, Wang (2002) looked at the cultural dissonance and adaptation experienced by immigrant teachers of Chinese background, and provides insights into the challenges these new immigrants face adapting to their new environment: dealing with discrimination by students, students’ parents, and school colleagues; adjusting to different methodologies; language problems; difficulty with teaching materials and class preparation; conflicts between past and present educational and cultural values; and obstacles to their pursuit of their career ambitions. Wang also investigated the various coping strategies these teachers make use of to respond to the cultural dissonance they experience.

In a similar Ontario-based K-12 school board context, Ng (2006) researched the identity development, cultural transformation, and professional practices of five visible minority immigrant teachers before and after immigrating to Canada. Ng suggests that non-native teachers should make use of their educational and professional knowledge and
individual life stories in their teaching practices. She also delved into the ways non-native teachers understand the Canadian school culture and manage to work within Canada’s educational system.

The literature reviewed so far is a condensed synthesis of the extensive body of research conducted on non-native teachers, and is intended to inform the current study in its research methodology design, and in understanding and interpreting the data collected. This review shows that the focus of attention has, for the most part, been on *product*; i.e., on how non-native teachers are perceived by others as well as themselves, what their strengths and weaknesses are, what their educational, sociocultural, pedagogical, professional and linguistic needs are as well as how they survive professionally and academically. This suggest that there is a need for *process*-oriented research, by which the process of the negotiation of the native–non-native speaker dichotomy and its (re-)/ (de-)construction can be explored in detail. Specifically, there is a need for understanding this process in the Canadian context, in which few studies have been conducted to date on non-native speakers in TESOL. In the next section, I turn to the various methods that have, so far, been used by different scholars in the study of non-native teachers.

**Research Methods Used to Study Non-native Teachers in TESOL**

As mentioned before, research on non-native teachers has only recently gained attention from language learning and teaching professionals. Despite the fact that many different research methodologies have been used to this point, the current research on non-native teachers is still lacking in many respects and is in need of further development. In this section, I will provide a survey of research methods employed in the literature on non-native teachers.

An in-depth review shows that three different research methodologies have been used in the study of non-native teachers in applied linguistics and TESOL (Soheili-Mehr, 2005):

(a) (Self-)Reflective, non-empirical research: (Greis, 1984; Seidlhofer, 1996; Amin, 1997; Connor, 1999; Braine, 1999; Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999; Lee, 2000;
Llurda, 2004; Derwing & Munro, 2005; Modiano, 2005; Rajagopalan, 2005; Thomas, 1999; de Oliveira & Richardson, 2001, 2004; Braine, 2005a). These studies have been based on personal experiences, (self-)narratives and/or fictional accounts.

(b) Qualitative research methods: (Liu, J., 1999a, 1999b; Llurda, 2003; Tsui, 2003; Ellis, 2004; Liu, 2004; Morita, 2004; Liu, 2005; Cots & Díaz, 2005). Most of these studies have used one or more of the following data collection strategies: interviews, narratives, observation, focus groups, self-reports, and dialogue journals.

(c) Quantitative research methodology: (Reves & Medgyes, 1994; Samimy & Brutt-Griffler, 1999; Cheung, 2002; Liang, 2002; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2002; Higgins, 2003; Llurda & Huguet, 2003; Mahboob, 2004; Maum, 2003; McKay, 2003; Kamhi-Stein et al., 2004; Benke & Medgyes, 2005; Inbar-Lourie, 2005; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Llurda, 2005b; Nemtchinova, 2005; Pacek, 2005; Bayyurt, 2006; Moussu, 2006). Most of these studies have used one or more of the following data collection strategies with a focus on quantitative data: self-reflection, interviews, narratives, fictional accounts, observation and dialogue journals, surveys, and questionnaires.

A very few research studies have used a mixed methods design, for the most part a combination of data collection tools, such as interview and/or observation with, for example, questionnaires (Cheung, 2002; Morita, 2004; Holliday, 2005; Bayyurt, 2006).

A review of all the research methods represented in the literature suggests that more innovative research designs are needed in the area of the native and non-native speaker. Missing are studies integrating diverse research paradigms with multiple research methods, combining qualitative and quantitative methods (i.e., mixed methods design) to provide better insights into the area.
CHAPTER 3
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

Introduction

Specifying the theoretical framework is crucial in any study as theory can help researchers narrow down the perspectives from which their data can be interpreted and understood. In this way, theoretical concepts, in fact, highlight the issues of significance in any learning and teaching activity. As language learning and teaching activities – like any other learning and teaching tasks – are informed by ideas and influenced by assumptions, theoretical concepts can help make sense of these activities and provide explanations for how they are carried out. As such, theories function as a tool box for a researcher, giving him or her freedom to choose the theoretical concepts that are most relevant to his or her research (Soheili-Mehr, 2005).

In this chapter, I describe the theoretical perspectives that form the foundation of my research study and pervaded the research from beginning to end. I briefly discuss identity, critical pedagogy, sociocultural theory, and teacher cognition in TESOL teacher education. Identity forms the major conceptual foundation for this study. The other three theoretical perspectives are used to make sense of, and interpret the data. I also explain why and how this study uses these theoretical frameworks, and how my understandings of them informed my research questions. As the thesis progresses, however, I will provide links to the theories behind the emerging themes through the description, analysis, and interpretation of the research data.  

35 Each theoretical framework is presented using a similar pattern: a) the Nature of X; b) X in TESOL; c) X in TESOL Teacher Education; and d) the Relevance of X to the Present Study. This general structure was designed to lay the groundwork for each theoretical framework and to show where/how each conceptual framework is used in the field of TESOL, in general, and how each is relevant to “X in TESOL Teacher Education” specifically, as well as their relevance to this thesis.
Identity

As the main focus of this study is to investigate INNESTs’ professional lives during their certification in their new host country, identity is an important theme. In this section I discuss the Nature of Identity, studies of Identity in TESOL, and Identity in TESOL Teacher Education. At the end of this section, I discuss the Relevance of Identity to the Present Study.

Nature of Identity

Before discussing the nature of identity, a note about the definition of the term identity is in order. Defining “identity” is no easy task. In fact, previous research has also noted the difficulties in defining the term. For instance, Menard-Warwick (2005) mentioned that “there is a lot of definitional confusion in the literature, with some authors offering multiple definitions for single terms, and other authors conflating two or more terms and using them synonymously” (p. 254). Menard-Warwick (2004) noted that “definitions of identity […] remain multiple, fluid, and a site of struggle” (p. 55). That being said, the definition that is adopted for this study is Norton’s (2000) definition. Norton defined “identity” as “how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future” (2000, p. 5).

The construction of identity has been discussed in many different disciplines. The current trend in identity studies is partly rooted in the School of Symbolic Interactionism, which was introduced by the sociologist George Mead in the 1950s. Mead’s view is that human beings understand social realities by assigning names and meaning to objects so that they can communicate with each other (Cote & Levine, 2002). According to Mead, people’s identities are constructed via the creation of meaning through interactions with each other and their environment. In these interactions, language, together with other semiotic tools, plays a significant role in providing individual’s self with knowledge of other generations (Stetsenko & Arievitch, 1997).

Perhaps the most important theory of identity is the one proposed by Tajfel (1974).
In this theory, identity has to do with group membership, and is defined as “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group together with the emotional significance attached to that membership” (Tajfel, 1974, p. 69). This membership may change over time as individuals, out of dissatisfaction, for instance, may decide to give up their group membership and choose to adopt a new one.

Giles and Johnson (1981) introduced an ethnolinguistic identity theory, closely related to, and inspired by, Tajfel’s conceptualization of identity, in which they give language a big share in marking an individual’s identity and social membership. To become members of a new linguistic group (i.e., to assimilate), individuals may choose to make linguistic adaptations or sacrifices that could eventually lead to subtractive bilingualism and/or the loss of native language.

The centrality of language in identity research has as well been studied by interactional sociolinguists such as Gumperz (1982), who contends that “social identity and ethnicity are in large part established and maintained through language” (Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz, 1982, p. 7). In the course of their research they studied, for example, the relationship between speakers’ morphological and syntactic choices and their social environment.

Heller (1982, 1988), another interactional sociolinguist, also affirmed the existence of an interaction between language and ethnicity. Heller believes that individuals’ participation in social situations may be limited by their ethnic background or reinforced by shared language, values and, behaviours. In this view, language may “symbolize group identity and become emblems of that identity, especially when there is contact with other groups whose ways of being are different” (Heller, 1982, p. 3).

A review of these earlier works reveals that there was little emphasis on the interaction of people’s multiple memberships (i.e., memberships based on different variables, such as gender, class, race, language), or how such multiple memberships come into play in diverse learning and/or teaching contexts (McNamara, 1997). More recent research in second language learning and teaching has made use of developments
in the area of identity theory, which will be discussed in the next section.

Identity in TESOL

Attention to the relationship between identity and second language learning and teaching has increased in the TESOL literature in the last two decades. This is reflected in the publication of a special issue of *TESOL Quarterly* in 1997, featuring research by authoritative scholars in the area of identity (e.g., Norton, 1997; Duff & Uchida, 1997; Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997). Such interest was followed by the founding of a new journal in 2002: *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*. Also, there have been full-length-book treatments of the identity construct in applied linguistics and TESOL in recent years (Antrim, 2007; Lin, 2008; Mantero, 2007; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). So far the body of research has focused mainly on the barriers and difficulties that speakers of English as a second language face in making sense of their identities in a new, English-speaking country (e.g., Cadman, 1997; Hirvela & Belcher, 2001; Ivanić, 1994). Moreover, culture clashes and identity confusions have become important themes (e.g., Shen, 1989).

Using diverse methodologies, TESOL researchers have developed various frameworks for investigating learner’s identities. For instance, Norton (1997) – drawing on Weedon’s poststructural theory of subjectivity – proposed that the relationship between language and identity is (i) complex, contradictory, and multifaceted; (ii) dynamic across time and place; (iii) co-constructed; (iv) contextualized in larger social coercive or collaborative processes; (v) closely linked with classroom learning and teaching practices. Norton calls two aspects of TESOL theories of identity into question: TESOL theorists “have not developed a comprehensive theory of identity that integrates the language learner and the language learning context … furthermore, they have not questioned how relations of power in the social world impact on social interaction between second language learners and target language speakers” (Norton, 2000, p. 4). From the sociocultural perspective, identity is not a fixed attribute in the mind of the learner. It is a process that involves dialectic relations between the individual and his or her environment (Ochs, 1988; Schecter & Bayley, 1997).
In addition to the concepts examined in the previous paragraph, Norton (2000) discusses the notion of investment, referring to individuals “as having a complex social history and multiple desires” (p. 10). She draws her conceptualization of investment on Bourdieu’s (1991) notion of “capital” and its different forms – cultural, social, symbolic, and linguistic. According to Bourdieu (1986, p. 241), capital is “accumulated labor” in various materialized and embodied forms. Bourdieu (1984, 1986) maintains that human actions take place in social fields in which individuals, institutions, and other agents struggle for economic resources – money and property. Through struggle they try to acquire capital (i.e., wealth) to distinguish themselves from others. Bourdieu then extends the idea of capital to other categories such as social, cultural, and symbolic capital. He argues that each individual has a position in a social space where he or she is defined by every kind of capital he or she can possess and articulate within social relations. Through Bourdieu’s (1986) lens, capital:

When appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor. … And the structure of the distribution of the different types and subtypes of capital at a given moment in time represents the immanent structure of the social world, i.e., the set of constraints, inscribed in the very reality of that world, which govern its functioning in a durable way, determining the chances of success for practices. (p. 241)

The different types of capital, as defined by Bourdieu (1991), can take different forms: economic (e.g., material, money, or shares), cultural (e.g., skills, knowledge, cultural dispositions, and cultural goods, such as books), social (e.g., social connections and networks), symbolic (e.g., fame, reputation, and accumulated prestige), and so on. Bourdieu (1986) maintains that:

The structure of the field, i.e., the unequal distribution of capital, is the source of the specific effects of capital, i.e., the appropriation of profits and the power to impose the laws of functioning of the field most favourable to the capital and its reproduction. (p. 246)

This means that how fields are defined and structured provide power and privilege to the holders of capital. In other words, capitals – specially, non-monetary forms of it – can put some individuals in positions of privilege and disadvantage others.
Moreover, Bourdieu (1977) discusses class reproduction and hierarchies of power in educational institutions:

Every institutionalised education system (ES) owes the specific characteristics of its structure and functioning to the fact that, by the means proper to the institution, it has to produce and reproduce the institutional conditions whose existence and persistence (self-reproduction of the system) are necessary both to the exercise of its essential function of inculcation and to the fulfilment of its function of reproducing a cultural arbitrary which it does not produce (cultural reproduction), the reproduction of which contributes to the reproduction of relations between the groups or classes (social reproduction). (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 54)

As such, educational institutions and systems are structured based on social systems, and they reproduce the dominant structures that benefit individuals differently based on their acquired forms of capital.

In two of his works, Cummins (2000, 2001) presents a framework in which he provides a detailed explanation on how identities are negotiated in bilingual settings. Moving beyond theoretical conceptualization, Cummins offers a framework with practical pedagogical application. He considers a central role for student-and-teacher identity in education and TESOL and maintains that cognitive development and academic achievement are closely related to teacher-and-student identity negotiation. He believes that teaching methodologies, the structure of the bilingual programs, and the teaching strategies adopted all impact on the learners’ construction of identity. They also provide various options for students: “An image of the society that students will graduate into and the kinds of contributions they can make to that society is embedded implicitly in the interactions between educators and students” (Cummins, 2001, p. 18). Such a relationship between educators and learners would imply existence of power relations in the process of identity construction and language education. Cummins maintains that classrooms are “sites of resistance” in which relations between teachers and students have the potential of creating dominant power relations in society:

Micro-interactions between educators, students and communities are never neutral; in varying degrees, they either reinforce coercive relations of power or collaborative relations of power. In the former case, they contribute to the disempowerment of culturally diverse students and communities; in the latter the micro-interactions constitute a process of empowerment that enables educators,
students and communities to challenge the operation of coercive power structures. (Cummins, 2000, pp. 44-45)

These views of Cummins are very similar to Foucault’s (1982) and Bourdieu’s (1991), as well as to the social justice concerns of scholars such as Freire (1970) and Corson (2001): Educational settings are by no means neutral. Therefore, the use of curriculum, standards, tests, technology, etc. without a critical evaluation and consideration of their effects on the ultimate users may result in failure and the marginalization of learners and teachers. 36

Identity in TESOL Teacher Education

Second language teacher identity has only recently emerged as a significant area of inquiry within the field of TESOL (Varghese, 2001). A number of topics in this area have been highlighted to date. Among them is the legacy of the “native speaker fallacy” (Canagarajah, 1999b; McKay, 2002; Phillipson, 1992), and the problem of linguistic as well as practical norms that have resulted in the marginalization of non-native English speaking educators (e.g., Brutt-Griffel & Samimy, 1999; Kramsch, 1998; Lin et al., 2002; Liu, 1999). Furthermore, teacher identity has been viewed as a dynamic, complex set of attributes, with the potential to change based on the necessities of time and place. Norton’s (2000) poststructural investigation of subjectivity, as mentioned in the previous section, has greatly influenced a number of research studies into teachers’ sense of identity in terms of variables such as gender, race, class, culture, and sexual orientation, and the interaction of these variables with language learning (e.g., Amin, 1999; James, 2002). Given this view, teacher identities are perceived to be shaped by the systems of power and knowledge (Foucault, 1982) that influence and are influenced by the sociocultural and linguistic values within any given context. For example, interpersonal interactions and relations may be viewed as uniquely constituted and negotiated through the type of language (e.g., group work, etc.) that is used in the teacher education setting. However, power relations or identity negotiations go beyond specific forms of language, as Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) state:

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36 Recent identity research includes a substantial body of literature that highlights the key role of identity negotiation in second language education today (De Costa & Norton, 2017; Preece, 2016; Norton & De Costa, 2018; Varghese, M. M., Motha, S., Trent, J., Park, G., & Reeves, J., 2016).
If we transcend the domain of phonology and morphosyntax and move into the domain where meanings and selves are constituted by language … agency and intentionality take centre stage. The individual may feel comfortable being who he or she is and may not wish to ‘become’ a native of another language and culture. Thus, negotiation of new meanings and construction of new subjectivities may be irrelevant to his/her personal agenda. (2000, p. 170)

Another aspect is the process of professional identity construction among teachers and education experts in the course of their careers as well as during professional development programs. Professional identity basically involves a shared set of values and attributes that enables the differentiation of groups (Sachs, 2001; Stronach et al., 2002). Essentially, professional identity “represents the process by which the person seeks to integrate his/her various statuses and roles, as well as his diverse experiences, into a coherent image of self” (Epstein, 1978, p. 101). Professionally, then, self is the synthesis and integration of three subordinate identities: (i) self as a self-directed, active human being; (ii) self as a skilled professional; (iii) self as a member of the working community. Together these form what is referred to as professional identity (Ruohotie, 1999). Studies (e.g., Hall, 1968) have revealed that professional development actually occurs on two levels. First comes the structural level, such as the formal educational and entrance requirements necessary for entry into the profession. The second stage is attitudinal. In other words, people entering a profession experience change externally – the requirements for a career role – and internally – the subjective self-conceptualization associated with that given role (McGowen & Hart, 1990). This self-conceptualization is the individual’s professional identity, which, in itself, is a developmental stage in the process of maturation (Kuzmic, 1994).

A note should be added here regarding the definition of teacher professional identity. As in the case of “identity,” there are different definitions of “teacher professional identity.” In this study Farrell’s (2011) definition is used. According to Farrell (2011, p. 54), teachers construct “a conceptual sense of who they are (their self-image) and this is manifested through what they do (their professional role identity).” This is similar to the definition by Varghese (2006: p. 213): “Teacher professional identities are defined […] in terms of the influences on teachers, how individuals see
themselves and how they enact their profession in their settings.”

In this study, under the umbrella term professional identity, there are three main areas of inquiry, based on Pennington and Richards’s (2016) Foundational Competences of Language Teacher Identity, as explained below:

1. Language-related identity:

   A person’s identity as a language teacher relates to the person’s language background and language proficiency. (p. 11)

2. Disciplinary identity:

   An identity as a language teacher is [...] underpinned by specific knowledge of the content of the field gained not only through experience teaching but also through formal education. Formal education connected to language teaching, such as in applied linguistics or TESOL course work, not only builds relevant expertise, but also creates valuable disciplinary connections, affiliations, and qualifications that can provide economic security and support a career as a language teaching professional. (p. 13)

3. Self-knowledge and awareness:

   [A language teacher identity involves developing awareness] of one’s strengths and weaknesses and how to optimize teaching on the basis of this awareness. Thus, one’s identity as a language teacher should involve developing experience and an image of oneself that is built on self-awareness in relation to acts of teaching and that incorporates one’s personal qualities, values, and ideals into effective teaching performance (pp. 15-16).

The above-mentioned three concepts are explored through three research questions in this study. These questions address three different aspects of INNESTs’ negotiation of their professional identities:

1. Language-related identity or linguistic self-identification of the non-native English speaker: How do they identify themselves in regard to the native speaker construct?

2. Disciplinary identity or professional positioning of the immigrant: How do they see themselves in regard to the professional certification requirements?

3. Self-knowledge and awareness or teacher self-image: How do they perceive themselves
The Relevance of Identity to the Present Study

The main goal of this study is to develop an understanding of INNESTs as linguistically and professionally constructed educators and how they identify themselves and/or resist identification within a TESOL teacher education program. The possible challenges of identification as “a site of struggle” (Norton & Toohey, 2002, p. 116), together with strategies that INNESTs make use of to deal with challenges – and how this identification may influence their perceptions, participation, and practices within the TESOL program – are matters considered in the present research.

Moreover, TESOL teacher education programs require new Canadian ESL teachers to go through professional development courses before they can be certified to teach in the province of Ontario. The program and the relationship between INNESTs and their teacher educators and peers are hypothesized to nurture the professional identity development of these teachers. As discussed earlier in this section, no educational program – including its curriculum, standards, requirements, practices, and teaching materials – is neutral. So another purpose of this study to examine and critically evaluate the TESOL teacher education program in Ontario to provide a better understanding of INNESTs’ involvement and professional change, as well as to explore how INNESTs’ needs are catered to within the program.

As rightly noted by Hansen and Liu (1997), despite the fact that many identity researchers in education have considered identity to be a dynamic phenomenon, most research methodologies used to study identity do not allow for such dynamism as they do not typically gather data over time. In TESOL, however, dynamic methodologies are not unheard of. For example, Peirce (1995) used in-depth interviews in longitudinal studies and Goldstein (1995) used interviews and observations in ethnographic research. To

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37 In addition to the categorization offered by Pennington and Richards, there are two reasons these terms have been used for these three areas of inquiry in this research: (A) Appropriate word usage: My sense was that self-identification is more appropriate for INNESTs’ reference to the linguistic aspects of their identity; and self-image was more appropriate for discussion of their teaching self-knowledge. (B) The second reason is the prevalence of these terms in previous research in the field (e.g., Reves & Medgyes, 1994; Samimy & Brutt-Griffler, 1999).
avoid the problematic nature of snapshot research, the present study undertakes a mixed method approach with multiple data sources and data collection stages. This dynamic methodology is more in line with the dynamic and complex nature of identity. It is hoped that this will better provide a detailed and more adequate description and analysis of identity development among the participants in the study over an extended period of time. The researcher’s own history and changing perspectives on identity over the course of the study are considered and questioned as well, as is discussed in following chapters.

**Critical Pedagogy**

I believe an understanding of Critical Pedagogy (CP) is important in studying INNESTs’ process of professional certification. Thus, in this section I discuss the *Nature of Critical Pedagogy*, *Critical Pedagogy in TESOL*, in general, *Critical Pedagogy in TESOL Teacher Education*, in particular, and *The Relevance of Critical Pedagogy to the Present Study*.

The Nature of Critical Pedagogy

Within the field of educational theory and practice, the term *critical pedagogy* is often identified with the works of scholars such as Freire (1970), Giroux (1988, 1992), Kanpol (1994, 1997), Luke (1988), Luke & Gore (1992), McLaren (1989), McLaren & Kincheloe (2007), Shor (1990), and Simon (1992). They have developed the view that formal education, in fact, “always represents an introduction to, preparation for, and legitimation of particular forms of social life” (McLaren, 1989, p. 160). Their works have one thing in common: they give considerable attention to the political and economic inequalities in societies and how such inequalities are reflected in educational settings. By adopting the critical pedagogical approach, educators look beyond the established educational norms and consider the historical and sociopolitical context of learning and teaching. This then helps them to develop pedagogical practices to create change, initially in that given context, and later in the wider society. In this way, a critical educator, according to Giroux (1988), becomes a *transformative intellectual*, “one whose intellectual practices are necessarily grounded in forms of moral and ethical discourse exhibiting a preferential concern for the suffering and struggles of the disadvantaged and
oppressed” (pp. 174-5). The critical pedagogue’s role is to distinguish, highlight, and reinforce the difference (originally described by Freire, 1970) between banking education, in which educators’ primary concern is to transfer the contents of their own minds to those of their students, and transformative education, in which, through constant dialogue between the pedagogue and students, real-life issues that are meaningful to the students are discussed and explored to equip them to deal with those issues.

Critical Pedagogy in TESOL

Two major questions raised by critical pedagogues are those of what constitutes knowledge in education and, further, who produces that knowledge and who benefits or is marginalized in the teaching and/or learning of it in different contexts (Giroux, 1988, 1992). These scholars question theoretical knowledge and pedagogical practices that ignore or deliberately choose to omit the issues of power and justice, and the consideration of race, gender, sexuality, class, religion, and language. From the mid-1990s, the field of Applied Linguistics and TESOL has seen the production of many works that are greatly influenced by the principles of critical pedagogy. These publications cover various language-related domains: critical theory and literacy (Gee, 1996; Morgan, 1997; Norton & Toohey, 2004); linguistic imperialism and inequality in power in English language teaching (Canagarajah, 1999a; Tollefson, 1995); critical roles of power and pedagogy in bilingualism (Cummins, 2001); critical language awareness and critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995); critical applied linguistics (Pennycook, 2001, 2004); and critical language testing (Shohamy, 2001; Spolsky, 1995). The issue of ideological power and the power relationships that maintain that one’s language practices are universal, and, therefore, legitimate, natural, and dominant, is the major theme shared by these works. To practice critical pedagogy, therefore, educators must situate their teaching skills and standards in their sociopolitical context and re-evaluate them critically in relation to power relationships. Norton and Toohey (2004, pp. 11-14), for example, describe four main sub-themes in critical pedagogy within TESOL: (a) seeking critical classroom practices; (b) creating and adapting materials for critical pedagogies; (c) exploring diverse representations of knowledge; and (d) developing critical research practices. Interestingly enough, the validity of the term TESOL itself – Teaching English
to Speakers of Other (or Othered, as suggested by Pennycook) Languages – has been questioned (Pennycook, 1998, 1999) as being hegemonic, given its implication that English is to be delivered by the English-speaking West to Others.  

Critical Pedagogy in TESOL Teacher Education

Gee (1994) suggests that “English teachers stand at the very heart of the most crucial educational, cultural, and political issues of our time” (p. 190). Given this crucial role for English teachers, and although the number of studies on critical pedagogy in TESOL is substantial, teacher education research has not been particularly critical. Some of the aspects that have been explored are: re-conceptualization of current teacher education programs (Freeman & Johnson, 1998); teachers’ professional development (Baily & Nunan, 1996; Baily, Curtis, & Nunan, 2001); teachers’ reflective practice (Nunan, 1992a; Richards & Lockhart, 1994); and the enhancement of teachers’ knowledge base about L2 teaching and learning through dialogic inquiry (Schleppegrell, 1997).

The general tendency has been to revisit and modify existing TESOL teacher education programs and to redefine the roles and responsibilities of L2 teachers. In fact, there has been very little attention paid to making teachers critical of the ways in which they are reproducing and supporting the current culturally/ideologically informed practices in TESOL. Freeman and Johnson (1998) do advocate for teachers to take a central role in decision-making within their teacher education programs. However, they do not take into consideration the larger sociopolitical context that influence teachers and ultimately shape their overall professional identity. Freeman and Johnson’s argument is worthwhile for revisiting current TESOL programs as they correctly question such programs’ overemphasis on “discrete amounts of knowledge usually in the form of theories and methods” (p. 399). They do not go beyond that, though, to encourage

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38 Holliday (1994, 2005) argues that there is a political division within TESOL: BANA-TESEP. BANA (Britain, Australasia, and North America) refers to a particular culture of integrated skills in privately-/ commercially-run language centres in colleges and universities in the above countries. TESEP (Tertiary, Secondary, or Primary) is a more traditional culture in academic subjects at different levels in schools around the world. According to Holliday, BANA people, who are from English-speaking West, have this notion that the English language is originally theirs, and English teaching is their right. In other words, BANA is associated with a dominant, resourceful ‘Centre’ for English language learning and teaching.
teachers to problematize their political positions or to encourage them to criticize the ideological values reflected in their language teaching materials. Similarly, Richards and Lockhart (1994) argue that language teachers ought to reflect on practice with respect to their teaching goals. Importantly, they, too, fail to call for teachers’ critical questioning of their sociopolitical roles within the TESOL field.

The Relevance of Critical Pedagogy to the Present Study

I agree with Richards and Lockhart’s (1994) idea that language teachers ought to contemplate their beliefs and practices. However, I want to go a step further to look at INNESTs’ sense of their linguistic and professional identities and explore how they critically meditate on, question, and address power and inequalities in the relationship between the constructs of the native speaker and the non-native speaker. I also want to investigate INNESTs’ status within current TESOL programs in relation to the larger social context, i.e., how their professional perspectives and goals are received within and tied to the TESOL program in which they are registered. More specifically, a process of redefining the native speaker–non-native speaker dichotomy is needed as the assumption that the native speaker’s language is the norm has now been called into question (Singh, 1998). As a result of English’s role as a global language and the ever-growing number of English teachers worldwide, it is important to investigate INNESTs’ professional identities in relation to the native speaker construct and the authority attached to it. This authority – which has come to be called the native speaker fallacy (Phillipson, 1992) – has led to practical implications in the TESOL field. These implications include the preference shown for English native-speaking teachers in the ELT job market and the production of uniform language teaching materials for classrooms all over the world, not to mention the certification processes that have been proposed to re-evaluate, re-certify and (re-)legitimize immigrant teachers of English in order to permit them into the market as now-approved-by-our-standards teachers to work in their new countries. Despite many scholarly endeavours to question the myth of the native speaker (as discussed in details in Chapter 2), INNESTs still continue to experience inequitable hiring practices and to be perceived as less competent, hence less legitimate, teachers than their native-speaking counterparts. Therefore, INNESTs’ involvement in the certification process within
TESOL teacher education programs (which in the case of INNESTs in Ontario is a requirement for future employment) is in need of particular attention to explore and critically challenge possible existing ideologies about standardized English and native-speaker- hood. This has not been adequately addressed in TESOL teacher education, in general, and within teacher education programs in Canada, in particular. It is exactly this gap that my research study seeks to bridge. 

**Sociocultural Theory**

Another conceptual framework that informs this study is sociocultural theory (SCT). Although SCT is used in the dissertation to broadly situate this study by drawing on SCT perspectives, the notion of community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991), in particular, is employed and elaborated on as the main conceptual framework. With that note, I continue this chapter with an introduction to the theoretical framework of Sociocultural Theory (SCT) under *The Nature of Sociocultural Theory* and provide an overview of *Sociocultural Theory in TESOL*. Also, I discuss the significance of *Sociocultural Theory in TESOL Teacher Education* and *The Relevance of Sociocultural Theory to the Present Study*.

**The Nature of Sociocultural Theory**

Sociocultural Theory (SCT) is a theory of mind, originally based on Vygotsky’s belief that human knowledge of the world is mediated by human interaction with the world, and that human learning is a dynamic social activity that is situated in physical and social contexts, and distributed across persons, tools, and activities (Rogoff, 2003; Salomon, 1993; Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1991). According to Vygotsky (1978), all higher cognitive functions first appear in the social domain – as interactions with other individuals in society. During these interactions, a more-able individual – the expert –

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39 To further clarify why critical pedagogy (CP) was selected as a theoretical framework in this study, a note needs to be added here. The main purpose of this selection was to facilitate exploration into how participants’ responses to the certification requirements and policies and if/how they critically challenged ideologies underlying teacher certification requirements and INNEST status. At its core, CP challenges the political and economic inequalities in societies and explores how such inequalities are reflected in real life situations and educational settings; e.g., a TESL program. CP was selected because it is relevant to exploring the issues of power and justice, and the factors that lead to access to power or lack thereof for immigrants or non-native speakers.
provides a less-able individual – the novice – with the necessary resources and support to help reach the next stage of his or her cognitive development and internalize these functions. In most instances, the expert is represented as the teacher while the novice is represented as the learner. Language, or any other semiotic system, is a crucial tool in negotiating these interactions and helping to mediate cognitive development (Anton & DiCamilla, 1998; DiCamilla & Anton, 1997).

The epistemological stance of SCT pays attention to the dynamic social activity that is situated in social contexts and distributed across people. Although rooted in different disciplines, other theories have helped with the emergence of the sociocultural turn in L2 learning by focusing on situated cognition and learning. From one such SCT-related intellectual tradition comes the notion of community of practice (CoP), first introduced by Lave and Wenger. Acknowledging the contributions of Vygotsky’s SCT to their situated learning model, Lave and Wenger (1991) focus on a “social practice theory of learning” (p. 35) and maintain that learning involves the whole individual with a sociocultural history. According to this theoretical framework, knowledge is not stored in an individual’s mind; rather, it is constructed through lived experiences and in the evolving relationships between individuals and the environments in which they conduct their activities. In this way, learning becomes a joint activity in a CoP. In other words, the knowledge of an individual is constructed through the knowledge of the communities of practice of which the individual is a member, and in which he or she practices (Chaiklin & Lave, 1996; Wenger, 1998).

In their CoP model, Lave and Wenger (1991) refer to the concept of legitimate peripheral participation to examine how and to what degree members in a CoP participate and engage in social practice:

“Legitimate peripheral participation” provides a way to speak about the relations between newcomers and older-timers, and about activities, identities, artifacts, and communities of knowledge and practice. It concerns the process by which newcomers become part of a community of practice. (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 29)

Power relations play a key role in legitimate peripheral participation because access to
full participation or marginalization depends on power relations in the community (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 35). Moreover, legitimate peripheral participation is “an approximation of full participation that gives exposure to actual practice” (Wenger, 1998, p. 100). This is important in understanding individuals’ socialization in a community because, as Wenger (1998) states, “Only with enough legitimacy can all their inevitable stumbling and violations become opportunities for learning rather than cause for dismissal, neglect, or exclusion” (p. 101). Therefore, in order to become a full member of a CoP, one would need to experience both legitimacy and peripherality in a given community.

In terms of the relationship between individuals’ membership in communities of practice and negotiation of identities, Wenger (1998) argues that “our identity includes our ability and inability to shape the meanings that define our communities and our forms of belonging”. As such, “building an identity consist of negotiating the meanings of our experience of membership in social communities” (p. 145). Therefore, negotiation of identities has to do with multimembership:

We engage in different practices in each of the communities of practice to which we belong. We often behave rather differently in each of them, construct different aspects of ourselves, and gain different perspectives (p. 159).

Since multimembership may entail moving across different communities, it can create conflicts and struggles in individuals’ negotiation of their identities, as asserted by Wenger (1998): “multimemberships may involve ongoing tensions that are never resolved” (p. 160).

Sociocultural Theory in TESOL

Since the publication of Frawley and Lantolf (1985), there has been growing interest in the sociocultural theoretical approaches to second language education (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). In particular, Lave and Wenger’s (1991) notion of community of practice (CoP) has been adopted in TESOL extensively (Canagarajah, 2003; Casanave, 2002; Flowerdew, 2000; Leki, 2001; Morita, 2004; Toohey, 1996). For example, Toohey (1996) conducted a longitudinal ethnographic study in L2 classrooms in Canada. Using
the CoP perspective, instead of focusing on students’ mental activities, Toohey analyzed their participatory opportunities in their classroom community to investigate the relationship among L2 learners, language learning, and classroom practices. Another example is Morita (2004) who examined graduate students’ negotiation of their identities by focusing on their participation in Canadian L2 classroom academic communities. Her findings provide evidence as to how legitimate peripheral participation can be achieved through support provided by other members of the CoP and how marginalization is experienced due to limited participation.

Sociocultural Theory in TESOL Teacher Education

In the field of TESOL in recent years, a number of scholars have employed the tenets of SCT in their research, exploring teachers’ practices of reflection, self-evaluation, and narrative (Kramp & Humphreys, 1993; Sperling, 1994; Olson, 1995; Cummings, 1996; Antonek et al., 1997). More widespread use of teachers’ as well as learners’ stories has proved to be an effective and illuminating tool for investigating teachers’ sense of, and development of, expertise (Bailey & Nunan, 1996; Borg, 1998). Brown (1994) and Rogoff (1994) studied communities of learners as sites of social apprenticeship. Thus the work of language teachers is “framed as establishing and supporting classroom communities in which learners collaboratively engage in situated … activities … to come to new understanding and take on new practices” (Hawkins, 2004, p. 5). This view pushes the field of teacher education in TESOL from what to teach and how to teach to where to teach as well as who teachers are in their act of teaching. Viewed through this lens, teachers’ personal and professional identities perform significant roles in the process of teaching. Their lives – and ultimately their social world – come to play significant roles throughout their teaching practice. Furthermore, through the CoP lens, researchers can better investigate teacher mentoring and coaching models (Li & Chan, 2007) as well as legitimate peripheral participation or full participation in TESOL programs (Samimy et al., 2011).

The Relevance of Sociocultural Theory to the Present Study

Within the SCT paradigm, development is neither uniform nor unidirectional.
According to Frawley and Lantolf (1985), a fully self-regulated expert may revert to a novice seeking help. Such reversions may result in a breakdown in the individual’s normal behaviour and influence his or her skills in conducting tasks leading to the loss of self-regulation. Verity’s (2000) teaching experience is a good example of such a reversion. An American English native speaker and trained teacher working in Japan, Verity describes how she reverted to a novice-like teacher for external mediation in order to relocate and find her expert self in teaching. This was challenging for her as, at times, she seemed to be stranded between the emotions of a novice and the cognition of an expert.

Apart from the socioculturally informed notion of expert–novice, there is the teacher’s self–other. Teachers, regardless of their expertise, may use different tools (e.g., diaries, journals, conversation with colleagues) to consider “possible answers to their own internally self-addressed queries” (DiCamilla & Lantolf, 1994, p. 354) to allow their “self” to act as a temporary “other.” This helps such teachers create “a zone for thinking, where, through externalization and making explicit their thoughts, they can regain a sense of control in their activity and reconstruct their shattered sense of expertise” (McCafferty, 1994, p. 14). These two notions (i.e., expert–novice and self–other) are highly relevant to the present study of the professional identity development of INNESTs in Canadian TESOL teacher education programs. Typically, INNESTs who arrive in Canada, on the recommendation of Citizenship and Immigration Canada, feel competent in their expertise. With the broad perspective and skilled judgment of an expert, they are capable of functioning at a high level of integrated autonomy. It is important to re-examine these teachers’ sense of self and expertise after they are placed in TESOL certification programs.

Hawkins (2004) believes that sociocultural perspectives need to gain more prominence in the field of TESOL. Teacher educators should “foster critical and reflective practices in the teachers they prepare” and so they should “call for a change not only in the content of what teachers learn through teacher education, but also in the process” (p. 6). Moreover, it becomes important for them “to engage in critical, reflective practices …, and to envision their work as creating learning communities within which
they also participate as teachers and collaboratively negotiate new understandings of their profession and practices” (p. 6). Moreover, the CoP notion is a useful framework to examine INNESTs’ situated learning in the TESOL program and their integration in the ESL community. How second language teachers – and more specifically, immigrant non-native English speaking ESL teachers – negotiate their professional identities in the framework of TESOL certification programs has received little attention worldwide and no attention in the Canadian context. Moreover, there is a lack of detailed and empirical description of the sociopolitical realities of ESL teacher (re-)certification programs in Canada, and how ESL teachers-in-training construct knowledge together by voicing their opinions, experiences, and concerns within such programs. The investigation of these questions, among others, is the ultimate goal of the present study.

**Teacher Cognition**

In this final section of this chapter, I draw on studies of teacher cognition (TC) to define the *Nature of Teacher Cognition*. Moreover, I briefly review research on *Teacher Cognition in TESOL*, and the role of *Teacher Cognition in TESOL Teacher Education*. Finally, I discuss the *Relevance of Teacher Cognition to the Present Study*.

**The Nature of Teacher Cognition**

Although different definitions have been provided for the term *teacher cognition*, I use it as Simon Borg does, to refer to “the unobservable cognitive dimension of teaching – whatever teachers know, believe, and think” (Borg, 2003, p. 81). Studies of teacher cognition have emphasized the crucial effect of teachers’ cognition on their professional lives. According to Borg (2003, p. 81), the key questions in this area of inquiry have been the following:

1. What do teachers have cognitions about?

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40 Although there may not be broad agreement among researchers that teacher cognition (TC) is a conceptual framework and that it is more an area of research in language teacher education, TC is used as a theoretical framework in this study for two reasons: (A) Borg (2006), in his influential work on TC, traces its roots to the cognitive theory of psychology, which explored the complex relationships between what people do and what they know and believe; (B) using TC as a theoretical framework is not unheard of in current research (e.g., Rodrigues et al., 2018).
(2) How do these cognitions develop?

(3) How do they interact with teacher learning?

(4) How do they interact with classroom practice?

In responding to these questions, the collective results of the study of teacher cognition has called for the recognition of an important fact: “teachers are active, thinking decision-makers who play a central role in shaping classroom events” (Borg, 2006, p. 1).

Teacher cognition research has been informed by insights from theories of education and psychology over the past 40 years. Borg (2006) provides a chronological outline organizing studies into four time periods: the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, and developments since 2000. The 1970s were basically a time of changing perspectives on teaching. Dunkin and Biddle (1974, p. 38), for example, focused on classroom teaching and studied the relationship between different variables: presage variables (such as teachers’ training experiences), context variables (such as learners’ characteristics), process variables (such as the classroom interaction between teacher and his or her learners), and product variables (such as final learning outcomes). This process-product model was the dominant conceptual model during the 1970s. Learning was basically perceived as the product of teaching, and teaching was teachers’ observable behaviour and performance in the classroom. Therefore, researchers were interested in finding relationships between teachers’ effective classroom teaching behaviour and its impact on students’ learning outcomes. Teacher educators were concerned with teachers’ mastering what they were supposed to teach. Cognitive psychology, however, led to the emergence of alternatives to this view by focusing on the effect of thinking on teacher’s behaviour, suggesting that understanding teacher’s behaviour necessitated going beyond behaviour and understanding teacher’s thinking, or mental lives (Calderhead, 1987). Clark and Yinger (1977), for example, identified four topics in teacher thinking: teacher planning, teacher judgment, teacher interactive decision-making, and teacher’s theories and perspectives.

In the 1980s, the study of the cognitive basis of teaching expanded. The central
theme of this decade, as reported by Borg (2006), was not only what teachers actually know, but also how they use that knowledge; i.e., teachers’ decision-making and knowledge. Shavelson and Stern (1981), for example, reviewed extensively teachers’ pedagogical thoughts, judgments and decisions. They maintained that the conditions that inform teachers’ decisions further impact on their consequent behaviour. During this period, the dominant view of teachers was mostly from constructivist and reflective perspectives, giving emphasis to the context of teaching. Recognizing this, Clark (1986) maintained that “schools and classrooms are the locus of social, psychological, physical, political, and metaphysical action, embedded in the word and affected by it” (p. 12). This was in contrast with earlier research where teachers’ practice was less concerned with their sociopsychological contexts. A major contribution during this decade was made by Clandinin and Connelly (1987), who advanced a holistic view of teacher knowledge by advocating for cognitive and affective understanding of teachers’ personal practice through analysis of their experiences and biographies. They reinforced the role of teachers’ personal practical knowledge: “knowledge which is experiential, embodied, and reconstructed out of the narratives of a teacher’s life” (p. 490). The growth in teacher cognition research studies was substantial and teacher knowledge was a recurring key theme.

Following up on the research conducted during the 1980s, the study of teacher cognition in the 1990s focused on teachers’ knowledge and beliefs and their learning to teach. Calderhead (1996) concisely highlights the study of teacher cognition during this period:

Research on teachers’ cognitions has highlighted the complex array of factors that interact in the processes of teaching and learning. In particular, research has pointed to the elaborate knowledge and belief structures that teachers hold, to the influence of their past experiences, even experiences outside of teaching, in shaping how teachers think about their work, and to the diverse processes of knowledge growth involved in learning to teach. Research also has begun to unravel some of the pedagogical processes involved in classroom teaching and the different types of knowledge that teachers draw on in their efforts to help children to learn and understand. (Calderhead, 1996, p. 721)

These issues were the main areas of research during the 1990s and have continued to
inform the studies on teacher cognition since 2000, as Borg (2006) reports. One issue that has only recently been raised is the distinction between individual teacher cognition and shared components of teacher knowledge and cognition. In fact, the latter has not been investigated empirically. Moreover, there is not yet enough research to suggest ways that the findings of teacher cognition research could be made available in teacher education programs for incoming teachers-in-training.

To sum up the brief review here from historical perspective, research on teacher cognition has shifted from behaviourist views, to cognitive, to socially-situated, contextual perspectives on human cognition.

Teacher Cognition in TESOL

The study of teacher cognition in TESOL has attracted much attention and interest in the past 20 years. The main line of inquiry has been the exploration of what second language teachers think, know, and believe, and how their thoughts, knowledge, and beliefs influence various aspects of their L2 teaching practice. Two major themes in TESOL teacher cognition are cognition and previous language learning experience and teachers’ cognition in classroom practice.

Studies show that teachers’ cognitions are influenced by their prior experiences as language learners and how such experiences can form the basis for conceptualizations of later L2 teaching. For instance, Bailey et al. (1996) investigated the role of teachers’ language learning histories in their current teaching philosophies. They demonstrated that teacher styles are more important than teaching methodologies. As students, their inadequacies in teaching are easy to overcome when they are motivated to learn and their learning is facilitated by a positive classroom atmosphere. They also feel they can talk about their teaching theories through exploring their experiences of learning. In an example reported by Woods (1996), a teacher, whose beliefs about L2 learning were basically influenced by formal French instruction in Canada, reflects on his lack of communicative skills in French. He changes his well-established beliefs about the superiority of grammar-based language learning for communicative learning strategies.
Studies in TESOL teachers’ cognition collectively confirm that while teachers’ L2 classroom practices are shaped by different factors, teachers’ cognitions have a powerful impact on their practices. For instance, looking at reasons for instructional decisions, Gatbonton (1999) points to concerns about language management skills (e.g., contextual use of vocabulary). Unlike Gatbonton, Nunan (1992b) found that lesson timing and pacing, and teacher talk were among teachers’ sources of concern. Richards (1996) demonstrates the role of maxims (i.e., personal working principles) in teachers’ instructional decisions (e.g., maxims of empowerment, encouragement, and accuracy). In another study, Richards (1998) found that modifying lesson plans plays a significant role in maintaining students’ engagement and interest level. Similarly, on the role of lesson planning, Woods (1996), in a longitudinal study of ESL classrooms in Canada, identified two sets of factors in teacher’s decision-making. First were external or situational factors, such as estimations of how well the students as a group are moving, of what the group can handle, of the complexity of a task, and the class dynamics. Second were internal factors, which are internal to the decision-making itself, such as the logical relationships between planning levels (e.g., course, lesson, activity, and text).

Teacher Cognition in TESOL Teacher Education

For a long time, TESOL teacher education was mainly grounded in a positivistic paradigm, centering on the assumption that L2 teachers could, in fact, learn what they were supposed to teach (knowledge of language) as well as how to teach it. This changed with the emergence of research on L2 teacher cognition (Borg, 2003; Freeman & Johnson, 1998; Johnson & Golombek, 2003), which introduced new perspectives on teacher learning as the construction of expertise in social contexts in which teachers play the roles of learner, teacher-in-training and practicing teacher in the field. This new paradigm viewed teachers not only as users of language teaching knowledge, but also as creators of it, capable of making informed decisions on the basis of the social, cultural, and historical contexts of their teaching environment.

Much of the research on teacher cognition in TESOL teacher education has shown that student teachers often do not have a realistic understanding of teaching. For example,
Cumming (1989), in a study of student teachers’ conceptions of curriculum, produced a schematic chart outlining what they considered to be the most important curriculum decisions in ESL teaching. He found that their conceptions were inadequate in terms of both theoretical and practical issues. Another study by Richards, Ho, and Giblin (1996) demonstrates that teacher trainees do experience change in their cognition during a language teacher training course. These changes include conceptions of teaching roles, understanding of the problematic dimensions of teaching, and self-evaluation of their teaching behaviour. The above-mentioned studies, together with other research on teacher cognition in TESOL teacher development (e.g., Cabaroglu & Roberts (2000) who made strong claims about the manner teachers’ cognitions change during teacher education programs), suggest that teacher education does affect teacher trainees’ cognitions. Borg (2011) refers to a number of factors that can affect teachers’ cognition in second language teacher education programs, some of which are as follows: acknowledging “that examining their beliefs may be a novel experience for teachers”; helping “teachers in clarifying their understandings of what beliefs are”; and making “reflection on beliefs a central social teacher learning process” (p. 379).

In their introductory article in the Modern Language Journal’s special edition on language teacher cognitions – “Revisiting the territory, redrawing the boundaries, reclaiming the relevance,” Kubanyiova and Feryok (2015) discuss two important questions that teacher cognition researchers need to address today: “How do language teachers create meaningful learning environments for their students? How can teacher education and continuing professional development facilitate such learning in language teachers?” (p. 435). They argue that three recent shifts in applied linguistics make further research on language teacher cognition necessary: “the social turn in applied linguistics”; “a move away from a top-down strategy [...] toward an open-ended bottom-up approach that seeks to encompass the complexity of teachers’ inner lives”; and “recognizing the pivotal role of context in the study of language teacher cognitions” (p. 445).

41 Some of the new developments in language teacher cognition research include the following: Burns, Freeman, and Edwards (2015) conceptualize language teacher cognition research as investigation into the nature of the mind in language teacher cognition; Crooks (2015) examines second language teachers’ philosophies through critical pedagogical perspectives and shows how these philosophies develop through critical teacher education processes; Golombek (2015) focuses on teachers’ emotional dissonance through a sociocultural theoretical perspective and examines teacher journals as mediating tools in shaping
The Relevance of Teacher Cognition to the Present Study

The focus of this study is on the professional identity development of INNESTs during the certification process in a Canadian TESOL teacher education program. The participants in the study were experienced language teachers in the EFL context and attended the training program in order to be able to teach ESL in the Canadian context. Speakers of languages other than English as their mother tongue, they had all experienced learning English as a foreign language as well as teaching it. Given this fact, they naturally had knowledge, beliefs, and thoughts about both learning a second language and teaching that same language. In other words, their cognitions were already shaped by their years of learning and teaching English. Given that the Canadian TESOL teacher education program consists of courses on SLE theories, ESL teaching methodologies, as well as a teaching practicum, it would be interesting to see how participation in the program influences and further develops INNESTs’ cognition in terms of their teaching beliefs and classroom practices. Moreover, as the main five participants are from different ethnic, linguistic, and sociocultural backgrounds, it was hypothesized that study of their cognitions would reveal similarities and differences in the way their cognitions were shaped as a result of the teacher education program. Most of the studies on language teacher cognition and teacher education are categorized in terms of the pre-service or in-service nature of such programs (Borg, 2006). The participants in the present study were already experienced teachers; yet, they were required to attend the program – initially designed as a pre-service program, alongside novice native-speaker Canadians to obtain Canadian ESL teaching certificate. Therefore, investigation of their cognition could contribute to the body of research on teacher cognition in a category less explored.

teacher learner’s cognition; and Moodie and Feryok’s (2015) longitudinal study of two experienced teachers and two novice teachers examines the relationship between commitment in language learning and teaching. One key finding of the study was that the teachers’ commitment to language learning correlated with their commitment to better teaching practices.
CHAPTER 4
RESEARCH CONTEXT AND PARTICIPANTS

Introduction

In this chapter, I provide a general overview of the status of immigration and English language teaching in Canada. Then I explain the process of certification for immigrant ESL teachers and describe the TESL training context in the province of Ontario. Moreover, I describe the two INNEST groups of participants in the study, the recruitment process, and the selection criteria. Finally, I present profiles of the participants in my research.

Immigration and English Language Instruction in Canada

Historically speaking, Canada is a country of immigrants. According to census data (Statistics Canada, 2003), out of Canada’s population of 31.5 million, only about 1 million Canadian citizens identify themselves as Aboriginals or of Aboriginal background Canadians. The remaining majority are either immigrants or the descendants of immigrants (i.e., second generation immigrant, etc.). Canada has witnessed a significant increase in immigration in recent years. For example, in 2003, Canada increased its immigration targets to between 220,000 and 245,000. The Canadian labour force relies heavily on immigrants: over 70%. Given the current trend, immigration will account for 100% of the country’s net labour force growth 10 years from now, and for all of its net population growth by 2031 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2002). Newly arrived immigrants compose a large percentage of the population of Canada’s three major metropolitan cities: Montreal (18%), Vancouver (35%), and Toronto (42%) (Statistics Canada, 2003). These new immigrants can contribute greatly to Canada if they can integrate into its social, economic, professional, and educational structures. This could be achieved by the removal of barriers, one of which is language. In fact, research shows

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42 The newly arrived immigrants in the report were those who arrived in Canada between October 2000 and September 2001.
that English language teaching programs play a crucial role in new immigrants’ integration into the Canadian workforce (Fleming, 2007). To link immigration services with citizenship registration, in 1992 Canada mandated official language instruction for all adult immigrants and refugees who lacked the necessary level of language proficiency to be able to integrate. This initiative, called Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) and funded nationally by the Canadian Government, made language programs available to newcomers. Together with other ESL programs (e.g., academic English, general ESL), this language instruction is provided by programs offered by a number of different types of agencies: community-based programs, school board programs, college and university programs, private school programs, and programs run by multiple agencies (e.g., a school board and community-based agency) (Sanaoui, 1997a). The LINC program offers free English classes to immigrants and refugees and is directly supervised by the federal department responsible for immigration, i.e., Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). That the funding for LINC is federal clearly reflects the fact that language instruction is part of immigrant and refugee settlement, a federal responsibility.

**Immigrant Teachers, Certification, and TESL Ontario**

Among those who have immigrated to Canada, many are teachers. In 1996, 1,722 education professionals came to Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1996). In order to be able to continue in their profession as teachers in Canada, immigrant teachers also need to adapt to the Canadian context, which they often find challenging (Bascia, 1996; Mawhinney & Xu, 1997; Phillion, 2003). One great challenge is that of linguistic proficiency. In Ontario, particularly, a high level of language proficiency is crucial for immigrant teachers who wish to practice as licensed teachers. It is, in fact, considered “a key component of being a good teacher” (Ontario College of Teachers, 2000). Moreover, obtaining certification, whether in K-12 or ESL, is documented as another challenge faced by new teachers in the Canadian context. While there seems to be some degree of agreement about standards for the knowledge and skills that ESL teachers should possess, there is no consensus on how these standards should be met. There are two possible approaches to this: certification and credentialing. Certification is a process by which
professional associations, states, or others identify a set of knowledge, skills, and dispositions that a teacher must demonstrate, usually through participation in university coursework and teaching practice (Crandall, 1993, 1994; Sabatini, Ginsburg, & Russell, 2002). In the Directory of Teacher Education Programs in TESOL in the United States and Canada, 2005-2007 (Christopher, 2005), three options available to ESL teachers are described: one provides a certificate to prepare teachers; one provides a master’s degree in TESOL; and one delivers online instruction. Credentialing, however, recognizes and validates the experience and expertise of teachers, focusing on what teachers have learned and are able to do because of their experience rather than on specific courses they have taken and degrees they have earned (Crandall, 1993, 1994; Freeman & Johnson, 1998; Sivell, 2005).

Across Canada, there is no single certification system in place and ESL teachers have the option of becoming a member of the national organization, i.e., TESL Canada Federation, and/or a provincial association, e.g., TESL Ontario. Also, there is no consistency in terms of accreditation and certification in Canada. As Keevil Harrold (1995) reports, TESL Alberta (ATESL) offers accreditation that recognizes the existing experience and expertise of ESL teachers while TESL Ontario has extensive and elaborate certification criteria. TESL Canada, too, opted for certification and began its professional certification process in 2002. Although TESL Ontario was established in 1972, its provincial certification system is new: it began in 2000. The mission of TESL Ontario is to serve the needs of teachers of English as a Second Language (ESL) and English Literacy Development (ELD). To meet its commitment to professional development and advocacy, TESL Ontario’s stated goal is to addresses the range of competencies, experiences, and issues that influence the success of immigrants, refugees, visa students, and others who are learning English. As such, TESL Ontario issues the TESL Ontario Certificate for instructors teaching ESL to adults in non-credit programs in Ontario. “To do this, it has created a Certification Review Board responsible for adjudicating individuals’ applications, and a process whereby decisions taken by the Certification Board can be appealed” (TESL Ontario, 2004). Certificate requirements are listed in Appendix B.
In order to obtain a TESL Ontario Certificate, applicants should take courses in a TESOL training program – recognized by TESL Ontario, the contents of which are approved by and meet TESL Ontario’s minimum requirements. To be approved by the Association, TESOL programs must consist of at least 250 hours of instruction plus 50 hours of practicum for a total of 300 hours. The theoretical aspects of TESOL, as well as their pedagogical implications and practical applications, must be covered (See Appendix C for TESL Ontario Certificate Program Minimum Requirements). These standards were studied in a research conducted by TESL Ontario. A description of ESL teacher preparation programs was compiled in a directory as well as published in an article (Sanaoui, 1997a, 1997b). TESL Ontario’s teacher education provision is presented in Table 1 below.
Table 1. *TESL Ontario Association’s Framework for TESOL Teacher Education Provision*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of Provision</th>
<th>Particular Instance(s)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stage of SLTE</td>
<td>- Pre-service (consecutive, in the form of a postgraduate certificate)</td>
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<tr>
<td>For Which Sector</td>
<td>- Institutions offering adult ESL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>- An accredited professional certificate/diploma in Ontario</td>
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<tr>
<td>Type of Provision</td>
<td>- Short-term and long-term courses (on full-time or part-time basis)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mode of Provision</td>
<td>- Direct contact (long-distance and web-based modes not acceptable)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Providers</td>
<td>- Institutions accredited and recognized by TESL ON Association</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- These fall under four categories:</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1) Universities</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(2) Colleges</td>
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<td>(3) School boards</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(4) Private institutions</td>
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<tr>
<td>Receivers</td>
<td>- Individuals preparing to become ESL teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- ESL teachers who have a Canadian TESL certificate which is not recognized by TESL ON Association</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- ESL teachers who have an international TESL certificate which is not recognized by TESL ON Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stakeholders</td>
<td>- ESL teacher education providers</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Individuals preparing to become teachers</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- ESL teachers wanting to become TESL-ON-certified</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Employers, e.g., newcomer centres with ESL programs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Functions</td>
<td>- Training</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Certification</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* Adapted from Johnstone (2004)
Participants and the TESL Program

Two groups of non-native English speaking teachers (INNESTs) were recruited for my thesis. Even though these teachers came from different parts of the world, they all shared a number of attributes. They were all landed immigrants in Canada. Also, they were all non-native speakers of English. They were all EFL teachers in their home country and were now either practicing teachers of ESL (i.e., first group of participants) or wanted to pursue their career as ESL teachers in Canada (i.e., second group of participants).

The first group of participants (henceforth ‘Survey Participants’) were teaching in different settings: community-based centres, private language schools, school boards, community colleges, and universities in Ontario. These participants (115 in number) – who had already completed a TESL Ontario-approved program and were ESL teachers in Ontario – were asked to complete a background profile form and a questionnaire. The rationale behind this was to get insights into the data collected from the five main participants completing the TESL program at the time of study and to complement the data (See Chapter 5 for more details).

The second group of participants (henceforth ‘Core Participants’) were all registered in a full-time TESL program to become certified to teach ESL in Ontario. These participants (five in number) were registered in a TESL-Ontario recognized TESL program at a college in Ontario. During the time the data was collected, about 30 teacher candidates were registered in the program. The majority of these individuals (almost two thirds) were INNESTs coming from different parts of the world, including China, Egypt, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Russia, South Korea, Taiwan, Trinidad, Ukraine, and Venezuela. The five participants who ended up in the study were from China, India, Iran, Iraq, and South Korea.

The TESL program met all the requirements set by TESL Ontario and it was presented in three main sections: theory, methodology, and practicum. In the theory part, various issues were covered: history and nature of language, first and second language
acquisition, language learning strategies as well as linguistic themes including phonetics, morphology, and pedagogical grammar. Also, in this section, attention was paid to issues specific to the Canadian context, e.g., cultural pluralism, Canadian life styles, Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB), and antiracism. The second section – methodology – dealt with, among others, different language teaching methods, lesson planning, materials development, language teaching skills, assessment principles and techniques. A variety of text books were used in the program to cover topics in sections 1 and 2 (See Appendix D for a complete list). Finally, there was the practicum which consisted of 30 hours of observation in an adult ESL classroom and 20 hours of supervised practice teaching in the same setting. The 50 hours of observation and practice teaching were divided into two sections and took place in two different settings: a College ESL course and a LINC program classroom. The practicum locations were selected by the TESL program director, where teacher candidates were guided and observed by the practicum supervisor. The five core participants had registered in the program and had different professional experiences in their home country. All of them took part in the TESL program for a period of 12 months.

To enhance the findings’ transferability, I worked with INNESTs of various ethnic, racial, national, and cultural backgrounds, and with diverse levels of language teaching experience/expertise. These participants also differed in terms of their first language. There are three reasons why I wanted speakers of different first languages to take part in this study. First, I believe it reflects the diversity of the population of INNESTs in Ontario. Also, it was interesting to note how INNESTs’ variety of English might influence the nature of their experience in the TESL program. Moreover, I was interested in finding out how the background of INNESTs impacts the process of identity reconstruction when INNESTs are grouped in a “one-size-fits-all” TESL program. As of now, only scant attention has been paid to the reconstruction of the professional identity of such teachers as they undergo TESL programs. The focus has mainly been on perceived needs, responsibilities, and certification processes regardless of background knowledge, work experiences, linguistic profiles, and professional expertise. Considering their experiences, the rise in their number, and their subsequent contribution to Canada, renewed attention needed to be given to these teachers.
Recruitment

To recruit participants, I used different strategies. For the first group of participants (i.e., Survey Participants), typical adult ESL settings were targeted based on the description offered by Sanaoui (1997a). These included various locations in which ESL services are offered: private language schools, community-based centres, newcomer centres, school boards, community colleges, and universities in Ontario. The courses offered in these settings included the following:

- LINC ESL;
- General ESL, with a focus on new immigrants’ linguistic, social and cultural needs;
- University and college English for Academic Purposes (EAP) programs, designed to assist international students to perform successfully in the Canadian context;
- Canadian ESL, offered by private schools that cater to international visa students – students who reside in Canada for a short time to explore the linguistic and cultural aspects of Canadian society.

Teachers from all of these settings were targeted as it was believed and hoped that the results would better represent the population of ESL teachers who work in Ontario. The participants were recruited via personal contacts, administrator’s recommendations, or participants’ suggestions of further contacts.

With permission from program directors, I posted an initial recruitment flyer and an information letter on teachers’ bulletin boards (See Appendices M and O). I was also given the opportunity to speak with teachers in person before or after their classes or during their break time to provide information about the project. As well, I was introduced to potential participants at other schools by colleagues and those teachers who had agreed to participate in the study. Administrators of ESL programs in these schools received copies of the information letter and questionnaire together with self-addressed,
stamped envelopes with instructions to distribute them to all teachers currently teaching adult ESL courses in their programs. Confidentiality was guaranteed to all teachers who participated in the study. Individuals were not asked to give their names on the questionnaires and they were given the choice of returning their completed forms (in the envelopes provided) to my mailing address or through their program director or administrator. Potential participants whose e-mail addresses were provided by program administrators and colleagues were contacted via e-mail and invited to complete attached forms and send them to my mailing address anonymously. Of about 200 potential participants who were contacted in person or via e-mail, 131 individuals expressed interest in the study and filled out the questionnaire, out of which 117 were complete. However, 2 out of 117 questionnaires were discarded as they were completed by individuals who did not meet one of the requirements for the study (i.e., previous completion of a TESL program in Ontario). Therefore, 115 questionnaires were considered suitable for the study. For these participants, I paid attention to three criteria for selection: a teacher who is a graduate of a TESL Ontario-recognized program, is currently teaching ESL in Ontario on a part-time or full-time basis, and whose mother tongue is a language other than English.

For the second group of participants (i.e., Core Participants), I wanted to recruit five immigrant non-native English speaking teacher candidates registered in the same TESL course. I posted an initial recruitment flyer and an information letter on six TESL institutions’ student bulletin boards (See Appendices N and P). Five of these institutions were colleges; one was a privately-run but provincially funded TESL school. I contacted the managers/coordinators/directors of these TESL program institutions in order to gain access to the TESL classes to inform potential participants of the purpose, risks, and benefits of this research.

For the purpose of this study, purposeful sampling and typical sampling were used (Patton, 2002). Since the focus of the study was on INNESTs’ development of their professional identities during their certification process, it was important to consider their length of residence in Canada. Therefore, those who were recent immigrants were selected. Furthermore, due to the nature of the research, a variety of participants from
different cultural backgrounds were chosen. This, the researcher hoped, would help to understand a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research (Patton, 2002). As such, sampling approaches served the researcher’s purpose appropriately as he could use a variety of participants to investigate the research questions. The purposeful sampling, then, was appropriate as the selected samples met the criteria that the researcher had in mind. Since the proposed sample size was five, in order to allow for in-depth analysis of data, I paid special attention to three salient variables: recent landed immigrant status, length of residency in Canada, and a mother tongue other than English. No participants from the same cultural and linguistic background were recruited for the study. The typical case sampling as a strategy for purposeful sampling (Miles & Huberman, 1994) was used because the participants played the role of “key informants” (Patton, 2002) as their profiles could be typical cases of identity development in TESL programs in Ontario. To follow Patton’s arguments – the sample is illustrative not definitive – the researcher is aware of the participants’ different backgrounds, e.g., teaching experience, cultural norms, educational level, etc., and therefore, does not claim that the findings could be generalized on the basis of the cases in this study.

The INNESTs interested in taking part in the study were asked to fill out a background profile sheet. I made it clear in the recruitment letter that the information in the profile was to be used only for selecting participants for the study. They were also informed in the recruitment letter that if more than five candidates volunteered, the first five volunteers that met the researcher’s criteria (i.e., immigrant status, length of residency in Canada, and a mother tongue other than English) were to be selected. Those who accepted to participate in the study were asked to read and sign the consent letters (See Appendix S).

For the core group of participants, I hoped to have five teachers who would stay in the teacher education program. As I was already aware of the heavy workloads of the TESL program and further warned by the TESL program director about possible drop-outs in the program and so withdrawal from the study, in order to make sure enough number of participants were available for the study, I contacted more potential
participants. Seven individuals expressed interest in the study and completed the initial forms. Two of these individuals indicated that they were likely to leave to attend other professional development classes before the end of the TESL program. One of them did not participate at all. The other one expressed interest initially but withdrew later. The remaining five ended up as my core participants (Soheili-Mehr, 2006b). These five selected individuals stayed until the end of the research process and the data was collected from them.

**Research Participants’ Profiles**

Profiles: First Group of INNEST Participants (Survey Participants)

In this section, findings from analyses conducted on 115 completed questionnaires are reported. These findings from quantitative analyses are presented under the headings Demographic Information, Educational Background, and Teaching Experience.

**Survey Participants’ Demographic Information: Gender**

Table 2 shows the number of male and female respondents. A total of 73.1% of the INNESTs were women, 26.9% were men.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Number of INNESTs</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>73.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>115</td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. *Survey Participants’ Demographic Information: Gender*
*Survey Participants’ Demographic Information: Age*

Table 3 shows the number and percentage of INNESTs in each of the age groups 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-40, 40-44, 45-49, 50+. The respondents’ ages ranged from 25 to 50+.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number of INNESTs</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-40</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>35.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50+</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>115</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Survey Participants’ Demographic Information: Country of Origin*

Table 4 shows the INNESTs’ countries of origin: twenty four countries in total. The majority of the participants were from China (14 INNESTs: 12.2%), Iran (13 INNESTs: 11.4%), India (12 INNESTs: 10.4%), Korea (10 INNESTs: 8.7%), Pakistan (9 INNESTs: 7.8%), and Russia (9 INNESTs: 7.8%), altogether comprising 58.3% of the whole population.
Table 4. Survey Participants’ Demographic Information: Country of Origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of INNESTs: Frequency (f)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Cumulative frequency (F)</th>
<th>Percentile Rank (P)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=115
*Survey Participants’ Demographic Information: Education*

As far as the highest level of education attained is concerned, a majority (54.8%) of the INNESTs reported that they had attended a university and graduated with a bachelor’s degree. A further 32% said that they had attended graduate school. The summary of INNESTs’ educational background is presented in Table 5.

Table 5. *Survey Participants’ Demographic Information: Academic Background*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Number of INNESTs</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Degree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Diploma</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Diploma</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>54.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master’s</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PhD</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>115</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Survey Participants’ Current ESL Teaching Context*

As Table 6 shows, almost 32% of the respondents specified that their current ESL teaching workplace was a community-based centre. Another 33% of the INNESTs were working for school boards. Only a small number of the respondents (10%) were teaching at the university level.
Table 6. *Survey Participants' Current ESL Teaching Context*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teaching Context</th>
<th>Number of INNESTs</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private Language Schools</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community-based Centres</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>32.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Boards</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Colleges</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>115</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Profiles: Second Group of INNEST Participants (Core Participants)

Five INNESTs registered in a full-time TESL program to become certified to teach ESL in Ontario make up the second group of participants in this study. The following is a brief summary and general description of their backgrounds. More detailed information about them will be highlighted throughout the results chapters as data is reported and analyzed. The names of the participants have been changed to protect their identities and to maintain confidentiality.

*Chen*

Chen is a Chinese man from Mainland China. In his early forties, he is married with no children. His English is fluent with an obvious Chinese accent. He considered himself a successful learner of written English and attributed his success to his passion for English literature. He has been a learner and user of English for about 35 years. He has a bachelor’s degree in English Language and Literature and a master’s degree in English Literature. His master’s thesis was on the stylistic analysis of the first-person narration in *The Invisible Man*. He came to Canada more than 10 years ago on a student visa to study applied linguistics at the doctoral level, but had to drop out due to financial problems. He is working at an Ontario community college as a contract office clerk. Before coming to Canada, he taught EFL and English for Specific Purposes (ESP) to adults in China at two Chinese universities for 10 years. He has not yet been able to find...
an ESL teaching job in Canada.

**Rashmi**

Rashmi is an Indian woman in her late thirties. Her English language learning started when she was in primary school in India and has continued to the present – about 23 years. Rashmi did her bachelor’s degree in English and a post-graduate degree in education. She came to Canada about 2 years ago. Before that, she had been teaching English to children and young adults in India for about 12 years. She is married with two children, but all her family members are in India. She is hoping to be able to secure a job so that she can bring her family to Canada. Presently, she is unemployed and is attending an Ontario community college on a full-time basis.

**Fariba**

Fariba is from Tehran, Iran. She is single and in her early thirties. Her English language learning experience is typical of that of Iranian students – from junior high school and throughout high school. She did her bachelor’s degree in English Translation and her master’s degree in Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) both at a non-government university in Northern Tehran. Fariba has been studying and using English for about 18 years now. She speaks English very fluently with almost no Iranian accent. After graduating from university, she taught EFL to adolescents and adults in Iran for 6 years. She is now working as a teaching assistant for a school board in Toronto.

**Ahmad**

Ahmad, a speaker of Arabic, is an Iraqi man in his early forties. He is married with two children. Ahmad speaks excellent English. In fact, he has been a learner and speaker of English for much of his life – almost 30 years. He has a bachelor of science degree from a university in Baghdad, and has traveled to several countries. Before coming to Canada about 8 years ago, he was an English tutor for about 8 years. He has also worked in the commercial sector. He describes himself as friendly, patient, and goal-oriented, and is determined to complete the TESL program as soon as possible in order to pursue teaching ESL in Canada.
Sook

Sook is from South Korea. At 31, she is the youngest of the participants. She is single and has been in Canada for almost a year now. She completed her 4-year bachelor’s degree in English Education at a Korean university in 1999. Sook speaks English very fluently with a slight Korean accent. She attributes her proficiency to her exposure to English over a long period of time – 20 years. Moreover, during her undergraduate years, she worked very hard and listened to many English-language radio programs, such as Voice of America (VOA). Sook plans to continue her studies in second language education in Canada at the graduate level. Before coming to Canada, she was a high school English teacher for 6 years. An overview of the demographics of the five core participants in the study is provided in Table 7.
Table 7. Core Participants’ Profiles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>L1</th>
<th>Length of Residence in Canada</th>
<th>Time Spent Learning/Using English</th>
<th>Time Spent Teaching English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chen</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Early 40s</td>
<td>Master’s</td>
<td>Mandarin</td>
<td>10 years</td>
<td>35 years</td>
<td>10 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rashmi</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Late 30s</td>
<td>Post-Graduate Hindi</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>23 years</td>
<td>12 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fariba</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Early 30s</td>
<td>Master’s</td>
<td>Persian (Farsi)</td>
<td>6 years</td>
<td>18 years</td>
<td>6 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad</td>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Early 40s</td>
<td>Bachelor’s</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>8 years</td>
<td>30 years</td>
<td>8 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sook</td>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Early 30s</td>
<td>Bachelor’s</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>20 years</td>
<td>6 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In designing the research study, one main concern which came into the picture was “breadth-depth problem” (Berger, 1974, pp. 22-29). “Either many situations and persons are studied superficially, or a few are studied thoroughly (Berger, 1974, pp. 22-29). A possible solution to this situation was a mixed methods research design, through which a few would-be future certified representative INNEST participants were chosen from similar currently practicing INNEST respondents. Moreover, as described in Chapter 2, a review of all the research methods in previous studies on INNESTs reveals that more innovative research designs are needed in the area of the native and non-native speaker. Missing in previous research are studies integrating diverse research paradigms with multiple research methods, i.e., mixed methods design. The design I used in this study can be broadly understood as mixed methods (MM). MM research design was chosen and used in this study because different perspectives on the development of professional identity among INNESTs could be investigated by looking at the status of current practicing INNESTs as well as those beginning their career in their new country. The purpose of MM design was to provide ample evidence for making arguments about the native speaker construct, professional certification process, and teaching practices among immigrant teachers of ESL. Specifically, with the heterogeneity among teachers from different linguistic, educational, and professional backgrounds, the study was designed to gather multiple data sources by including current certified teachers as well as those in certification phase.

The aim of this chapter is to conceptualize the methodological framework utilized in this research study. First, I define mixed methods research. Then I add a note on the

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43 I owe thanks to Dr. Eunice Jang for raising this point in one of our meetings.
use of terminology. Next, I describe the rationale for, and the purpose of a mixed methods research methodology for this study. I then describe the mixed method component research design used and discuss three factors in the design decisions: timing, weighting, and mixing. Following that, I explain the research procedures employed in conducting the study by describing both the quantitative and the qualitative components and data collection strategies. In the final section of this chapter, I describe data analysis strategy, outcome of the mixed methods research methodology, duration of the study, ethical considerations, and the role of the researcher in the study.

**Mixed Methods Research: Definition**

In recent years there has been significant focus on expanding the methodological repertoire with research designs that make use of both qualitative and quantitative methods (Greene et al., 1989; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998, 2003). Mixed method designs can basically be defined as those that use a minimum of one quantitative method (to gather numbers) and a minimum of one qualitative method (to gather words) (Greene et al., 1989). More broadly, the mixed methods approach to research can be defined as the gathering of data using multiple data-collection techniques, investigators, informants, settings, and times to research the same issue in a single study or a series of studies. Multiple theories and approaches can then be used to analyze and interpret the data. Patton (1987, p. 60) calls this “building checks and balances into a design.” Data from one source are used to validate (i.e., check the quality of) or to complement (i.e., add to) data from another source (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). In sum, as Jang (2005, p. 41) puts it, “Mixing research methods welcomes different paradigmatic assumptions and takes advantages of different methodologies suitable for particular problems.”

**Mixed Methods Research: Terminology**

Different researchers have used different terminologies for the above notion: *multi-trait/multi-method research* (Campbell & Fiske, 1959), *multiple operationalism*

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44 Some scholars have even suggested that mixed methods research is a third research methodological movement, considering quantitative and qualitative research as the other two (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003).
Although there is not any agreement on one single term to identify the same concept, it seems that there is a move towards mixed methods. For the purpose of the present study, mixed methods will be used throughout the dissertation.

The Rationale for a Mixed Methods Research Methodology

A mixed methods approach is used for this study for two main reasons: First, because different data sources differ in their effectiveness for providing information on different areas or issues, the use of multiple sources can increase the probability of obtaining at least some information on the phenomenon of interest (DuFon, 2001; Erzberger & Kelle, 2003; Weir & Roberts, 1994). In other words, as Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) put it: “Mixed methods are often more efficient in answering research questions than either the quantitative or the qualitative approach alone and provide the lynchpin for improving the quality of inferences” (p. 169).

Second, the use of multiple data sources provides the researcher with various kinds and sources of information (numbers, stories, etc.) that can be used to persuade different audiences (Erzberger & Kelle, 2003; Firestone, 1987; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Lynch, 1997; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 2002; Rossman & Wilson, 1985). For example, while quantitative data “persuades” the reader by stressing the use of established procedures to eliminate error and bias, qualitative data “persuades” through rich description in order to give the reader enough detail to “make sense” of the situation (Firestone, 1987). Also, as Lincoln & Guba (1985) point out, the use of multiple data sources improves “the probability that findings and interpretations will be found credible” (p. 305). In sum, the hybrid use of quantitative and qualitative data can give the researcher more insights, and increase the validity of results. Here, I am not suggesting that the MM research design is the best approach for this study. However, I believe that
The Purpose of a Mixed Methods Research Methodology

In mixed methods research, data collection methods can be mixed concurrently/simultaneously or sequentially (Creswell, 2003; Creswell et al., 2003; Greene et al., 1989; Lynch, 1997; Patton, 1987, 2002; Rossman & Wilson, 1985). According to Tashakkori & Teddlie (2003, pp. 704-5), concurrent mixed method design is: 45

A multistrand design in which both QUALitative and QUANtitative data are collected and analyzed to answer a single type of research question (either QUALitative or QUANtitative). The final inferences are based on both data analysis results. The two types of data are collected independently at the same time or with a time lag.

Tashakkori & Teddlie (2003, p. 715) define sequential mixed method design as:

A design in which one type of data (e.g., QUANtitative) provides a basis for the collection of another type of data (e.g., QUALitative). It answers one type of question (QUALitative or QUANtitative) by collecting and analyzing two types of data (QUALitative or QUANtitative). Inferences are based on the analysis of both types of data.

For the purpose of this study a concurrent/simultaneous approach was used. Concurrent/simultaneous method mixing is of two types: triangulation and complementarity. Triangulation investigates the same (aspect of a) phenomenon using different methods; complementarity refers to the study of overlapping and/or different facets of the same phenomenon using different methods to provide an elaborated understanding. In the latter, rather than using one method as a check upon the other to validate it, the goal is to obtain supplementary findings that – like pieces of jigsaw puzzle – produce a fuller, more comprehensive picture of the phenomenon studied (DuFon, 45

45 Concurrent designs (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2006) are similar to Caracelli and Greene’s (1997) component designs as both quantitative and qualitative data are independently implemented during data collection and analysis. As noted by Jang et al., 2008, the advantage of using this design is that theories can be reviewed and generated by researchers, as results from both types of data can be synthesized to reach inferences about the researched area.
Mixed Methods Component Research Design

The design chosen for this study is a mixed methods component design. In this type of design, the methods used are “discrete aspects of the overall inquiry and remain distinct throughout the inquiry” (Caracelli & Greene, 1997, p. 22). The mixing of the methods does not take place at the earlier stages of collecting and/or analyzing data; rather, methods are mixed later, or at the end, at the level of interpretation and conclusions. In this sense, component and integrated designs are different, as explained by Jang et al. (2008, p. 222), “The component designs are distinguished from the integrated designs in that the different methods remain discrete through data collection and analysis and that mixing the methods takes place at the level of interpretation and inference.”

Among the three specific component designs – triangulation, complementarity, and expansion – complementarity was selected for this study. As a complementary mixed methods design “aims for elaboration, clarification, and explanation by using different methods either within a single research paradigm or across different paradigms” (Jang et al., 2008, p. 223), the selection was made on the assumption that the results from the dominant method type used (i.e. the qualitative data gathered from the five core participants) could be elaborated on, enhanced, and clarified by the results from the other data source (i.e., the quantitative data gathered from the first group of participants – survey participants). In this study, the in-depth, qualitative data from the five core participants are supplemented by the survey results from survey participants, which contribute to the breadth and representativeness of the participants (Caracelli & Greene, 1997). Figure 5 is an overview of the MM research design employed in this study, which summarizes the mixed methods concurrent component research design, and shows the instruments utilized for each sample and their order.
Figure 5. Mixed Methods Concurrent Component Research Design.
Table 8 shows which data answer which research question.

Table 8. *Research Questions and Corresponding Data*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Question</th>
<th>Data Used to Answer the Research Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Survey Participants: Background Profiles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Core Participants: Background Profiles; Autobiographies; Semi-Structured Interviews (2); Focus Group Interview; Questionnaires (2).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Survey Participants: Questionnaires.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Core Participants: Semi-Structured Interviews (2); Focus Group Interview; Questionnaires (2); Follow-up Communication; Document Analysis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Survey Participants: Questionnaires.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Core Participants: Questionnaires (2); Observations (2); Post-Observation Field Notes; Follow-up Communication; Document Analysis.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Design Decisions: Timing, Weighting, and Mixing**

When choosing the mixed methods design for this study, three key factors were taken into consideration: timing, weighting, and mixing. Timing is “the temporal relationship between the quantitative and qualitative components within a study” (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007, p. 81). This could be concurrent (i.e., the quantitative and qualitative parts of the study could be conducted in a single time period and phase) or sequential (i.e. one component at a time, in two distinct phases). Although a sequential order was initially intended for this study, due to an insufficient number of respondents to the questionnaire, it was decided that the research would be conducted concurrently, i.e. both quantitative and qualitative methods would be implemented during a single phase.

The second factor considered was the weighting or emphasis of the two approaches. Weighting refers to “the relative importance or priority of the quantitative and qualitative methods to answering the study’s questions” (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007, p. 81). In making the “priority decision” (Morgan, 1998), due to the nature of the theoretical framework used in this study, as explained in Chapter 3, and the research
questions, the researcher decided to take a pragmatic worldview standpoint and therefore did not allocate equal weights to the two methods. The five core participants and the qualitative data collected from them were given a greater emphasis within the study. This decision was as well influenced by the study’s goals (i.e., investigating the native speaker construct and how it is realized in the INNESTs’ construction of their professional identities). Another determining factor was the study’s dominant use of procedures from, and more space devoted to qualitative case study designs. Moreover, practical considerations had a role in this decision: to implement a study that gave equal weight to both the qualitative and quantitative methods would have required more resources (e.g., quantitative experimental designs) than were available. Finally, further reflection on the data analysis procedures showed that the qualitative data provided a more comprehensive picture of native-speaker construct, the construction of professional identity, and second language teaching expertise.

The third procedural consideration in the study’s design was how the quantitative and qualitative methods were to be mixed. Mixing is “the explicit relating of the two data sets” (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007, p. 83). The procedure employed here was merging the data sets, i.e., taking the two data sets and bringing them together explicitly (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). This was done by analyzing the data from the two sets separately and integrating the results during the discussion and interpretation phase.

**Research Procedures and Components**

In this section, I discuss the procedures employed in conducting the study by describing both the quantitative and the qualitative components.

**The Quantitative Component**

The quantitative component targeted the first group of participants (i.e., Survey Participants), as described in Chapter 4. The rationale behind the quantitative approach for this first group of participants was multi-fold. First, it was based on a logical paradigm (Reichardt & Cook, 1979). The aim was to seek facts in regard to the native-speaker construct and identity development among established INNESTs in the field.
Because of the researcher’s position, the data from this group were collected from an outsider’s perspective. Moreover, the intention was to explore their perspectives on the research questions in order to compare them with those of the second group (i.e., five case studies), in the hope that their data could ultimately help form a comprehensive picture by determining what kind of roles the data could have: “verification-oriented, confirmatory, reductionist, inferential, and/or hypothetico-deductive” (Reichardt & Cook, 1979, p. 10). Since the individuals in the first group had already gone through the process of TESL education in Canada and were teaching ESL, the data gathered from them revealed information about possible outcomes for the second group. The rationale behind this was that the survey participants share experiences with the core participants navigating from another country into Canada and into the world of teaching as INNESTs. Although they were at a different stage of their professional lives, they were able to remember their journey and, as such, they provided a sense of the larger context. The survey respondents created the background for the core participants who are foregrounded. The experiences of the larger group contributed to a better understanding of the individual experiences of the core participants. Rather than looking at the core participants in isolation, this larger group of professionals – in the background – was used to identify common trends and patterns as well as discuss the diversity of perspectives across the two groups. The outcome is a discussion in which we can relate the experiences of the core participants to the broader set of patterns that we were able to draw from the survey data. As well, this data could form the basis of possible generalizations about practicing INNESTs and the construction of their professional identities.

The Quantitative Data Collection Strategies

Two research tools were used for this group: background profiles and questionnaires.

Background Profile

Before completing the questionnaire, the participants in the first group were asked to complete a background profile (demographic data sheet) soliciting basic information
about them, i.e., gender and age, academic and professional background, and length of time spent in Canada. It was administered only once throughout the period of data collection (Appendix E).

**Questionnaires**

A questionnaire asking about the participants’ beliefs about native speaker construct, professional identity, language proficiency, self-perception, sense of expertise, perceived cross-cultural difficulties, etc., was administered to the first group of participants. The questionnaire included five-point Likert-scale questions as well as open-ended questions (Appendix F). The five-point Likert-type format asked the participants to choose among five possible answers (i.e., from strongly agree to strongly disagree). Participants were provided with a description of the purpose of the research study with assurance of complete anonymity, and were given instructions on how to complete the survey in advance of the completing the questionnaire. They were instructed not to put any kind of identifying information on their questionnaire sheets. Before analysis, the data were checked for response distortions and completion errors.

**The Qualitative Component**

As the major focus of the study was to investigate the development of professional identity of INNESTs in their transition from their home country to Canada, I focused on qualitative methods. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2002), “qualitative research has become an umbrella term encompassing a wide range of epistemological viewpoints, research strategies, and specific techniques for understanding people in their natural context” (p. x). Denzin and Lincoln (1994, p. 2), emphasize the fact that qualitative research is inherently multimethod in focus:

Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials – case study, personal experience, introspection, life history, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts – that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals’ lives. Accordingly, qualitative researchers deploy a wide range of unconnected methods, hoping always to get a better fix on the subject matter at hand.

The rationale behind the qualitative approach for the second group of participants
was multi-fold. Firstly, it was based on a phenomenological paradigm, which leads to an understanding of the five participants’ identity formation from their own frame of reference, as opposed to facts obtained from the first group (Reichardt & Cook, 1979, p. 10). Moreover, the qualitative data from this group would be obtained in more natural settings, and through unframed, uncontrolled observation. This would enable the researcher to adopt an insider’s perspective, to base his interpretations on “discovery-oriented, exploratory, expansionist, descriptive, and inductive” paradigms (Reichardt & Cook, 1979, p. 10). Moreover, the second group’s qualitative data was hoped to add to the validity of the study by complementing the reliable data from the first group. Finally, because of its nature, qualitative data would contribute to an understanding of the dynamic nature of the native-speaker construct and the construction of identity.

**Case Study**

In view of above and the criteria described below, a qualitative case study approach was adopted for the main five participants. According to Johnson (1992), case studies describe cases in their contexts. To do so, the five cases were studied in context (i.e., the TESL program) in order to shed light on the principal research questions. Therefore, particular attention was paid to the TESL program’s requirements, curriculum, and teaching materials as well as to the teacher candidates’ perspectives and experiences as these were believed, by the researcher, to be relevant to the research questions.

**Case Study: Justification**

Johnson (1992) highlights a number of dimensions involved in conducting case studies: qualitative, naturalistic, descriptive, and longitudinal. First of all, case studies are mainly qualitative, although quantitative tools may be used as well. The data collection strategies used for the study (described in detail in the next section) were in line with this dimension; i.e., qualitative. Second, case studies are naturalistic, i.e., “the individual or other entity is studied in its naturally occurring state and environment” (Johnson, 1992, p. 76). In this study, the data collection took place while the five participants were going through the TESL education. Data was gathered during their involvement in the program (i.e., in their relevant natural environment) in the hope that
the results would better represent the context of the subjects. Next comes the *descriptive* dimension, which has to do with describing the phenomenon – in this case, the development of professional identity. The next step was to go beyond description, however, and provide a contextual, linguistic, and sociocultural interpretation of the data. Finally, there is the *longitudinal* dimension. Although the participants in the study were in the research setting over a relatively long period of time (i.e., the 12-month TESOL program), the interviews were conducted over a four-month period. As such, this aspect of the research would not be considered longitudinal.

**Case Study: Aim**

A principal aim in using case studies in this study was to revisit and test the theoretical constructs of native-speaker and professional identity. Due to many factors – the potential challenges of establishing the relationship between cases and theory building/retesting (Richards, 2003), the crucial role of the selection of cases in building/reconceptualizing theory from case studies (Huberman & Miles, 2002), and the prior research on the native-speaker construct (as explained in Chapter 2) which had been done with native speaker participants – the research sample of non-native speakers was carefully and purposefully selected to better define the limits for generalizing the results, and to redefine the construct more precisely. This was done for cases’ own worth (*intrinsic*) in providing detailed description and interpretation of the experiences of the participants, as well as to focus on a broader issue (*instrumental*) – the native speaker construct and the development of professional identity (Richards, 2003).

**Case Study: Research Paradigms**

This research study is basically based on two research paradigms: constructivism and the critical perspective. The key tenet of constructivism is that “reality is socially constructed, so the focus of research should be on an understanding of this construction and the multiple perspectives it implies. Actors are individuals […] acting in particular circumstances at particular times and constructing meanings from events and interactions” (Richards, 2003, p. 38). The participants in this study experienced the negotiation of their non-native-speaker status through their constant, ongoing contact
with their peers and instructors in the TESL program, forming pluralistic perspectives on the native-speaker construct. The lingual-sociocultural features of their environment, reading and teaching materials, peers, instructors, and students played significant roles in the (re-)constructing of their professional identities (See Chapter 7 for a detailed discussion).

Although the postmodernist lens in constructivism emphasizes the ongoing process of interpretation of concepts and constructs, one cannot simply suppose that such co-construction of meaning is neutral. This is where the critical perspective comes in. Proponents of this view move beyond reality-as-product-of-social-forces, and consider the hidden factors and forces influencing reality. Their task is then to reveal hidden agendas and “open up the possibility of change […] penetrating underlying assumptions and value orientations in order to expose the power relationships that permeate social structures and interactions” (Richards, 2003, p. 40). The participants in this study were engaged in a critical transformative process and held a dialogic relationship with the researcher, critically revisiting their status as non-native speakers and the re-/de-construction of their identities. This was clearly evident in their search for ways to act in the face of their unequal treatment as non-native speakers of English and their unfair treatment by others, especially certifying and hiring authorities (See Chapter 7 for a detailed discussion).46

**Qualitative Data Collection Strategies**

For the purpose of the qualitative component of the study, I used a number of data collection strategies and techniques: a background profile, a questionnaire, a professional identity autobiography, two semi-structured interviews, one focus group interview, two observations as well as other data sources, including post-interview e-mail exchanges.

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46 Although the researcher did not set an activist agenda in the study in the first place, the study served as a forum for the participants to situate themselves in the TESL program in order to evaluate the TESL certification standards and re-evaluate these standards critically in relation to the power, privilege, and prestige attached to their being/becoming a certified teacher. The participants were generally critical of the ways in which they were required to go through the certification program and so problematized it from a political standpoint. Participants’ critical questioning of their status within the current TESOL program in relation to the larger social context, i.e., how their professional perspectives and goals are received within and tied to the TESOL program in which they were registered falls within the realm of critical pedagogy. For this reason, critical pedagogy as a conceptual framework was selected for this research.
with participants, their follow-up comments, and document analysis, examples of which were course materials, course outlines, course readings, and information from TESL ON and CIC websites. These different sources of data each play an important role in data complementarity.

**Background Profile**

Before collecting interview data, the five core participants were asked to complete a background profile (demographic data sheet) soliciting basic information, including gender and age, academic and professional background, and length of time spent in Canada. It was administered only once throughout the entire period of data collection (Appendix G). This was similar to the background profile form given to the first group of participants.

**Questionnaire**

The same questionnaire that was distributed to the first group of participants was given to the core group of participants as well. The questionnaire asked about the core participants’ beliefs about the native speaker construct, professional identity, language proficiency, self-perception, sense of expertise, perceived cross-cultural difficulties, etc. It was administered twice: once before the first interview (Appendix H) and the other towards the end of the TESL program (Appendix I). The questionnaire included five-point Likert-scale questions as well as open-ended questions. The questionnaire asked about INNESTs’ beliefs about their identity. Since the purpose was to explore whether their belief system would change as a result of their experiences in the TESL program, and thus influence them to change their beliefs about their professional identity, each core participant was given the same questionnaire twice throughout the data collection period.

Immediately after participants’ completion of the questionnaire, I discussed their ideas about identity with them, referring to the questionnaire they had submitted. The discussion between the participants and me was audio-recorded and transcribed. By

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47 Previous research suggests that teacher beliefs do not easily change over time. For instance, Borg’s (2011) study suggests that while teachers may experience “shifts in prior beliefs they held about aspects of language teaching and learning” (p. 370), they may also show resistance to making significant changes in their beliefs.
comparing their initial responses (i.e., the questionnaire itself and the follow-up
discussion) with the exit questionnaire, I identified changes in their identity development.

**Professional Identity Autobiography**

Autobiographies have been variously termed as narratives, life histories, memoirs,
and autoethnographies (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Phillion & Connelly, 2004; Phillion
& He, 2004). The genre of autobiography can provide an “emic” rather than an “etic”
perspective (Freeman, 1996). This “emic” orientation solicits the writers’ subjective
account of past experiences. This characteristic is in sharp contrast with that of the results
of class observation, which will be described later. While the class observation used in
this study provides an outsider’s (i.e., researcher’s) conceptualization of a phenomenon,
the autobiography provides an insider’s (i.e., participants’) perspectives.

The five core participants’ autobiographies are intended to serve the following
purposes. First of all, by engaging in this activity, the participants had the chance to
recollect their previous foreign or second language learning and teaching experiences,
and linguistic as well as professional memories. The written autobiographies were key
reference data that were later compared with the interviews conducted during the data
collection period.

To do so, before the first semi-structured interview, all the core research
participants were asked to complete a professional experience autobiography describing
their previous language learning, teaching, and professional experiences, and how their
previous EFL work experiences had influenced their most recent view of ESL teaching
and TESL education at home. The written autobiographies were collected before the first
interview with the participants. The length of the autobiography was left absolutely up to
the participants to decide, but a minimum of two, if possible, full single-sided letter size
hand-written or typed pages was requested. Participants were given the chance to decide
on the length as I was aware of the heavy workload of the full-time TESL program in
which they were registered.
Semi-structured Interview

I interviewed the participants about their status as immigrant non-native English speaking educators in Ontario. Each candidate was interviewed twice: first, at the beginning of the TESL program (See Appendix J for the Interview 1 Protocol), and then towards the end of the program (See Appendix K for the Interview 2 Protocol). The interviews were conducted at a convenient time and place for the participants and lasted approximately an hour and a half. I chose to use a semi-structured interview format because of two reasons. First, I believed it could help me to investigate the various aspects of teachers’ professional identity without distracting much from important themes. Second, in many cases in unstructured interviews, difficulties of categorization or analysis have been mentioned as one of their weaknesses since these types of interviews allow for considerable degrees of freedom to both researcher and participants (Richards, 2003).

I asked the core participants questions (See Appendices J and K) based on the professional identity literature in general, and teacher expertise, self-image, and native-speaker construct, in particular. I attempted to pay equal attention to the participants’ unique sociocultural contexts which has been emphasized by many sociocultural theorists. Accordingly, questions were asked about such things as the participants’ relationships with their peer teacher candidates (both native and non-native), teacher educators, their previous language learning, teaching, and professional experiences, and their feelings about pursuing ESL teaching as their career in Canada. At times, out of necessity, I asked further related but more detailed questions which provided in-depth data for interpretation. As well, each participant was encouraged to initiate any related topic that she or he thought was important. After each semi-structured interview, the audio-taped data were transcribed.

Observation

During the data collection period the INNESTs and I co-constructed the meaning of professional identity. In order to complement and understand the data gathered through other research tools (e.g., interviews), I also observed the core participants in the TESL
program courses as well as during their practice teaching sessions. As Adler and Adler (1994) state, observation is “most likely to be used in conjunction with [other data collection methods], such as participant observation, experimental design, and interviewing” (p. 377). Classroom observation was a supplementary resource for understanding the collaborative nature of professional identity construction in general, and teacher expertise, self-image, TESOL certificate program experiences, and the native speaker construct, in particular. I prepared an observation template based mainly on Denzin’s (1989) criteria. The items that were included in the template were routines, space, rituals, temporal elements, interpretations, and social organization (see Appendix L). In order to provide space for emerging findings, no further specifications were included in the template.

According to Adler and Adler (1994), there are two different types of observation: quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative observations are employed to “ensure standardization and control,” whereas qualitative observations are “fundamentally naturalistic in essence” (p. 378). They describe four different roles for the researcher as observer, ranging from the etic to the emic perspective: researcher as the complete participant, the participant-as-observer, the observer-as-participant, and the complete observer. If objective detachment is intended, researchers adopt an etic position, as opposed to an emic position, which has as its focus obtaining detailed, elaborated, and in-depth descriptions and explanations of the observed individual and/or phenomena.

In my thesis, since the greatest focus is placed on interviews that aim at gathering rich data from a small number of participants, observation is a supplement to that. In other words, the observation does not require the active participation of the researcher in the TESL program. Through the observations, I intended to capture the actual TESL education atmosphere and its influence on participants’ experiences of teacher education in Canada, on their teaching expertise, as well as on the development of their professional identity. That said, I was a non-participant observer during the teaching practice sessions. I was not involved in any activity and I was not there to evaluate. During the session, the participants’ practice teaching was followed by feedback from their teacher educator and their peers. The participants were given an opportunity to respond to the feedback, and
their responses were recorded in observation notes. After the teaching sessions, participants were contacted if clarification was needed. The information collected through the combination of observation of teaching practice, response to feedback, and written e-mail communication (self-report) – were used to complete a picture of the participants’ language teaching self-knowledge.

Observation was conducted twice for each participant. Since there were five participants in the core group, a total of ten observations were conducted. After I had informed the TESL program director and the TESL teacher educator(s) and acquired consent from them, I sat at the back of the classroom and did not intervene in any classroom activities (See Appendices Q, R, T, and U). The observation was neither audio-taped nor video-recorded. Instead I took field notes based on Denzin’s (1989) guidelines. The observations were conducted solely for recording the INNEST participants’ experiences in the program. They were not intended to assess the teacher educator(s), the participants’ performance, or the TESL program.

As the observations were valuable sources of complementary data, I tried to expand upon the descriptions in my field notes immediately after the class. To do this, I included the participants’ comments and their course work (e.g., lesson plans). I kept the descriptions from my observations in my research log. Also, I left some space on the side for codes and possible ideas.

**Focus Group Interview**

For validation purposes and in order to have a more in-depth data, I held one focus group interview with the five core participants to discuss their status as immigrant non-native English speaking educators in Canada. The focus group interview was conducted at a convenient time and place for the participants and lasted approximately an hour. I adopted an informal, comfortable, permissive interview format (Kreuger, 1988; Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990) and asked the participants some of the same questions from the core question lists (See Appendices J and K) based on the professional identity literature in general, and teacher expertise, self-image, TESOL certification, and the native speaker construct, in particular. No restriction was placed on the quality or
quantity of responses which could be provided on the part of the participants. I was present at all times and made notes of key issues raised during the session. The discussion was relaxed, and participants shared their ideas and perceptions. They also responded to ideas, reactions, and comments in the discussion in a way that would not have been feasible using other data collection methods. At times, I asked further related but more detailed questions, hoping to acquire more in-depth data. Each participant was encouraged to initiate discussion on any relevant topic. My role was that of a moderator; I tried to promote interaction and assure that the discussion remained on the topic. I also did my best to avoid bias in my follow-up questions and directing of particular questions to particular participants. Right after the focus group interview finished, the audio-taped data was transcribed. Recording accuracy was checked at the conclusion of the session. Omissions and discrepancies were corrected to achieve a high rate of accuracy.

**Other Data Sources**

Apart from the above mentioned data sources, I also drew some amount of data from post-interview e-mail exchanges with participants and their follow-up comments. Other documents included course materials, course outlines, course readings, handouts for presentations, and information from TESL ON and CIC websites.

**Data Analysis Strategies, Analytic Tools and Units of Analysis**

The quantitative and qualitative chunks of data were analyzed independently through statistical descriptive analysis of questionnaire data and thematic analysis of qualitative data. In other words, parallel, independent analyses of the two data sets were conducted. Data integration was delayed until after data analysis. The replies from the surveys for the first group and the various sets of data from the second group, via different tools, were collected and analyzed separately, statistically for the former, and qualitatively for the latter (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). The results from the parallel analyses of the quantitative and qualitative data then were compared with each other for the sake of synthesis and interpretation. The quantitative data, therefore, were transformed into narrative descriptions.
Once the interview transcripts were ready, they were returned to the core participants for verification (Ball, 1997), i.e., member-checking, as referred to by Lincoln and Guba (1985), before being subjected to any analysis. The purpose was to ensure that the transcribed data, and the later interpretations, reflected participants’ views and experiences. As such, all core participants were asked to read and validate their transcribed data and suggest any change, if needed. Two participants made further comments; two said that they were fine with the text; the remaining one participant did not reply back.

The information collected from the background profiles and autobiographies was mainly used to create general profiles of both groups of participants’ personal and professional backgrounds. These profiles were descriptive in nature and were used selectively at later stages to supplement and interpret data gathered through other data collection tools. The transcripts from the semi-structured and focus group interviews and other textual material (e.g., the observation notes, follow-up e-mail exchanges with participants, their comments and follow-up self-reports on class activities or practice teaching sessions, examples of their course work, course outlines, and course readings, and my memos on the aforementioned items) were analyzed inductively and coded thematically. The content analysis was done by using a qualitative data analysis computer software package, Nvivo version 1.1. The codes were categorized into discourse units and recurring patterns. This helped to establish key links between the conceptual categories to reveal thematic strands in the interpretive commentary. After I extracted commonly recurring or frequently saturated (Adler & Adler, 1994, p. 381) themes from the data, I began the next level of analysis, which was finding the connections between teacher expertise, self-image, TESOL certification and the native speaker construct and other recurring themes. A colleague trained in qualitative data analysis read through the transcripts, reviewed the coded data, and independently coded participants’ responses to questions. This colleague was given information about the purpose of the study as well as the research questions and was asked to examine participants’ responses to questions pertaining to each code/theme. We then compared our codes, and identified core categories. Examples of thematic coded text were compared and links among the themes were established. The iterative analysis process helped to find the overlapped themes. As
such, some of the themes were combined. This step was particularly useful in reaching high interrater consistency. In order to make qualitative and quantitative data comparison more feasible, the results from the quantitative data were qualitized by transforming them into brief narrative pieces. The comparison of findings from both quantitative and qualitative strands of data resulted in both overlapping and non-overlapping themes in regards to native speaker construct, development of professional identity, teacher expertise, self-image, TESOL certification, and teaching expertise.

**Outcome of the Mixed Methods Research Methodology**

The outcome of the research data was complementary. The findings covered different facets and completed different parts of the picture (DuFon, 2001; Erzberger & Kelle, 2003). The quantitative data was used to explain and support the qualitative findings, which will be discussed in detail later.

**Duration of the Study**

The length of the TESL program in which the teacher candidates were registered was 12 months. The sampling of the five participants was done at the beginning of the TESL program in the fall. The research study was conducted over two semesters. During the next 4 months in the summer, the researcher was in contact with the participants for conducting follow-ups. The actual involvement of the researcher with the participants for the purpose of interviewing and observation was at different stages and for a period of 4 months. In the initial recruitment letter, I had specified that I hoped to have interviews with INNESTs who would stay in the program until its completion. However, since I assumed that some INNESTs might leave to attend other professional development classes or look for employment before the end of the TESL program, I contacted all 7 interested participants to ensure I would finish with 4 or 5. I continued interviewing only those who finished the program: 5 participants.

**Ethical Considerations**

All participants in the study were adults. During the initial contacts and conversations with teacher candidates in the TESL program, the researcher explained the
purpose of the study as well as the research process to participants and informed them about his role as a researcher in the study. These initial contacts helped the researcher to identify potential participants who met the selecting criteria. The core participants were contacted separately and were asked to read and sign the informed consent forms which were previously approved by the Ethical Review Committee at the University of Toronto. The interviews with the participants took place at a time and place convenient for them. It was made clear during the recruitment that participants could withdraw from the study at any time, for any reason. Classroom visits were conducted in order to observe TESL program activities. As previously stated, the researcher sat quietly at the back seat in the classroom in order not to be a distraction to either the teacher educator or the teacher candidates. No video camera or audio recorder was used during the observations.

The Role of the Researcher

The mixed-methods design adopted for this study allows the researcher to experience both the outsider’s (etic) and insider’s (emic) view. According to Thomas (2003, p. 75), “a person using an etic method stands aloof from the observed events, seeing things […] that happen without any intimate engagement in the event. A person using an emic method is one of the actual participants in the observed event.” The participants in the study and I, as the researcher, share many characteristics. Like the participants in the study, I am a first-generation immigrant non-native English speaking ESL professional who taught English as a foreign language for a number of years before immigrating to Canada. Like them, I went through the experience of learning English as a foreign language. Another commonality that I shared with both group of the participants was that I had had the experience of applying for certification in a new country – Canada. That helped me to understand and empathize with the participants’ needs, challenges, and struggles in obtaining recertification in a different country. These all helped me to form rapport with my participants. I have undergone the process of negotiating cultural values, and at some point(s) have battled through assimilation, adaptation, transformation, and/or integration while living in Canada. The process of my linguistic, social, cultural and professional identity formation, I have felt, is ongoing. I have found myself acting in multiple roles: as a doctoral student, a teacher, a member of a minority group, a non-
native English speaker, an immigrant, a foreigner, a student activist, a researcher, a teacher-educator, a teaching assistant, a research assistant, a political observer, and so forth. Therefore, I assume that I have a great deal in common with the INNESTs who volunteered to take part in my study. Throughout the study, I adopted different roles. In the quantitative phase, I was an outsider, removed from the data (i.e., the etic view). In the qualitative, case studies phase, I was, for the most part, an observer. This was the role I had planned to play until the end. However, once the data collection was complete, I found myself acting as a change agent and an ally. When my five participants struggled to go through the TESL certification program, experienced self-doubt and fears, and faced hard times in figuring out the professional gatekeeping processes in Canada, I discussed their needs and goals with them in order to help them with finding their ways and asserting themselves as legitimate members of the ESL community in their new country. Close to the data, I did have an emic (insider’s) perspective on the INNESTs’ professional identities and their integration into a challenging teaching context. This helped create an insider status for me through which I was in a better position to understand their experiences. Through taking the professional identity journey with my participants, I came to understand the process of linguistic, sociocultural and professional identity negotiation in ways which I would not have had the opportunity to discover otherwise.
CHAPTER 6

RESULTS: THE NATIVE SPEAKER – SCRUTINIZING THE CONSTRUCT AND NEGOTIATING IDENTITIES

Introduction

In this chapter, I first craft a characterization of the native speaker (NS) construct from the perspectives of currently certified and employed immigrant non-native English-speaking teachers (INNESTs) practicing in the field of ESL as well as INNEST candidates’ perspectives on and experiences with the native speaker construct within the TESOL teacher education program. I then summarize the essential features of the construct. I also identify some of the challenges that I observed in INNESTs’ negotiation of their linguistic identities in their practice of ESL teaching and how these challenges resulted in the creation of multiple and, at times, contradictory and inequitable linguistic and professional identities. Overall, the purpose of this chapter is to focus on the “NNES” in INNEST, that is, the “non-native English speakers” in immigrant non-native English speaking teachers and their linguistic capital, and to present the findings in answer to the first research question in this study:

Q1. How do INNESTs – as learners, speakers, users, and teachers of English – negotiate their language-related identities in the English-speaking Canada?

This question is addressed through a discussion of the following three specific subquestions:

Q1a. How do INNESTs perceive the native speaker construct?

Q1b. How do INNESTs identify themselves in regards to the native speaker construct?

Q1c. Are there any changes in INNESTs’ beliefs and self-identification during the TESOL program?
Description, Analysis, and Interpretation of Data: Chapter Format

As discussed in the previous chapter, in order to reach a broad as well as deep characterization of the NS construct in the study, a mixed-methods research design incorporating both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection was adopted. The former was used to obtain responses from a large number of currently practicing INNEST participants (115 in total), and the latter from a few (N= 5) representative soon-to-be certified INNEST participants to enable a more in-depth description of the native speaker construct. I refer to these two groups of participants as survey participants and core participants, respectively. The survey participants sample was studied through mainly quantitative methods, and the core participants sample was studied through qualitative research methods.

There are seven major sections in this chapter. First, I present the findings from the quantitative component involving survey participants. Then, I examine the qualitative component involving the five core participants’ cases and provide a cross-case analysis. Third, the results from both components are brought together. Fourth, there is a discussion and interpretation of the findings. Fifth, I provide a reconceptualization of the native speaker construct. Sixth, there is a discussion of the use of native–non-native label. Finally, I end the chapter with a summary and conclusion.

Description and Analysis of the Quantitative Component: Survey Participants

For the sake of readability, the quantitative data is presented in two consecutive, separate sections: a description of the results, followed by an analysis of the results.

Description of the Quantitative Component

In this section, I deal with the NS construct through data gathered during the quantitative component of the study with survey participants. The quantitative data gives a broad view of the participants’ perspectives on the NS construct. The descriptive findings from the quantitative analyses are presented under two main headings: (1) Survey Participants’ Linguistic Profiles and (2) Survey Participants’ Perceptions and Views of the Native Speaker Construct.
Survey Participants’ Linguistic Profiles

A summary of the following is presented in this section: Survey participants’ mother tongue(s); their home country official language; the status of English in their country of origin; and their English language proficiency level.

Survey Participants’ Mother Tongue(s)

Survey participants (N = 115) were asked to specify their mother tongues, defined as the first language or languages that they had learned. In total, 28 different mother tongues were reported. Mandarin (11.3%) had the highest frequency, then Persian (9.6%), and Korean (8.7%). The other high frequency mother tongues were Russian and Spanish (both 7.0%), Cantonese and Urdu (both 6.1%), and Hindi, Romanian, and Ukrainian (all 5.2%). The least represented mother tongues had only one speaker among all the participants and were Azeri, French, Guyanese Creole, Jamaican Patois, Kashmiri, Sinhalese, Tamil, and Tatar (each 0.9%). A summary of all mother tongues is presented in Table 9.

---

48 Guyanese Creole is an English lexified language with influences from Dutch and other languages (Gibson, 1988).
Table 9. *Survey Participants’ Mother Tongue(s)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother Tongue</th>
<th>Number of INNESTs</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mandarin</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian (Farsi)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantonese</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romanian</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albanian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurdish</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pashto</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwanese</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azeri</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyanese Creole</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaican Patois</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmiri</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinhalese</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>115</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A number of participants (n = 36, comprising 31.3% of all the participants) reported that they had a second mother tongue. In other words, they considered themselves fluent speakers of two mother tongues, having learned them as their first languages, and being capable of operating in both. Table 10 shows survey participants’ second mother tongues.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Second Mother Tongue</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cantonese</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandarin</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian (Farsi)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balochi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pashto</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only a few participants (n = 7, comprising 6.35% of the survey participants group) mentioned that they had a third mother tongue, English. In other words, they had learned three languages as their mother tongues, and considered themselves fluent in all three of them. Table 11 shows survey participants’ first language demographics in terms of number of mother tongues: one mother tongue (62.6%), two mother tongues (31.3%), and three mother tongues (6.1%).
Table 11. **Survey Participants’ Mother Tongue Demographics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Mother Tongue</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>62.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Mother Tongues</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>31.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Mother Tongues</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>115</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Survey Participants’ Home Country Official Language**

Survey participants were also asked about the official language spoken in their country of origin; *if different* from their mother tongue.\(^{50}\) Seventeen participants (14.8\%) stated that their mother tongue was different from their home country’s official language, as shown in Table 12.

---

\(^{50}\) By “official language” following Richards and Schmidt (2002), I am referring to the language that is considered to be the main language of a country, declared by and used in government and for official business.
Table 12. *Survey Participants’ Home Country’s Official Language (if different from mother tongue)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Official Language</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>35.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandarin</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian (Farsi)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Status of English in Survey Participants’ Country of Origin**

I agree with Phillipson (1992) that the ESL/EFL distinction is not necessarily useful, or accurate, due to the difficulties in determining the amount and type of use of the language in any given context. I retain this distinction, however, as I believe it would be interesting to test its validity and appropriateness by looking at the perspectives of those who come from English language learning environments that are labeled as ESL or EFL. To do so, I asked survey participants to specify the status of English in their home country. Their responses are categorized in three groups: English as a foreign language (EFL), that is, just a school subject; English as a second language (ESL), that is, used in the media or as a language of instruction; English as an official language (EOL), that is, used officially and in daily life. The summary is shown in Table 13.
Table 13. Status of English in Survey Participants’ Country of Origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Language (EFL)</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>74.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Language (ESL)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Official Language (EOL)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>115</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the spread of the English language around the world may be visualized as three concentric circles representing how English has been acquired and is currently used (Kachru, 1985, 1995). The *Inner Circle* refers to traditional bases of English, where it is the primary language: Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, the UK, and the USA. The *Outer or Extended circle* involves the earlier stages of the spread of English in places where it is now part of the country’s institutions, and is an important second language: Singapore, India, Malawi, and over 50 other territories. The *Expanding Circle* involves countries with no colonization history where English is recognized as an international language. In these settings, English does not have any special status in their language policy: China, Japan, Iran, Greece, and increasing. In these countries, English is a foreign language. Using Kachru’s categorization, out of the twenty-four countries represented among all participants in the study, the majority are EFL countries, that is, the Expanding Circle (*n* = 17). Four others are ESL countries, that is, the Outer Circle countries. The remaining three countries (Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad) do not fall within one of the circles and are categorized separately, since, according to Kachru (1995, p. 235), “their sociolinguistic situation is rather complex, particularly with reference to the English-using populations and the functions of English.” Figure 6 shows the classification of survey participants’ country of origin based on Kachru’s categorization.\(^5\)

\(^5\) Out of 5 participants from Poland, 3 identified English as a second language in their country. As English in Poland is recognized as a foreign language in the literature (Crystal, 2003), responses were changed from ESL to EFL.
Figure 6. Survey Participants’ Country of Origin according to Kachru’s Model (1995).
Figure 7 shows a categorization of survey participants’ (N = 115) country of origin and their respective numbers: Expanding Circle countries (n = 86), Outer Circle countries (n = 26), and other countries (n = 3).

Figure 7. Total Number of Survey Participants’ Country of Origin according to Kachru’s Model (1995).

**Survey Participants’ English Language Proficiency**

Survey participants reported their self-perceived current English language proficiency level on a scale of 1 to 5 (1: Lowest level; 5: Highest level). No one ranked their proficiency on levels 1 and 2; 3.5% chose level 3, 38.2% selected level 4, and the majority of respondents – 58.3% – selected level 5. The average for the whole population was 4.54. In other words, 96.5% of all participants considered themselves to have an advanced or high advanced level of English language proficiency (Table 14).
### Table 14. Survey Participants’ English Language Proficiency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 (Elementary)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (Intermediate)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (High Intermediate)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 (Advanced)</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>38.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 (High Advanced)</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>58.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>115</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Mean: 4.54  
SD: 0.56*

### Survey Participants’ View of the Native Speaker Construct

In this part of the chapter, I present the data on two areas: (1) Survey Participants’ Self-identification; (2) Survey Participants’ View of the Native Speaker Construct.

**Survey Participants’ Self-Identification**

Given their years of language learning and teaching, survey participants were asked to identify themselves in relation to the native speaker construct. Overall, a considerable number of survey participants (47.8%) did not consider themselves to be native speakers of English (Table 15). Also, a number of participants (n = 10) were not able to choose between the two categories, while a few (n = 3) left the question unanswered. In other words, those who clearly identified themselves as native speakers of English did not comprise a majority of the population (40%).

---

52 The question on the survey asked if the participants considered themselves native or non-native speakers of English. Space was provided for the participants to explain their response. Some used this space to indicate why they did not select either. My intention was to present the status quo and allow the participants to question that if they wanted to.
Table 15. *Survey Participants’ Self-Identification*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of INNESTs</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native Speaker</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Native Speaker</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>47.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>115</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Survey Participants’ View of the Native Speaker Construct*

Survey participants provided feedback on the most important factor(s) determining a native speaker of English. The majority of survey participants (80%) referred to more than one factor: 50% mentioned two criteria; 25%, three; and 6%, four. Table 16 shows the distribution of survey participants in terms of the number of factors that they assigned to the NS construct.

Table 16. *Number of Factors Assigned to the Native Speaker Construct by Survey Participants*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Factors Assigned</th>
<th>Number of INNESTs</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>49.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>24.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>115</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

130
Participants’ responses on determining factors varied, and different wordings were used. All the answers were combined and grouped into ten factors using single themes: (1) English language proficiency (i.e., knowledge of English or ability to use it in communication); (2) knowledge about English (i.e., ability to explain the rules of language); (3) birth in an English-speaking country; (4) early childhood English acquisition; (5) using English as one’s main language; (6) formal education in English; (7) acceptance by other native speakers of English; (8) length of residence in an English-speaking country; (9) nationality; and (10) race. Except for factor (9) – which is mostly documented as in Kachru’s circles in previous research – and factors (6) and (8), which are rarely referred to in the literature the remaining themes and the labels for them were determined in consultation with the literature on the native–non-native speaker construct (Amin, 1997; Cook, 2003; Davies, 2003; Paikeday, 1985a; Rampton, 1990), as summarized in Table 17.

Participants identified English language proficiency (27.82%), birth in an English-speaking country (14.11%), early childhood English acquisition (13.71%), and using English as one’s main language (12.51%) as the most important factors in the NS construct. Nationality (3.22%) and race (1.62%) were reported as the least significant factors.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{53} Most and least important are used here to describe the frequency with which a factor is mentioned.
Table 17. Survey Participants’ View of the Native Speaker Construct

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Determining Factors in Being a Native Speaker</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English language proficiency (knowledge of English)</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>27.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth in an English-speaking country</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>14.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early childhood English acquisition</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>13.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using English as one’s main language</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge about English</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal education in English</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acceptance by other native speakers of English</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of residence in an English-speaking country</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationality</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>248</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analysis of the Quantitative Component

In this section, I summarize the data and present an analysis of the quantitative component of the study. The findings from the quantitative data give an overview of all 115 participants’ linguistic background and indicate significant differences in terms of their perspective on the NS construct.

The majority of the participants \((n = 102, 88.70\%)\) did not consider English to be their \textit{first} and, therefore, mother tongue, that is, they claimed that the very first language that they acquired in their family was not English. This means, in effect, that they did not fit into the traditionally accepted categorization of NS; rather, they were native speakers of another language – 28 different languages. A limited, yet noticeable number of participants \((n = 36, 31.3\%)\) reported that they had a second mother tongue, but only six of them considered English to be their second mother tongue. An even smaller number \((n = 7; 6.35\%)\) identified as trilingual, having acquired a third mother tongue in their family. For all seven of these participants English was the third language acquired. Therefore, the
majority of survey participants (62.6%) were speakers of only one native language as far as birth factor and early childhood language acquisition are concerned. Except for a small group of participants ($n = 17$), 98 (85.2%) identified their mother tongue as the official language of their birth country. For approximately 3% of respondents, mother tongue and English were co-identified as their country of origin’s official language. For the rest of the participants (97.4%), English was either a second (22.6%) or a foreign language (74.8%). In other words, the majority of all participants originally came from – borrowing Kachru’s (1992) terminology – the “Outer Circle,” or the “Expanding Circle” countries. Kachru’s model is helpful here as it shows the diversity of English speakers and the role of English in both their country of origin and of adoption. This is in sharp contrast with the problematic use of the native–non-native speaker dichotomy, which clearly overlooks such diversity and contextual variety by fitting speakers into one of two rigid categories.

Interestingly, despite the above-mentioned facts, the majority of all participants (96%) considered themselves highly proficient in the English language, ranking their English language proficiency at level 4 or 5 on a scale of 1 to 5. That is to say, although English was not their mother tongue, and regardless of where they came from, they were confident in their English ability and considered themselves to be successful users of the language.

In spite of the fact that the majority of all participants reported a high proficiency level in English, only 40% of them ($n = 47$) considered themselves to be native speakers of English. In fact, the majority of them identified themselves as non-native speakers (48.7%), were undecided (8.7%), or provided no answer (2.7%). The fact that 11.4% of all participants could not respond may be, I suspect, due to the complexity of the categorization, the difficulty of defining who a native speaker is, or uncertainty about the characteristics that qualify one as a native speaker.

Participants’ identification of the determining factors of a NS of English were revealing in various ways. First of all, they referred to a wide range of factors: English language proficiency, knowledge about English, birth in an English-speaking country,
early childhood English acquisition, using English as one’s main language, formal education in English, acceptance by other native speakers of English, length of residence in an English-speaking country, nationality, and race. This shows that the participants perceived the NS construct in different ways and that there was not any single quality defining the construct. Also, the fact that the majority of all participants (80%) referred to more than one key element supports the view that the NS construct is multidimensional.

A second aspect is that no factor was dominant in survey participants’ responses. Davies (2003) maintained that L2 learners of English cannot become target language native speakers as far as birth and early childhood acquisition factors are concerned. It is notable that almost 26% of participants considered these factors to be important in defining a native speaker. However, one factor was mentioned more frequently than any other: English language proficiency (27.82%), meaning, other variables aside, language proficiency was given the greatest role in determining who a native speaker is. The diverse nature of the responses suggests that a dichotomy between NS and NNS is overly simplistic. This is discussed further in the discussion section of this chapter.

Description and Analysis of the Qualitative Component: Core Participants

In this section, I discuss the NS construct as understood by the five core participants using qualitative data collected through various strategies including semi-structured and focus group interviews and observations of the five core participants in the TESOL program context. The themes are presented in a narrative format, and are supported by actual statements from the participants. In selecting excerpts to illustrate each theme, I have attempted to include the perspectives of as many participants as possible. Content analysis of the transcribed data obtained from the core participants revealed that all of them had engaged with the NS construct in one way or another. The data were analyzed from the perspectives that they offered on key determining factors in making one an NS of English. Below, I present these elements with instances of core participants’ positions within their portraits, in which the role of English in their personal, academic, and professional lives is highlighted. The information is intended to illustrate how they perceive and position themselves in regard to the NS construct, how they
negotiate their linguistic identity in relation to their role as an English teacher, and how their position on nativeness influences their professional status as English language teachers, not only in their professional development stage (i.e., TESOL certification), but also, more broadly, in their lives as TESOL professionals in Canada. One point to be noted here is that although references are made to the use of English in participants’ home country, I do not mean to make any connection to the way they negotiated the NS construct in those countries; rather, the focus is on their experiences in their current context – Canadian society in general, and in a Canadian-based TESOL program in specific.

In structuring the data presentation in this section, I originally organized the core participants’ views thematically based on the features of the NS construct highlighted in my data analysis – this approach is used in the other two results chapters: Chapters 7 and 8. However, when I revisited this chapter at a later stage, I felt justice had not been done to the quality and quantity of data gathered from the participants or the complexity of the data analysis. Therefore, in an attempt to present the findings more appropriately, I rearranged the section to provide more detailed portraits of the five participant cases by weaving all the themes in the earlier draft under separate profiles for each. Each portrait has three sections: View of the Native Speaker Construct, Self-Identification, and Change in Beliefs during the TESOL Program.

Focusing on this last perspective, any change in beliefs, has a dual purpose: First, to explore any change in participants’ beliefs about and experiences with the NS construct. Second, to explore any changes in their linguistic identity as a result of their experiences in the TESOL program.

Case Studies

In the following section, the five cases are presented. Of the five core participants in the study, only one is from an Outer Circle country: Rashmi from India. The other four are from Expanding Circle countries: Chen from China, Fariba from Iran, Ahmad from

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54 I owe thanks to Dr. Antoinette Gagné for helping me to figure this out and for pointing me in the right direction.
Case Study 1: Chen

Chen is male, in his early 40s, and originally from Mainland China. Chen came to Canada as an international student about 10 years ago to continue his studies in English and applied linguistics at the doctoral level but had to drop out due to financial problems. Prior to that, he had obtained a four-year bachelor’s degree in English language and literature, and a three-year Master’s degree in English literature from two large metropolitan universities in China. His mother tongue is Chinese (Mandarin), but he also speaks English and French. He has been exposed to English – as a foreign language in China, and an official language in Canada – for about 35 years. In fact, he now uses English more than he does his mother tongue. Basically, he only speaks Mandarin when he is at home with his wife, but English is his dominant language. Before coming to Canada and after completion of his Master’s, he taught EFL and English for Specific Purposes (ESP) to adults in China at two Chinese universities for 10 years.

He identified his English language proficiency as 4.9 on a scale of 0 to 5, and considered himself a near-native speaker of English. Despite speaking slowly in English, he was fluent in expressing his thoughts. However, at times a Chinese accent is obvious in his speech. Chen’s writing skills were much better than his oral abilities. The assignments that he submitted during the TESOL program were mainly of high quality. Chen attributed his good command of written English to his knowledge of and passion for English literature. Given the above, Chen was extremely critical of TESL Ontario’s English language proficiency requirement for highly educated and experienced immigrant language teachers and believed that it was “unfair” (See Appendix B for TESL Ontario English language proficiency requirement).

During the time Chen participated in this study, he was a TESOL student as well as a contract program officer at a community college in the GTA. In the latter position, he helped with different research projects on teaching and learning at the college level. This was the closest that he could come to his original professional calling after being in Canada for 8 years. Except for some part-time ESL teaching at a district board in the
GTA for a short period of time, all he had done was a series of unrelated jobs that helped him pay for his daily living expenses and the debts he had accumulated during an illness he suffered for 1.5 years while in Canada. Chen was excited to be in the TESOL program and thought it would help him to get back into his profession.

**Views of the Native Speaker Construct**

For Chen, nativeness was basically associated with birth in an English-speaking environment:

In my understanding (...), native speakers are … those … when they are born, the first language they speak is English.

(Chen, First Interview)

However, Chen modified his definition by adding that one’s first language may not necessarily be his or her dominant language outside home:

The reason is that, you know, a child might speak (...) other languages, but just because this is THE language, the English is a *working* language, is a language which is spoken, like, at school and elsewhere, and she or he has *the language sense*. That’s pretty different from, for example, from me. When I speak English, sometimes, still, I need to think. I think a native speaker of English doesn’t need to think about what is grammatically correct.

(Chen, First Interview)

Here Chen adds another criterion for nativeness, the operating (i.e., “working”) role and dominant usage of language in social contexts such as school. Moreover, “language sense” or automatic, natural, and unconscious language use is another feature of the native speaker’s linguistic ability for him. When I asked Chen if he could provide an example of unconscious use of language, interestingly, he mentioned dreaming in a language. Chen believed that the confidence one has in speaking a language is the result of an ability to use the language without thinking, as illustrated in the following exchange:

Chen: I would consider you unconsciously as a native speaker of English.
Amir: I was not born here. English is not my first language.
Chen: Yeah, I know you were not born here … I know. But to me,
probably the criteria in making judgement is based on the fact that when you speak, you don’t need to think. (...) also you have the confidence.

Amir: Right.
Chen: For me, earnestly speaking, sometimes, (I’m) not that much confident. I need to be conscious. If I’m … thinking of something else, I might make mistakes. So I think that’s the difference.

(Chen, First Interview)

Also, at this stage, Chen reported that he had seen people who are able to operate in two or three languages naturally, and so he thought it was possible for people to be native speakers of more than one language.

**Self-Identification**

To identify himself as an NS or NNS of English, Chen shared with me his language learning history. His mother tongue was Mandarin and he identified himself as a native speaker of Mandarin. Although he formally started learning English in Grade 6, junior high school in China’s system, his initial exposure to English was at the age of 7 through games with classmates who spoke some English. Chen highlighted these initial encounters as the most important influence on his decision to pursue academic work in the area of English language and literature. He felt that his linguistic knowledge of English was good enough to allow him to perform successfully in the TESOL program and he attributed that to his English education as well as exposure to English by “listening to radio, and other sources of authentic English” (Chen, First Interview).

Chen distinguished between speaking and writing skills, saying that his writing ability would qualify him as an NS of English, and that was why his overall evaluation was that he had near-native ability in English. The main challenges were pronunciation, accent, and vocabulary. He believed that his active vocabulary was not as extensive as the words that he knew and was able to recognize and understand in texts (i.e., passive vocabulary knowledge). He believed that he had not had the chance to use words from his passive list in daily conversation. Moreover, he identified his own slow speaking and reading style as an aspect indicating that he was less of an NS.
Another aspect of Chen’s negotiation of his English language abilities concerned his interactions with other speakers of the language. He admitted that he found more difficult to describe himself as an NS in front of Canadian-born speakers. This was the main reason for his willingness to join non-Canadian-born classmates to do assignments and class activities in the program. In fact, Chen felt he did not have the confidence to consider himself even a fluent English speaker in front of Canadian-born speakers. He explained:

For the ethnic group that is the same background as I am, then I can use another way to say. But for the Canadian-born, I just feel embarrass[ed] if I didn’t know the proper way of saying something. Yeah, mostly psychological consideration, I think.
(Chen, Second Interview)

A reason for Chen’s lack of self-confidence and his tendency to mingle with other non-Canadian-born speakers might have been due to his visual image of an NS, that is, stereotypical beliefs about what an NS looks like. In fact, he was so conscious of his visible minority status that he thought he was not very well received by his ESL students during his practicum session because he simply did not look like an NS of English. In Chen’s own words:

For a moment in class, you know, I thought, they [the students] did not take me seriously … like I was a Chinese teaching them English. I don’t know, maybe they thought I myself needed … to take ESL classes [Laughs]. (…) I am not sure, maybe, maybe they thought they had paid money for classes to have a Canadian teacher.
(Chen, Focus Group Interview)

Change in Beliefs during the TESOL Program

The main dilemma facing Chen as a teacher appeared to be his status as an NNS of English and his own beliefs about what this means. My observation of his participation in the TESOL course activities supports this claim. Chen’s example illustrated the problem faced when an INNEST cannot find himself adequately represented by the simplistic NS–NNS dichotomy. It seemed to me that his own over-cautious identification as an NNS influenced his linguistic performance in a noticeable and negative way. This appearance, though, was not dominant all the time. For instance, in one group activity,
the TESOL teacher educator asked groups to discuss ways ESL teachers could use their students’ cultural backgrounds to support their L2 learning. Chen gave the example of the importance of silence as a virtue in Chinese culture. He explained to his group that this should not be viewed negatively. In fact, silence in Chinese culture, he explained, is a demonstration of politeness, not passiveness or inattentiveness; for example, students in China do not speak in class before being called upon. So, he thought, a teacher with Chinese students would not have interruptions and could ask students to volunteer for language tasks whenever they were ready to do so.

I was unable to observe any significant changes in Chen’s perceptions throughout the TESOL program, except for his position that, linguistically, he was a near-native speaker, but culturally, his status was more that of a non-native. He admitted that he had learned from the TESOL course cohort that there were more sides to the NS–NNS distinction than the birth factor and language proficiency. However, in reality, his overall self-ascribed high language proficiency level continued to be due to his good writing skills, and he continued to consider speaking ability to be the most important factor in the NS construct.

**Case Study 2: Rashmi**

Rashmi, an Indian woman in her late thirties, had been living in Canada for 2 years at the time of this study. Rashmi had a bachelor’s degree in English and a postgraduate degree in education, both from a major Indian university. Before coming to Canada, she had been teaching English to children and young adults in India for about 12 years. During the course of this study, Rashmi was a full-time TESOL student and lived on campus. The only relative she had in Canada was a cousin, whom she called her brother, and his family. Her hope was to get a full-time ESL position upon graduation from the program so that she could sponsor her husband and two children to come to Canada.

**Views of the Native Speaker Construct**

Rashmi’s initial definition of the NS was simple, yet straightforward:
From my point of view, back in my country my native language is Hindi. It is my native language. In Canada … America, in Britain, the native language is English. So they [people there] are considered native speakers [of English].
(Rashmi, First Interview)

In other words, her conceptualization of the NS had to do with birth in a country where English predominates, that is, a geographical conceptualization. She had a good example for this: Ke, the U.S.-born daughter of her cousin – also an Indian immigrant – and his wife, a Chinese-born Canadian:

Amir: So does it have to do with geography? You are considered a Canadian native speaker if you are born in Canada?
Rashmi: I have got a live example. My brother’s daughter, Ke, she is born in the U.S. So from that point of view, she should be native speaker [of English].
(Rashmi, First Interview)

The birth factor was so important in Rashmi’s definition of NS that she disregarded length of residence as a determining factor in one’s being or becoming an NS. This is evident in the following excerpt:

Amir: I was born in Iran, where English is a foreign language. According to your definition, am I a native speaker of English or non-native speaker of English?
Rashmi: What is your first language?
Amir: Persian.
Rashmi: So English is not your first language?
Amir: No.
Rashmi: So from my point of view, you are [a] non-native speaker [of English].
Amir: What if I live here for 50 years, let’s say, at the end of my 50th year, I call you and I say “Rashmi, this is Amir. Today is my 50th anniversary of being in Canada, and I want to ask you a question: Am I [now] a native speaker of English or not?” What would you say at that point?
Rashmi: Non-native speaker. Because [of the] same experience I have with my brother. He has completed almost 28 years here in Canada, and his accent is super, just like Canadians. … but still [his] first language is Hindi.
Amir: So he’s not a native speaker of English?

55 This probably sounds like an odd use of “geographical” because language is not generally tied to geography but to societies or social and cultural settings.
Rashmi: I think so.
(Rashmi, First Interview)

When I asked Rashmi if birth and/or living in a specific country are the only factor(s) in qualifying one as a native speaker, she modified her definition by taking another factor into consideration, as shown in the following:

She [Ke]’s born in U.S., she’s being raised in Canada, so from that point of view she should be considered as native speaker. But I think she’ll be more comfortable with Chinese and Hindi because these two languages, they are spoken preferably in the family.
(Rashmi, First Interview)

In other words, Rashmi further specified that mother tongue(s) or the language(s) most often used in the family play significant roles, and help the child develop a comfortable language usage level. She told me that Ke, about 2 years old, was capable of interacting in 3 languages: Mandarin, the language her mother spoke with her; Hindi, the language used by her father and grandmother; and English, the language used by her parents to speak to each other since Ke’s mother did not speak Hindi and Ke’s father could not speak Chinese. With all the three languages spoken at home, Rashmi thought Ke would be raised trilingual:

When she talks to her mother or her mother talks to her, most of the time I have seen her talking in Chinese. When my brother talks to her he speaks in English. When my brother’s mother (...) – because she cannot speak English, she’s Hindi speaking – when she speaks to her she speaks in Hindi and she’s [Ke’s] able to follow all the languages.
(Rashmi, First Interview)

Later in our conversation, though, Rashmi expressed doubt about Ke’s remaining trilingual as she believed once Ke began attending school English would probably become her main operating language. She commented:

You have to wait a little while when she comes, gets to the stage that she can choose her language and identity, I think.
(Rashmi, First Interview)

The above quotation from Rashmi contradicts her earlier statement in that it adds individual choice – i.e., self-identification – to the factors determining NS or NNS.
However she qualified that she was not sure whether self-perception ought to be given the same weight as identification by others. The exchange below speaks to that:

Amir: What if someone says that if you speak a language, you understand it, and you can communicate effectively in that language with speakers of that language, that language is yours, no matter whether it was your first language, whether it was spoken in the geographical location you were born in, it doesn’t matter … and that you are a native speaker.

Rashmi: OK, but sometimes when we have to fill some forms, application forms, there … [is] a column “What is your native, native language?”

Amir: OK.

Rashmi: They may not know that definition. … like when they ask you about your gender and they say “Are you male or female?” but there are people who have different sexual orientation[s]. They are trans-gendered. There are bisexual, etc.

Amir: So?

Rashmi: Yeah. Because that category does not exist [on the forms].

Amir: Maybe they should add them.

Rashmi: This is a solution there. But you know … categorizing things adds to problems of bias and injustice … and discrimination is there. … if this is an official form for government, you can’t say what you feel. You just have to write something honestly…

(Rashmi, First Interview)

Another important issue raised by Rashmi was the ownership of language. Here again – similar to her seemingly contradictory positions on NS – Rashmi mentioned two perspectives. On the one hand, she asserted that “You cannot own a language. … Who’s able to speak [a] language owns that language” (Rashmi, Second Interview). In other words, regardless of whether one is native or non-native, as far as one speaks a language, one is a legitimate speaker of that language. On the other hand, Rashmi expressed concern about the legitimacy of less-dominant varieties of English or versions of English spoken in the Outer Circle, as highlighted in the following piece:

Rashmi: We can categorize English as American English and British English.

Amir: But there are other varieties as well, such as Indian English.

Rashmi: But it is not recognized anywhere. … In dictionary X, there is only two categories, either American English or British English.

(Rashmi, Second Interview)
When I asked her what she thought about Canadian English, she maintained that Canadian English would fall under American or British, with its accent being closer to American and spelling system closer to British: “Canadians don’t admit that … They don’t like it, but it is totally American style. It is totally Americanized” (Rashmi, Second Interview). Rashmi also mentioned that mainstream English teaching materials, including the commercial ESL textbooks, as far as she knew, followed either American or British English. Rashmi’s views on the ownership of language and the legitimacy of other varieties changed towards the end of the program, as is described later in this section.

**Self-Identification**

As mentioned earlier, English is Rashmi’s second language. She first began learning English when she was in primary school in India, and after 23 years of language learning and 12 years of language teaching, she still considers herself to be a learner of the language. Her initial interest in English was mainly due to her parents’ encouragement and their view that English is an international language, essential for academic success and conducting business. So, learning it as a subject at school was basically because of extrinsic motivation and the fact that it was a formal language at workplace and/or school in India – because of which she had a good exposure to the language. Later, however, she continued to study English for her own interest. Despite her many years of learning and teaching English, Rashmi did not think highly of her English language proficiency. She identified her language skills as 3.5 on a scale of 0 to 5. This was strange as she seemed very fluent to me and her writing skills, as reflected in her assignments, were very good. My speculation is that she was very conscious of her Indian accent and fast rate of speech. Rashmi believed that in order to become a teacher in Canada, “accent is very much different so we have to develop that accent” (Rashmi, Second Interview). On one occasion, after one of her practicum sessions, she told me that she had to slow down or repeat herself so that her students could follow her, and she attributed this to her Indian accent.

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56 During our interview, Rashmi referred to a number of instances in which she and other teacher candidates in the TESOL program had discussed differences between American and British English in terms of grammar, pronunciation, and vocabulary, and how similar to or different from Canadian English they were, and how ESL teachers had to address the similarities and differences in class during their practice teaching sessions.
She also believed that her academic writing and vocabulary needed improvement. This is in spite of the fact that she had received a grade of 7.5 on the academic version of the IELTS examinations, the completion of which was required by the TESOL program prior to admission.

Another aspect of Rashmi’s negotiation of her linguistic identity was the fact that she preferred to join those groups in her TESOL cohort that consisted of NNSs. She was more comfortable with peers for whom English was not their first language. This might have been due to Rashmi’s lack of confidence in her linguistic skills and the status she shared with her non-native peers. In addition, she reported that her ESL students during her practicum did not receive her well during the first few sessions. This she attributed to her Indian accent and the fact that the students – all new immigrants – expected to have a Canadian teacher, which she was not, something that was highlighted by the fact that she wore Indian clothing most of the time. Rashmi’s clothing style was not only representative of her cultural identity, but also, she maintained, a message to the students – some of whom were from the same ethnic background – that despite her being an INNEST, she was brave enough to teach a language that she herself had had to master. In fact, Rashmi believed that she could be a good role model for the students, an idea that, she suspected, was not shared by them all.

Given the above and Rashmi’s perspective on the NS construct, Rashmi identified herself as a non-native speaker of English without reservation.

*Change in Beliefs during the TESOL Program*

Towards the end of the program, some of Rashmi’s beliefs had changed while others had not. She continued to stick to her first definition of native speaker:

> From my point of view, any person who is born in that country where first language is English is termed a native speaker of that country. (Rashmi, Second Interview)

According to this definition, Rashmi considered herself an NS of Hindi, and an NNS of English as an international language.
However, she underwent some changes as well. First, she began to think about other factors influencing one’s status as an NS or NNS, for example, length of education in English. Second, she began to question the idea of American and British Englishes as the only legitimate – and standard, for that matter – varieties. At one point, Rashmi asked me why people do not talk about World Englishes when there are so many speakers of different varieties of English:

So we can say that “We are native speakers of English” because we have developed our own accent [read: language].
(Rashmi, Focus Group Interview)

A third change in Rashmi had to do with her language confidence level. She became more comfortable communicating with NS peers in the program, the staff at the practicum site, and her students, as seen below:

OK, during … TESL part 1, I was very much comfortable with Rezvaneh only [a non-native peer; a pseudonym]. And I had a very formal kind of friendship with others. But now … we are more comfortable with each other, so I can share with everyone. I can ring them up, I can e-mail them, and I can discuss whatever problem I’ve got … with most of them.
(Rashmi, Second Interview)

Finally, towards the end of the program, Rashmi had clearly become more critical of the NS status in English teaching. She tended to pay more attention to teacher candidates’ teaching qualifications, legitimacy of different English varieties, and proficiency in more than one language as factors that should be taken into account in the hiring process, thereby questioning the supremacy of the monolingual native speaker in language teaching:

Sometimes I do feel as if my English is not real, or authentic, or adequate. … I see Canadian-born teacher candidates with lower academic education and at times no second language. For example, (…) is a monolingual speaker, right? She speaks English only, right? She has attended French classes here in Canada but can’t speak any, you know? How come she is offered to work as a supply teacher at (…) [her practicum site] without even finishing the TESOL Certificate program, but not me? Isn’t that because they think she speaks better English than me? Is that because she speaks Canadian English, and I don’t, and I have an Indian accent?
(Rashmi, Focus Group Interview)
Case Study 3: Fariba

Fariba, a single woman in her mid-thirties, grew up in Tehran, Iran, and like any typical Iranian student first began learning English when she was at junior high school and continued receiving instruction until the last year of high school at the age of 18. She has two mother tongues: Persian and Azeri (a variety of Turkish). She had also studied Arabic during her junior high and high school years. At the time of this study, Fariba had been studying and using English for about 18 years. She spoke English very fluently with little or no apparent Iranian accent. She had a bachelor’s degree in English Translation and a Master’s degree in teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL). Moreover, she received formal TEFL training both at the university as a credit course and later on at a private language institute upon accepting a teaching job offer there. She had also taught other subjects at a primary school for a year while she was in her first year at university. After graduating from university, she taught EFL to adolescents and adults from lower intermediate to advanced levels in an urban setting in Iran for 6 years. She had lived in Toronto since her arrival in Canada 6 years before. While registered in the TESOL program, she was working as a teaching assistant for a school board in the GTA. She considered herself a qualified EFL teacher who had had a successful and happy teaching professional life in Iran. Her only concern had been the heavy workload, the low pay, and the lack of benefits.

Views of the Native Speaker Construct

As discussed in the literature review chapter, the condition of being an NS as a result of being born into an English-speaking environment is a dominant belief. This also dominated Fariba’s thinking about this issue. She, who among the core participants was more articulate in this regard, described the following perception:

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57 Azeri, formally called Azerbaijan, belongs to the Turkic language family. It is spoken primarily in the Republic of Azerbaijan and northwestern Iran. The version of Azeri spoken in Iran – which Azeris often call Türki – is heavily influenced by Persian (Doerfer, 2008).
I think you should use English in your childhood, practice it, and speak it as your first language with others, then you can say, yeah, I am a native speaker of English.
(Fariba, First Interview)

Fariba’s image of the English NS is birth in an English-speaking environment, and using English as the dominant language in the community. Moreover, she believed that *sounding* like an NS is another feature of an NS. For Fariba, this has to do with flexibility with language use, or autonomous use of language. Also, it has much to do with pronunciation and accent:

Amir: So what do you think is the difference between a native speaker and a non-native speaker?
Fariba: The accent.
Amir: The accent, OK.
Fariba: Flexibility with the language. (...) You know, being a native speaker is something you cannot learn it from books. This is something you learned when you grew up. It’s just around you. And I haven’t been in this country long enough to get that ability with the language, so I don’t think I am. And, first of all, I have the accent.
(Fariba, First Interview)

As in the case of Rashmi, Fariba began to address issues of nativeness in a way that seemed to contradict her initial belief in birth in an English-speaking environment being determinative of NS status. One such factor was education in the target language. She ranked her English language skills at 4.5 on a scale of 0 to 5, and attributed this to her good knowledge of the language’s structure, and experience of conscious language learning throughout her adult years. She explained:

I started learning English seriously when I was 16, I was almost an adult when I started. I was not a child. So don’t think that being a child necessarily means that you’re great learner and if you’re an adult you’re not.
(Fariba, First Interview)

Given her history of language learning, as well as her high English proficiency, Fariba found TESL Ontario’s English language proficiency requirements problematic. For Fariba, it was “an insult” to ask experienced and educated English language teachers to write a TOEFL test or IELTS examination.
Self-Identification

In line with her perspective on the NS construct, Fariba considered herself a non-native speaker of English:

Well, I wasn’t born in an English-speaking county … OK? The first languages I learnt was Farsi (Persian) and Azari [Azeri], and then I learnt Arabic at school as part of the national educational system, you know … I was then introduced to English at Grade 7, and it was all the very basics, like the alphabets, simple sentences and words, and some short dialogues. So English is actually my fourth language. So English can’t be my native language. Besides, you wouldn’t ask me if I could speak like a native speaker of English, right? I mean, you can tell from my way of speaking, Iranian accent, words that I say, everything. English was just one subject matter at school, among many others, it was just 4 hours a week.
(Fariba, First Interview)

The reasons for her identification were her self-perceived lack of fluency, and lack of “flexibility” with choice and usage of words and idiomatic expressions:

Amir: OK. So you would consider yourself fluent like a native speaker?
Fariba: Uh, not a native speaker. I don’t think I’m a native speaker.
Amir: Why?
Fariba: I have an accent, number 1. I’m not that flexible with vocab[ulary] and words and idioms. You know, that flexibility that you have in your language you can play with everything, I don’t have it with English, or I don’t have it yet. So I don’t think I’m a native speaker. I DON’T, I DON’T, I DON’T think.
(Fariba, First Interview)

Fariba’s perceived status as an NNS, however, was in contrast with how she was viewed by her students, many of whom were not aware that English is not her first language:

My students don’t even know that I have an accent. They don’t know that I’m a non-native speaker, so when I tell them, they get surprised.
(Fariba, First Interview)

This was due to the fact that she tried to imitate a native accent and maintain a high rate of speech. I also noticed that she was very comfortable with her body language and gestures, using them in ways that seemed more North American than Iranian, not to mention the use of communicative strategies in her speech, such as the use of fillers (e.g., you know, I see, like, etc.). Interestingly, Fariba questioned individuals’ imitation of
accent as a strategy to assimilate into the new community on a couple of occasions, remarking that she thought this was dishonest. The use of this strategy, of course, may be due to the pressures of negative judgements passed by others, which can push individuals to try to sound like an NS. She said:

You see that people change the … the colour of their hair to become blonde, but … as if that would make them Canadian. Or they change their names to Canadian names, as if, … as if that would change their identity, but, you see, does that change how they feel, … would feel about themselves, you think? … I don’t know.
(Fariba, Focus Group Interview)

In terms of dominant language, Fariba said that English is currently her main language both in social and professional contexts. During her first year in Canada, she socialized with Iranian friends using Persian as the language of communication. This was basically because she had almost no Canadian-born friends, and she thought that her Iranian friends could help her with the basic needs a new immigrant has. Later on, though, she came to the conclusion that in order for her to integrate faster into the Canadian society, she needed more English-speaking friends to get to know more about Canadian language and culture. So she started making friends with Canadian-born and other immigrant acquaintances. From this point on, English became her dominant language and using it became “a rewarding experience” (Fariba, First Interview). Despite the fact that almost all her daily interaction is in English, she admits that when it comes to deeper thought, her first language – Persian – still has the lion’s share:

But if you ask me who do I have more fun with or more serious talks? People from my country, because we understand each other’s jokes. We have a lot of things in common to talk about. You know, I don’t say English is a problem for me, no it’s not, but the flexibility that I told you, slangs and everything, I have in my L1, but I don’t have it in my L2. … I know everything about them. I know the culture, I know the language, I know everything, I grew up there, I studied there, educated there, I know a lot about them.
(Fariba, First Interview)

For Fariba, English was as an integrating tool:

It [English] is a tool to explore more, to learn more, it is a tool to make more friends, to enjoy yourself … to sort of expand your opportunities in
life. OK, so you’ve got more opportunities to have more fun, to learn more, whatever.
(Fariba, First Interview)

Fariba also made an interesting point regarding her image of Canadians when talking about one of her best friends in Canada:

At work I met a very, very good friend of mine. … I think she is Canadian-Chinese because she was born in Hong Kong, she went to England, she grew up, studied there, and then she came to Canada. So she looks Chinese, but she’s not Chinese, she sounds Canadian, so I can say she’s Canadian-Chinese.
(Fariba, First Interview)

This excerpt is revealing as it shows how Fariba perceives a Canadian NS. Although her friend grew up in England and speaks English as well as any Canadian, her identity is perceived as hyphenated by Fariba due to her appearance and birth in another country. Elsewhere, Fariba specified that a typical Canadian NS is a white, Anglophone, Anglo-Saxon individual – which she was not:

I don’t look Canadian to them [students]. … So but, you know, you would always think Canadians are white, [have] blonde hair, blue eyes, and look at me – dark, dark. So I don’t think they, they think I was born in Canada.
(Fariba, Second Interview)

Fariba was aware that a person’s concept of NS might be inaccurate, formed as a result of misinformation given by others or stereotypical images portrayed by others. She believed that one might not – nor could, for that matter – pass as an NS if s/he does not have all of features highlighted by others as necessary or ‘standard’. She described this further using the following example by referring to less-commonly-percieved-as-standard varieties of Canadian English:

I have been here in this country for a while now, and I’m amazed to see a Canadian-born from the north or the Niagara areas whose pronunciation is different from someone in downtown Toronto, you know. … I have heard a lot about Newfies and actually seen a couple of them as well. There was this one at our school once, and I remember a colleague who had explained to a student that the accent and pronunciation in Newfoundland is different from the rest of Canada.
(Fariba, Focus Group Interview)
Change in Beliefs during the TESOL Program

A number of interesting changes in Fariba’s beliefs emerged towards the end of the TESOL program. First of all, Fariba asserted herself even more when it came to the role of English as bringing her closer to being a Canadian:

You know, I spoke English before I came to Canada. I was a teacher in Iran. I was a teacher, an EFL teacher. So speaking English is not what I learned here, speaking English is what I came here with, so for me, no. It’s just me. It’s not the language which brought me closer to being Canadian.
(Fariba, Second Interview)

Second, despite the fact that she had earlier admitted labels like NS or NNS of English exist and that these concepts are legitimate (i.e., they apply to states of being in the world), she sees herself as a fluent speaker of the language who can communicate effectively. In other words, she gives a different aspect of her self-definition of nativeness: the ability to use the language. This is in contrast with her previous description of attributes of nativeness, namely, birth in a specific place.

To be honest, I don’t really care if I am a native speaker of English or not. I mean these are only names, right? I think what’s important is my command of the language, which is not perfect, but I think it is native-like, quite fluent. … After all, communication is important, right? OK then, I can do that. People understand me, so it doesn’t matter what they call me.
(Fariba, Second Interview)

Third, despite the fact that Fariba’s view of herself is related to her expectation that she be accepted as she is – although she is different in some linguistic aspects from Canadian-born speakers of English – she was attempting to construct a new self by “becoming a member of a new community” (Sfard, 1998, p. 6) and through the use of commonly-accepted colloquial language forms. In other words, she was doing her best to use the language of her new community as the members of that community do:

I know that my English is not perfect. There is a lot for me to learn. I know that my vocabulary isn’t really great. I am fluent, but my rate of speech isn’t like Canadians. They use some idioms I didn’t know when I got here, things like ‘She’d talk the ears off a moose!’ or ‘I was just chillaxin!’ or ‘Take a rain check.’ I have set my internet explorer on this government website: settlement.org, there is a page on slang and idiom.
Every day when I check my e-mail, I learn a new idiom. I have my little notebook, I write them and learn. My pronunciation is not the best, but people understand, don’t you? (Laughs) … Actually, I have recently learned how to add ‘eh!’ at the end of my sentences. Cool, eh!? (Laughs). (Fariba, Second Interview)

Finally, there was a shift in Fariba’s focus from the importance of nativeness to the importance of multilingualism to an ESL teacher, which underlies a resistance to NS supremacy:

You know how I fight back? I say that I am a 100% multilingual speaker of English, Azari [Azeri], and Persian. That means I have access to three worlds, and can use that to understand my ESL students better. (Fariba, Focus Group Interview)

**Case Study 4: Ahmad**

Ahmad, an Iraqi man in his early forties, is married with two children. He first began learning English at school in Baghdad. For most of his adult years in Iraq, he relied heavily on international English radio programs, especially BBC and VOA, as well as local English stations, such as Baghdad Observer, to learn English. He has been a learner and speaker of English for much of his life – almost 30 years. He has a bachelor’s of science degree from a university in Baghdad and has traveled to several countries. Before coming to Canada about 8 years ago, he was a private English tutor in Iraq for about 8 years. During his first couple of years in Canada, Canadian newspapers and TV programs were the main sources for his language improvement, particularly, his vocabulary.

Ahmad is multilingual. He speaks four languages fluently, in addition he knows some French, and can read biblical Hebrew. He grew up speaking Arabic and Assyrian,58 so he has two mother tongues. He used Assyrian mostly at home and Arabic as the formal language of vocation, school, and community. English and Farsi are his third and fourth languages. He uses both his mother tongues with family and relatives here in Canada, but English is the dominant language for him at home with his wife – whose country of origin is different from his – and their two kids. At work, of course, he speaks English

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58 Assyrian Neo-Aramaic, spoken by the Assyrian Christian minority, is one of a number of modern Eastern Aramaic dialects spoken in the region between Lake Urmia in the Province of Azerbaijan in Iran and Mosul in northern Iraq (Heinrichs, 1990).
Views of the Native Speaker Construct

Like other core participants, Ahmad’s initial view was that nativeness had to do with birth in an English-speaking environment and using the language in the community:

Amir: What is central in “nativeness”? Who is a native speaker?
Ahmad: Well, the general definition would be somebody who is born in a family that speaks English as a first language and grew up in an environment where English is used as a first language.

(Ahmad, First Interview)

Interestingly, Ahmad modified his definition later on, providing a more detailed specification of the construct that left birthplace out, and gave more emphasis to other factors such as growing up in an English-speaking environment, developing knowledge of the language, and having education in the language:

And so … what is a native speaker? Is it somebody who … was born in a country, or is it somebody who was born in a household and learnt the language that was spoken there? Uh, I would think the second one will probably apply.

(Ahmad, First Interview)

From among the above-mentioned three attributes, Ahmad considered knowledge of the language and education to be critical. However, the bottom line for Ahmad had to do with language proficiency, or as he put it: “know[ing] how to use the language properly and cleanly” (Ahmad, Second Interview). He further elaborated by distinguishing between knowledge about language – knowing language rules, and knowledge of language – being able to use the language. Ahmad referred to knowledge about language as competence and knowledge of language as performance:

Performance reflects competence, right? So if you are performing well, that means you are competent and you are able to use your knowledge to your advantage. The thing is, for me, the core of the idea, the core of the issue is your ability to express yourself properly and cleanly, and that’s what matters.

(Ahmad, Second Interview)

For him, competence in a language comes about not only as a result of an individual’s
investment in language learning, but also depends on individual characteristics. He offered that some people are better language learners because they have a talent for language learning:

Some people do have that gift … the ability to learn the language and overcome all the difficulties that [are] associate[d] with learning a second … language.
(Ahmad, Second Interview)

In other words, according to Ahmad, people’s language learning abilities as well as their education in the second language – regardless of their environment and the role of language in that context, can help them to reach such a high level of language proficiency that they could easily pass for native speakers, as illustrated in the following excerpt:

I’m talking about pronunciation and vocabulary and all these things … some people do have that gift, and when you speak to them you would think that they are actually native English-speaking people or native speakers of that, of the language, that is whatever country you are in … and don’t forget that it has also something to do with your level of education. You could have somebody who was born in Canada and lived in a household where English is spoken, grows up to not to finish high school, as opposed to somebody who came to Canada when they are 18 years old … worked hard … overcame all the challenges, finished their university education and moved on with a level of English probably with a slight accent … more advanced ability of using vocabulary and grammar and all the aspects of the language than a person who didn’t even finish high school here. So you have all these elements that come into the equation when it comes to first language speakers.
(Ahmad, Second Interview)

As far as accent is concerned, despite having a very Canadian-like accent himself, Ahmad was not much concerned with non-native accents. He recalled his own experience of learning Persian (Farsi) during his 2 years in Iran, and how NSs of Farsi viewed him as a Farsi NS with a different dialect of Farsi. He recalled:

And I was told when I was living in Iran that if I speak on the streets, speak, practice my Farsi on the streets, people would not think that I’m not Iranian. They would probably think that I am from a different city other than Tehran.
(Ahmad, Second Interview)

59 In fact, Ahmad’s Farsi accent sounded very much like that of the Farsi-speakers in the southern provinces
Moreover, he maintained that in diverse settings where people come from different backgrounds, it is not possible or fair to make one variety or accent the standard. Based on his view of accent and his emphasis on language proficiency, Ahmad insisted that the NS is just myth to him, because if one has good performance in a language, s/he may be named an NS. The following excerpt better reflects his opinion:

How would you define a non-native speaker of English? I could be defined as one! But really, well that myth of the native English speaker, I still call it a myth and insist that it’s just a myth because really many non-native English speakers speak better English than many native English speakers with no bleeping in between and not needing to use dirty words in between every word they say. If you would want to describe somebody who speaks clean language, and by clean I mean not just by using white words, but also clean grammar, presents their ideas in a neat way, clear way as well, as opposed to somebody who just gabbles words even though the accent belongs to a different, or a specific country who speaks English or uses English as a second language, it’s all up to the individual, I guess. For me, as long as you are clear, polite, clean, and … the idea of whatever you want to express … is over there, right there, clear to everybody to understand, then that’s what matters.

(Ahmad, Second Interview)

**Self-Identification**

Ahmad identified his English language skills as 4.5 on a scale of 0 to 5, which he attributed to his long investment in the learning of it. He first began learning English formally in elementary school. However, the main reason for his success in learning it, he perceived, was the importance given to learning English in his family. This helped him to treat language learning as more than a school subject. Other sources of motivation, he recalled, were his interest in going abroad and pursuing higher education in the future. As a result, he spent many hours practicing the language beyond the school curriculum.

Despite his many years of learning and using the language and his high, self-ascribed language proficiency, Ahmad was reluctant to call himself an English NS. During our first conversations, he described himself as a near-native speaker:

Amir: Do you consider yourself a native speaker of English?
Ahmad: Very close. Very close to a native speaker of English. … Just as I said, many people think I was born here. (…) My accent, they think my accent is pretty much Canadianized (…) They don’t really realize that I wasn’t … I was born in a different country and I grew up finishing my, even my university education in a different country … I wouldn’t say that I am 100% native English speaker because that wouldn’t be fair and that wouldn’t be accurate, but I do think that I don’t really fall far behind when it comes to my English ability.

(Ahmad, First Interview)

This excerpt shows that Ahmad believes that birth and geographical setting are determining factors in one’s being an NS despite his own native-like language abilities, for example, his accent.

Another important thing about this quote is that it shows Ahmad’s willingness to learn to sound like native speakers and his success in doing so. Another reason for his passing as an NS, he thought, was his physical attributes, which were not typical of a Middle Eastern man – he is light-skinned and has brown hair. Beyond looking like an NS, and in line with his willingness and efforts to sound like one, was his tendency to make other changes. He explained:

When you come into a … culture that is new to you and you want to settle, you definitely want to adapt … It makes life easier for you to accept certain things and change your views about some of the things that you’re used to … You also need to adopt some of the social concepts and … not necessarily all of them, but at least some of them in order for you to be able to survive.

(Ahmad, First Interview)

One such change was his name. Although he thought that it should not really be much of a factor, he had adopted an Anglophone name for use in his ESL classes and on job applications. The underlying reason, he said, was his concern about the possibility that people would stereotype him based on his having a non-Anglophone name, that is, that they would believe that he “was a foreigner because of [his] name” (Ahmad, Focus Group Interview). It seemed that Ahmad changed his name to hide his native, Iraqi identity.

Ahmad’s Canadianized accent and the other changes he made helped him to
narrow the gap between his self-perception and how others – mainly, most of his TESOL peers and his ESL students – viewed him. Unknown native speakers and one Canadian-born TESOL peer, though, were sources of mixed feelings for him. He clearly recalled a critical incident during a task in the TESOL program. The task required the teacher candidates to reflect on the following question: “How would a typical Canadian define and describe Canadian culture?” Ahmad’s volunteering to comment was not well received by the Canadian-born peer. Later that peer questioned whether Ahmad was a “real” Canadian. The incident led to a long and bitter argument between the two, which was only resolved later on by the course instructor’s intervention. In Ahmad’s view, negotiating status with others was a matter of asserting one’s rights as a Canadian and an English speaker as seen in the excerpt below:

I asserts myself. Why should I worry or even care, you know? This is a country of immigrants. I have every single right as anyone else. Who is to judge me if my English is what, or so? I speak English. And that’s my choice. I think I communicate pretty effectively. So what the heck if I don’t know a word or two, or some of my sentences are not 100% correct! Did our Prime Minister Jean Chrétien speak all correctly? To be honest with you, I think my English is better than his! [Laughs]  
(Ahmad, Focus Group Interview)

Change in Beliefs during the TESOL Program

Ahmad reported a number of changes in his beliefs towards the end of the program. First, he showed resistance to NS supremacy in language teaching by giving more weight to his teaching skills and strategies, regardless of native or non-native language status:

There is always the doubt about what you know about the language (…) or [that] you haven’t been using English as your first language throughout your life, so how would you know the little, hidden corners, if you want, the things that are hidden, the things that are not really what the non-native English-speaking teacher is quite familiar with. [But] when it comes to teaching immigrants, you don’t really have to … my approach to teaching is not to teach my students word by word. It’s to help them to be able to learn. And if you are… that’s what makes a good teacher a good teacher, is to inspire his students, and not really just throw knowledge at them and tell them well, this is what you have to learn, but teach them where knowledge is, and teach them how to go and get it.
In addition, Ahmad gained greater confidence in himself as a user and teacher of English. This was particularly evident after his practicum sessions, which received very good evaluations from both the host teacher and the practicum supervisor:

You always have that look, maybe because of the minor mistakes that you make every once in a while, or the difference in accent that is sensed by some people. XX so it could be that look that you get, that sceptical, suspicious look. But you could just overlook that. You don’t normally have to worry about [it] (…), by now you’re very confident in front of your class, and that’s what matters.

Another very interesting change in Ahmad’s perceptions had to do with the NS–NNS dichotomy. Earlier he had identified himself a near-native speaker who would not find it “fair” or “accurate” to label himself a native speaker. At this stage, although he still held that English was not his mother tongue, he reinforced that it was now his home and work language. Therefore, he stressed that non-native does not aptly describe him, especially that non-native-ness “is definitely a NONentity” (Ahmad, Focus Group Interview). He preferred to identify himself as “multilingual” because it described his abilities and achievements rather than what he lacked. In line with this, he rejected as irrelevant the idea that language is owned by native speakers. As he remarked:

[Let’s] go back to the purpose of language. Why was language invented? Why do we use language? Why do, even, other species use language? It’s a mean[s] of communication. It’s not for ownership. It’s for people to come closer, to share ideas, live in peace and harmony, help each other build communities and civilizations, where we, as humans, could co-exist and live together in peace. That’s the sole purpose of language. So, you know, if we miss that then maybe we can just go back and observe other species like bees and birds and learn from them.

Finally, towards the end of the program, as in the cases of Chen and Fariba,

\footnote{As a matter of fact, Ahmad graduated from the TESOL program with first rank among all the teacher candidates. His grade average point was among the top ten among some thousand graduates in the college in that given year, and so he was given an award during the convocation ceremony. Because of his achievements, he was later invited to be one of the keynote speakers at the following college convocation session.}
Ahmad came to hold strong views about the linguistic requirements set by TESL Ontario. For him, after 8 years of life in Canada, and 30 years of language learning and teaching, it was “absurd” to have to write a proficiency test. He wondered why the association did not trust applicants but instead asked them to write tests that they may have even taught themselves.

**Case Study 5: Sook**

Sook, 31 – the youngest of the five core participants in the study – is from South Korea. She had a bachelor’s degree in English education and had lived and studied in Canada for almost a year at the time of this study. Her initial plan for coming to Canada was to do graduate studies in a Canadian university and to explore the possibility of staying permanently. A learner and user of English for over 20 years, Sook speaks English clearly and fluently although she has a slight Korean accent. Before coming to Canada, she was a high school English teacher for more than 6 years.

Sook recalled learning English as a foreign language as a painful experience due to the lack of exposure to “authentic” English – i.e., English produced by NSs in real-life situations. Although there are English NSs living in Korea – many of whom work as English teachers in language schools, especially in big cities – one does not usually have the chance to interact with them on a regular basis. This was the case with Sook whose language learning was mainly at school. She first started learning English in elementary school student when she was 11. Her family, particularly her mother, encouraged her to learn English and bought English books and tapes for her. She has vivid memories of her first English language lesson involving a simple poem. Later, during her middle school years, her parents registered her in a private language class where she had the opportunity to study English in a more serious way. She continued attending the private school during her high school and university years. Sook is not a big fan of the way English is taught in Korea, and finds it completely different from the system in Canada. This is basically due to the fact that the Korean system caters more to the study of English for academic purposes rather than focusing on how to communicate in the language. As a result, substantial time is spent on reading and writing skills and on preparation for the language
tests. Moreover, students have to memorize many words and practice how to translate sentences from English into Korean, and vice-versa.\textsuperscript{61} It was during her university years that Sook started to spend more time on oral skills development because she needed to do oral presentations for her courses. This was challenging as well. She had to compete with classmates who came from language high schools, many of whom were taught by native-speaking teachers and/or who had spent time living abroad. At some point during her university years, Sook thought of dropping out of the program because she was not sure if she would make a good language teacher. Actually, the lack of self-confidence in her language abilities was still with Sook at the time of the study, as shown in the excerpt below:

\begin{quote}
I always feel that I have to study English more to teach my students because I’m not very confident about my proficiency in English. So, for me, I just thought the necessary thing to learn is not how to teach English, but \textit{X} the language itself.
(Sook, First Interview)
\end{quote}

\textit{Views of the Native Speaker Construct}

Sook’s conception of the NS construct included a number of characteristics. First, like other participants, Sook thought birthplace was an important factor. On top of that though, she considered length of residence in an English-speaking country as an important factor for one to be and/or become a native speaker in that geographical setting. A very good example for Sook was Tom (a pseudonym), a 30-year-old member of her cohort, who was born in China and brought up there until the age of four. His parents had then immigrated to Canada. So, according to Sook, although Tom was born in a non-English-speaking environment, he would qualify as an NS because he had spent the majority of his life in Canada. Elaborating on the residence factor, Sook specified that residence after the age of puberty would not help one to become an NS:

\begin{quote}
But if Tom was brought up in Mainland [China], no matter how many
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{61} Sook also spoke of special language high schools, and how she wished she had attended one of them. At the public school that she had attended, English was taught for only 5 hours a week, and there was almost no focus on conversation. This is completely different from the way English is taught in language high schools. Sook’s younger brother, in fact, graduated from one such school with German as his major. He had about 20 hours of classroom and lab language instruction every week.
years he spent in Canada, […] let’s say, he was in China until he was 20, and he moved to Canada, and he spent 30 years here, I don’t think he’d be a native speaker.
(Sook, Second Interview)

Using the same criteria, Sook spent some time categorizing other members of her cohort, the majority of whom would be NSs according to her definition.

One interesting aspect in Sook’s understanding of the construct is that she did not include race as a top factor in judging who an NS is. For her, growing up in an English-speaking environment starting before the age of puberty was the weightiest factor. Therefore, Karen (a pseudonym), her Korean female roommate – born in Korea, yet raised in Canada – would qualify as a Canadian NS. Moreover, for Sook, cultural features and ways of thinking and living were more important than how one looked. For instance, Sook explained why Kim (a pseudonym), her other roommate also of Korean descent, was an NS to her:

Well, what makes people being native speakers or not, to me, is not race at all. For example, my roommate, he was Canadian to me, not Korean. OK, exactly, Korean-Canadian to me. Well, maybe some other people, some Caucasians think that “Oh, he looks Korean” but to me he’s Canadian, rather than Korean, because he was born here, he has a Canadian way of thinking, and lived a Canadian life. And what’s more familiar with him is Canada, not Korea. So he’s, to me, TOTALLY Canadian, even though he has some features of a Korean because of what he got from his parents who immigrated to Canada. Well, in that way, he has some more Korean, compared to, well, native Canadians. He is Canadian to me.
(Sook, Second Interview)

In the excerpt above, however, Sook’s use of “Korean-Canadian” to signify Kim’s dual cultural identity shows that for her ethnic background plays a role in people’s identity.

Another important feature of Sook’s definition of the NS has to do with the legitimacy she ascribes to English spoken in different parts of the world. She contends that as far as one is a fluent speaker of any given variety of English, one can be an English NS. One example Sook gave was that of a Fijian Indian classmate and her spouse. As explained below, Sook had no problem understanding their English even though their accent was different from the Canadian accent she heard on television:
Even though there are some differences between their English and Canadian English. But, to me, it’s just a different variant of English, and they’re native speakers to me. Well, even a British person may have difficulty in communicating with some Canadians, even though they are considered to be perfect native speakers to others.
(Sook, First Interview)

In other words, by juxtaposing the differences between Indian and Canadian Englishes with those between British and Canadian varieties, Sook is questioning the accuracy of the term “standard English” and the ownership of language as the right of the speakers of a so-called standard variety.

In addition, Sook questioned the typical categorization of native–non-native English-speaking countries and maintained that speakers in those countries, such as India, where the role of English and English education is significant, should be viewed as NSs. In other words, Sook’s classification was different from Kachru’s Inner, Outer, and Expanding circles (as discussed in Chapter 2) in that she included both Inner and Outer Circle countries in one single category. Her other category would include EFL countries:

Well, to me, Indians, they are native speakers. Well, because as far as I know they learn in English in the school and they are exposed to English all their daily lives there … And Malaysians, also. People in Singapore [, too]. But to me, non-native speakers are like Koreans: the people who are not exposed to English except in the classroom.
(Sook, Second Interview)

Self-Identification

It was not difficult for Sook to identify herself as a non-native speaker of English. This had to do with her belief that an NS is highly proficient in the language. Her self-perceived English language proficiency was between 3 and 3.5 on a scale of 0 to 5. She maintained that she was still a learner of the language. In fact, Sook’s evaluation of her English skills was such that she had registered in ESL classes upon arrival in Canada. Moreover, given her low opinion of her oral skills, she was not sure if she would actually be able to operate in the language once in Canada. It turned out that she was wrong, as shown in the exchange below:

Amir: How did you feel when you first got there?
Sook: Well, the most important thing [was]: “Can I speak with others?” Now truly I took ESL course before. I had to take an ESL course before I took the TESL program, but I was supposed to directly go into the TESL program, but I have some days before going to school and I went out and I was really shocked because I COULD understand people talking on the street, especially. And because of my major, I had had (much) experience listening to the kind of tapes or conversations, script, or, well movies, and yes, movies and dramas are hard to understand, but for tasks things. I would think I’m not really good, but I’m the average, or a little bit over the average people, so it was really shocking to me. I could understand what they were talking.

(Sook, First Interview)

One other factor in Sook’s identification of herself as an NNS was her lack of exposure to “authentic” language. In the following excerpt she talks about the difference between Korean EFL and Canadian ESL:

The difference between EFL and ESL is not students’ emotions or their behaviour. It’s just about different settings around them, right? ESL students have more opportunity to be exposed to target language, that’s the difference.

(Sook, First Interview)

On the other hand, throughout her involvement in the study, identifying herself as an NNS status did not prevent Sook from highlighting her linguistic strengths. One strength was her formal education and training as an English language teacher. For Sook, this was a privilege:

There are some things I could teach, (…) grammar, for example (…) not only X grammar … because I’m educated and trained as an English teacher, so I think I have more organized knowledge about English than ordinary people. (…) Knowing those things, of course, can be helpful.

(Sook, Second Interview)

Sook also considered her knowledge of formal written English to be a strength. Although she did not think her oral skills were strong, she did receive many positive comments about her oral language abilities from peers in the program. She explained:

I have been exposed to written language almost all the time, not spoken language. So one day actually one of my Canadian college students … I was participating in kind of a conversation (…) And he always told me
that “You are an excellent speaker and blah blah blah, and you use very educated English, blah blah blah,” but I just, you know … That’s because I don’t know how to speak like slangs or all the idioms. That’s the thing I was taught. I’m not familiar with spoken language, that’s why I just use, according to his expression, educated English.
(Sook, Second Interview)

While she appreciated the positive comments she received about her language proficiency, Sook believed that people made them trying to be nice to her given her INNEST status. In other words, she believed that they were not judging her relative to high proficiency but rather, on what she had achieved as an INNEST. She considered this to be the case with her students during the practicum sessions as well. The gap between Sook’s self-perceived language abilities and the judgements passed by her program peers and ESL students was a constant source of stress for Sook. Throughout my contact with Sook in the study, she was over-conscious of this gap, and questioned her eligibility as a language teacher. Her belief was that her linguistic strengths were not enough to make her a good language teacher. Here is what she had to say in this regard:

They [ESL students] don’t expect me to speak like a native speaker. But here they came to a centre or a school to learn authentic and real English. Well, in that respect I have lots of things to learn. And I don’t think I’m at the level which I can teach all those things properly. So that’s why I don’t think I can make a good ESL teacher in Canada.
(Sook, Second Interview)

The practicum sessions, in particular, increased her lack of confidence in her abilities. At times, Sook thought she did not have the right to stand in front of a class and teach a language of which she herself was a learner. Again and again, Sook attributed this sense to her lack of fluency. The pressure resulting from her self-perceived linguistic inadequacies was so much that Sook preferred to hide her professional identity as a language teacher. When I asked her how she felt when she said that she was an English teacher in front of people who shared her ethnic background, she simply said:

Generally, even though I’m very proud of my occupation, I don’t want to reveal that I’m an English teacher. Because everybody just expects me to have a perfect proficiency in English, very high proficiency in English, and, well, they just sometimes expect something, and of course, there are excellent English teachers. And I know that I can’t reach their
expectations, so it’s a little bit of pressure. They just imagine I just can understand all the movies without the titles [captions] or I can [do] just, well, anything. For example, one day one of my friends who worked in … web paging (…) called me and [said] “OK, can you translate this into English?” “What?” Actually, I did, but I was not sure about it because it was direct translation (…) So I needed somebody to check. So I asked another friend who had spent lots of time abroad. (…) Everybody just takes it for granted that I can do it, whatever they ask about English-related things and it’s a little bit hard to me to say no, for whatever they’re asking. So well, I don’t want it.

(Sook, Second Interview)

One reason that Sook chose to hide her professional identity was her fear of people finding fault with her English, as highlighted in the following quote:

I also don’t want to say I’m an English teacher in Korea [for] different reasons, because I’m worried about if they find mistakes, they just might feel that how can she be an English teacher with the kind of … you know, not enough qualification? She can’t even speak English very well. She makes many mistakes while speaking.

(Sook, Second Interview)

However she was more comfortable introducing herself as a language teacher among Koreans than she was among Canadian-born speakers of English because, she thought, “I know if I make some mistakes, probably most of them [i.e., Koreans] don’t recognize it” (Sook, Second Interview).

**Change in Beliefs during the TESOL Program**

Attending the TESOL teacher education program resulted in some changes in Sook’s beliefs. First of all, it became evident for her that she would never pass as a native speaker: “I realize that I’m not, and cannot be a native speaker [of English]” (Sook, Second Interview). Her linguistic abilities were not at the level that would enable her to function in English as an NS normally does.

The second main change in Sook’s cognition had to do with her level of confidence in her ability to communicate in English. Living in Canada and being exposed to “authentic” language lessened her discomfort in communicating in English. The fear that she had experienced at the beginning of the program decreased by the end. In her
own words:

I was concerned about my language proficiency. (...) I was afraid of taking this course because I’m not a native speaker and all my classmates are, their mother tongue is English, and I didn’t have a high proficiency in English, so all the things [such as] listening to a lecture, or talking to others, or presenting (...) were just really depressing (...), overwhelming, and after going through all these things, I just felt a little bit more confident. (Sook, Second Interview)

The decrease in Sook’s level of discomfort was rooted in three factors. For one, given her perception of the limitations in her language skills, she began to become less self-conscious about her proficiency:

Well, everybody just keeps changing, wherever they live or whatever they do, as time goes by. So probably (...) I’ve changed in some way. But I don’t think it made me a different person. I’m still the same one, but … well maybe especially if something related to English is … yes, I think it has changed a lot. As I told you before even if I’m very uncomfortable speaking English, but I don’t care about it anymore. (Sook, Focus Group Interview)

Second, she began to change her attitude by focusing more on the language skills that she had, as opposed to what she lacked. So, instead of looking for an ideal language proficiency level, she concentrated on her ability to establish and maintain effective communication. The following excerpt illustrates this point:

What I mean is even if I’m not very fluent speaking English, but fortunately I have a speaking ability to communicate with others (...) It reminds me of the word ‘survivor’ thinking about those who struggle to convey their intentions to others, and, well, all the hard times explaining themselves, right? (Sook, Second Interview)

A third aspect influencing Sook’s decreasing discomfort level was her attention to her being a skilful teacher, and the strengths that she possessed as a result of that status. In this way, she shifted her focus from making language mistakes – a sense of guilt – to her teaching strengths – a sense of power:

There was just stress before, (...) well, I just acknowledge myself, what
kind of status I was in. I was more, how can I say, impotent. You know what, I’m not a native speaker, so it’s very natural for me to have some mistakes or not to know something they [i.e., TESOL NS peers] know. I have other strengths that they don’t have, like having teaching experience before, and I myself, as an ESL learner, I can be more sympathetic to my students, and I think I know better what they are going through, what kind of difficulties they are going through.
(Sook, Second Interview)

A third change in Sook was in regard to her perceptions of and association with community. At the beginning of the program, she was mainly socializing with members of the local Korean community, including her roommates, as she saw them as her main source of support. However, she gradually began to spend more time with peers – all non-Korean – in the TESOL community. The support that she received from her TESOL instructors and other teacher candidates in the program helped her to develop a sense of belonging to a professional community, one that earlier she did not imagine she could become part of. The instructors’ understanding was particularly influential as they spent time both inside and outside of the classroom to talk with her about her performance in the program. In the excerpt below Sook describes an instance of this:

At first, I was really depressed and not confident about my English speaking ability or even for doubting my ability to teach. I remember that I was so nervous that I just went to my professor, and explained my situation [that] “I’m very nervous, and not sure that I can finish this program. I’m internationally educated and I have no experience going that road before. My classmates are X Canadians, or native speakers, and I don’t feel that I can compete with them, so could you help me. Is there any advice for me, blah blah blah blah?” But he was great. He encouraged me. Well, very supportive. And fortunately he had extensive experience to teach Korean students, so he knows a lot about my country. And even about how to be a public school teacher. So he believed in me, believed [in] my ability and competence. (…) It was very helpful.
(Sook, Second Interview)

The instructors’ support of Sook was not limited to welcoming her into the professional community. One other support strategy that they used was to highlight Sook’s strengths. In particular, one instructor helped Sook to think less about NS as the criterion for qualification, and think more about the value of her language learning experience, as shown in the following excerpt:

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He told me “what you went through as an ESL learner is really valuable because other people are native speakers and they don’t necessarily know what you know.” So he just made me feel like I’m a very precious one in some way in the classroom.
(Sook, Focus Group Interview)

Cross-Case Analysis

The findings were examined not only within but also across the five INNESTs’ cases in order to provide a better lens for data analysis. Three major areas discussed earlier in this chapter inform how the five core participants addressed the NS construct, how they negotiated their linguistic identity in regards with the construct, and how their perspectives changed, if at all, over the course of the TESOL program. In this section, to help analyze participants’ perspectives on the three themes, a comparative evaluation is employed. Table 18 summarizes a comparison of the core participants’ linguistic profiles and perspectives. It should be mentioned that this comparative standpoint is not meant to and cannot reflect the participants’ beliefs in all their complexity since their perspectives tended to change over the course of this study and the TESOL program. However, the five cases have characteristics that reveal tendencies among the participants and provide an overall understanding of their profiles. Following the comparison, the relation between the five cases and the findings with respect to all participants’ perspectives is examined to provide a summary in order to answer the first research question.

Views of the Native Speaker Construct

The data presented in each of the INNEST cases show their experiences with the NS construct in the formation of their beliefs. They were all engaged with the construct, as learners, speakers, users, and teachers of English. Based on my extensive interaction with each of my INNEST participants throughout the program, despite some similarities of beliefs among them, I conclude that overall they each viewed the construct differently.

In their initial conceptualizations of the construct, all five core participants regarded birth in an English-dominant environment (i.e., geographical categorization) as the most important factor determining an NS. For some, such as Rashmi, birthplace was so important that even length of residence in such an environment could be disregarded.
Others thought that birth in an English environment was important but not enough to qualify one as an NS. For instance, Fariba referred to active use of the language in the community, and Sook considered length of residence, particularly before the age of puberty.
Table 18. Core Participants' Linguistic Profiles and Perspectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Number of Mother Tongues</th>
<th>Number of Languages Spoken</th>
<th>English Language Proficiency (Scale: 0-5)</th>
<th>Self-Identification</th>
<th>Factors Assigned to the Native Speaker Construct</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>Near-native speaker (Linguistically) Non-native speaker (Culturally)</td>
<td>- Birth in an English-speaking environment - Dominant usage of language - Automatic, natural, and unconscious language use - Race - Acceptance by native-speaking community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rashmi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Non-native speaker</td>
<td>- Birth - Environment - Using English as one’s dominant language - Self-identification - Acceptance by native-speaking community - Speaking a “legitimate” English variety - Comfortable language usage level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fariba</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>From Non-native speaker to Multilingual speaker</td>
<td>- Birth - Education in the target language - Flexibility, or the autonomous use of language - Using English as one’s dominant language - Sounding like a native speaker (pronunciation/accent) - Looking like a native speaker (Race) - Language Proficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>From Near-native speaker to Passing for a Native speaker to Multilingual speaker</td>
<td>- Birth in an English-speaking environment - Using the language in the community - Growing up in a specific geographical setting - Knowledge of the language (language proficiency) - Education in the language - Self-identification through willingness to pass as a native speaker through adopting cultural aspects associated with the language - Looking like a native speaker (Race) - Using English as one’s dominant language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sook</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3-3.5</td>
<td>More of a Non-native speaker</td>
<td>- Birthplace - Length of residence in an English-speaking country before the age of puberty - Early childhood language learning - Cultural features and ways of thinking and living - Fluency - Exposure - Language proficiency - Environment (where English has a significant role)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Another specification of the NS construct shared among the five was language proficiency. For Ahmad, for instance, this had to do with ability to use the language in different contexts. Chen defined it as “the language sense” or automatic and unconscious language use. For Fariba, it was flexibility in the language and autonomous language use. Rashmi and Sook called it comfortable language usage and communication.

All the five considered accent an important factor in being an NS. However, Ahmad and Fariba, both of whom had native-like accents, questioned the validity of one particular accent determining whether one was an NS, especially in a diverse society.

All the participants also addressed race directly or indirectly. Four of the participants were visible minorities: Chen, Rashmi, and Sook. Chen and Rashmi shared the view that race is an important factor. Ahmad and Fariba indirectly referred to race when they talked about “looking like an NS.” Sook was critical of the role of race in NS–NNS judgements. She thought that rather than how one looks it is how one behaves (in terms of language performance and lifestyle) that determines whether one is an NS or not.

Interestingly, though, in the course of the TESOL program, the core participants modified their definitions by adding other, at times seemingly contradictory, factors. For instance, Chen distinguished between L1 and native language saying that one’s L1 may not necessarily be his or her dominant language. Therefore, he added dominant usage of language in social contexts as another factor. Rashmi mentioned the language primarily used in the family at home. Both Fariba and Ahmad discussed the role of education in the target language, knowledge of language, and conscious language learning. For Ahmad, education had an important role, regardless of the dominant language in one’s social setting.

Confidence in language use, although shared among the five, was realized differently among them. For instance, Chen defined confidence as the natural, fluent, unconscious language use. Fariba described it as spontaneous language use while Sook identified it as the capacity to translate into L1. Ahmad considered language creativity to
be important. Moreover, he maintained that there was a direct relationship between a person’s confidence in language use and his or her investment in learning.

As far as NS–NNS dichotomy is concerned, all the participants had reactions. Rashmi and Sook, for example, were critical of claims of language ownership and legitimate varieties of English; but Rashmi was less confident when it came to the legitimacy of less-dominant language varieties. Sook also questioned the legitimacy of “standard English” as the one and only accepted norm. Both Ahmad and Fariba were extremely critical of the dichotomy; Ahmad declared it to be a myth.

**Negotiation of Native Speaker Identity**

There are a number of issues regarding participants’ negotiation of their NS–NNS status that emerge from the cases described in this chapter, each worthy of consideration. The four major points below examine, across the five cases, the areas that require special attention when it comes to the NS–NNS identity negotiation.

First of all, it is important to consider participants’ language learning histories and the role of English in their lives at the time of the study. All the participants had created an English environment for themselves while in their home country. This was done by watching movies in English, listening to English radio, and reading newspapers and short stories. Their English language learning or use took place over between 18 and 35 years: Fariba (18), Sook (20), Rashmi (23), Ahmad (30), and Chen (35). Rashmi, Ahmad, and Sook first began learning English in primary/elementary school; Chen and Fariba in junior high school. With the exception of Fariba, the core participants continued to use their mother tongue at home and/or in their community, but English was the language they used outside their community. Moreover, English was the professional language for all of them. They used it for professional development, the TESOL program, and professional activity, English language teaching. Only Chen and Fariba had a strong linguistic knowledge of English due to their graduate studies in language education.

The second point about the participants is their self-perceived English language proficiency. It ranged from 3 to 4.9 on a scale of 0 to 5: Chen (4.9), Fariba (4.5), Ahmad
Fishman (1969) argued that there is, in fact, a strong relation between language proficiency and self-reporting. Overall, the five cases in the study prove the validity of Fishman’s point. Except for Chen and Ahmad, who had high self-perceived language proficiency levels, the participants’ length of time spent learning or using English did not have a direct relationship with proficiency level. However, such a relationship existed between participants’ length of residence in Canada and the proficiency level of all the five, that is, the longer their stay in English-speaking Canada, the higher their proficiency level. Years of English teaching did not seem to affect the proficiency level (e.g., Rashmi with the longest teaching history – 12 years – self-reported a 3.5 proficiency level; Fariba reported a 4.5 level although she had only 6 years of teaching experience). As well, there was a relatively direct correlation between the participants’ educational level and their English proficiency (e.g., in the cases of Chen and Fariba who each had a Master’s degree in language education). As far as language proficiency is concerned, the five participants put more weight on oral fluency. Chen and Fariba, however, were aware of their good writing skills. This was especially the case with Chen who believed his writing abilities would qualify him as an NS of English. Some of the participants, Sook, Chen, and Rashmi, reported that they needed editing support in doing their TESOL course assignments to ensure linguistic accuracy.

The third noteworthy aspect was individuals’ choices in *self-identification in regards to the native speaker construct*. Chen identified himself, linguistically, as a near-native speaker of English, yet, a non-native speaker, culturally. Rashmi believed she was an NNS; and Sook, more of an NNS. The cases of Fariba and Ahmad were different though. Although she identified herself an NNS initially, Fariba tended to focus more on her multilingual abilities, hence came to identify herself as a multilingual speaker. Ahmad, too, moved away from an identification of near-native speaker, towards willingness to pass for an NS, but ultimately he too adopted a multilingual identity. In fact, Ahmad and Fariba relied heavily on their skills as multilingual and bicultural individuals, resisting the native speaker construct in the multilingual and multicultural context of Toronto.

The fourth aspect emerging from the data was *the validation of participants’ self-
All the five were identified as non-native speakers of English compared with their English native-speaking counterparts. They all were cognizant of this during their practicum sessions teaching ESL students, who, at times, questioned their qualifications as English language teachers or expressed doubt about their ability to teach ESL classes. Although they tried to show confidence about their status, this was a changing situation as they found themselves in interactions with different interlocutors. Rashmi, for example, said that, at times, she thought she was inferior to her native-speaking colleagues. She had to look for ways to assert herself and she constantly struggled to find information – be it linguistic or cultural – that she believed her counterparts had intuitively. A fluent speaker of English, Rashmi said that she had never been identified by others as a native speaker of English. In the case of Chen and Fariba, they believed that they could not consider themselves native speakers of English because, among other factors, they did not have the right “look.” As a result, they had to demonstrate their educational qualifications and practical experience to convince others that despite their looks, they had mastery of the language; for Chen, this was in academic English, and for Fariba, in oral English. Having found it difficult to negotiate a (near-)NS identity in front of Canadian-born NSs, both Rashmi and Chen were hesitant to join NS peers in course activities. Sook refused to speak English with her Canadian-Korean NS roommates. Rashmi was hesitant to identify herself as an NS or NNS because she thought that self-identification needed to be validated by others.

Fariba and Ahmad, showing more assertiveness, chose to give less weight to the views of others. However, in reality, both of them were concerned about their linguistic identities being validated by others. Both Fariba and Ahmad had a sense that affiliation with NSs meant being accepted by them. However, they were aware that the desire for acceptance by a group is not enough, as it may be weighed against the perceptions of the given group members. Therefore, the more the degree of desire in affiliation, the more investment in language learning, and the more willingness in creating changes in their linguistic and cultural behaviour, such as accent. Both Fariba and Ahmad made strategic

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62 Chen recounted a case in which two ESL students approached him right after his first practice teaching session to ask about his linguistic background. He found this incident critical to his professional image as the students’ comments, as he perceived them, were indirectly targeting his credibility as a teacher of a language that was not his mother tongue.
use of their Canadian-like accents. Fariba, for instance, remembered instances in which her non-nativeness had gone unnoticed by her students because she had a Canadian-like accent. This, she believed, was because of the stereotypes that her interlocutors had, that they tended to compare others’ language with the mainstream and label it accordingly as native or non-native, and immigrant or Canadian. The importance of accent as the passport to being a Canadian native speaker was highlighted by other participants, too. Ahmad, for example, thought that the very moment that one opens her or his mouth, s/he is showing her or his Canadian or non-Canadian passport, and if one does not hold a Canadian passport, then one is not Canadian. As a matter of fact, accent is the main reason why people ask a person questions about where s/he is originally from.

The other three participants also reported instances in which they relied heavily on their interlocutors’ perceptions of their NS–NNS status. For example, Rashmi talked about encounters with students during her practicum in which the students were clearly concentrating on her linguistic identity as an Indian – due to her accent as well as her skin colour. She remembered that she was introduced at the beginning of her practicum as a language teacher who had emigrated from India. Although the introduction was made with good intentions on the part of the host teacher – who had also added that it takes a lot of courage to teach a language that is not one’s mother tongue – Rashmi wondered why this had to be highlighted. Having had a similar experience, Sook attributed this to people trying to be nice to her.

A note to be added here is that the relationship between the interlocutors and the level at which the interaction takes place is an important factor. In Chen’s case, he was talking with his peers in the TESOL classroom, people who knew him already and were aware of his linguistic skills, particularly his writing ability. Once his skills were celebrated, he performed better in his oral communication. In other words, his language expertise was boosted. This was in sharp contrast with Chen’s experience during the practicum with students who expected to have a “Canadian” teacher, which Chen – with a Chinese look and non-Canadian accent – was not. Overall, whether or not identification by others corresponded to an INNEST participant’s self-ascription, it did affect their self-identification. The validation-by-others factor was regarded as highly important by all
five core participants, which suggests that the NS construct is audience-dependent and context-specific. If your interlocutors do not feel comfortable with you and your language use, chances of identifying you as a native speaker are significantly reduced. Moreover, NS–NNS status is co-constructed, it does not depend solely on the person who is claiming an identity, but also on the listener(s). Ultimately status is determined by the outcome of the interaction between self-identification and status-validation by others.

A final note is in order at this stage. While the five core participants had somewhat different views about the power inherent in the NS–NNS construct, Fariba and Ahmad were the only ones who explicitly and powerfully challenged the power relations by confronting the construct in their interactions with peers and the environment. The other three took a more conservative approach. Sook and Rashmi avoided explicitly challenging the power associated with the construct and focused on its more traditionally accepted aspects. Chen did not display a consistent approach, at times, changing positions. Overall, Sook, Rashmi, and Chen had a more deficit orientation towards the construct.63

Fariba and Ahmad, however, had a critical orientation. Fariba’s standpoint was inclusiveness of various speakers, that is, she believed that speakers of varieties of English should be included as NSs; Ahmad emphasized language proficiency – regardless of other factors – as the source of power. My observations of the five in their classes showed that Fariba and Ahmad were ready to disrupt their prior beliefs, move beyond the ascribed labeling, and take essential steps towards a critically oriented concept of NSness. Both were extremely articulate about and critical of the stereotyped conceptualization of NS commonly held. They were also the most confident when discussing their language learning and teaching abilities.

In sum, Chen showed indecisiveness about the NS construct; Rashmi tended to accept how others defined her, yet still questioned; Fariba displayed resistance and assertiveness; Ahmad was both determined to pass and wanting to pass and assimilate as an NS; and Sook, while believing herself to be an NNS, began to challenge the concept. Among the five participants, Rashmi and Sook appeared to accept the NS–NNS

63 This is discussed further in this chapter.
dichotomy, Chen was more of an advocate for a continuum, and Ahmad and Fariba were situated in a third space, critical of commonly held views of the concept and practices of the NS construct.

Mixing Stage: Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Data

In this section, I briefly review both the quantitative and qualitative strands. The quantitative data lead to a broad view of survey participants’ perspectives on the native speaker construct. On this basis, I specify the core participants’ views. Next, quantitative and qualitative findings are drawn together for a broad, yet deep interpretive account.

The concurrent mixed-methods design served the complementarity function in that the overall description of the INNESTs and the NS construct, from survey participants’ quantitative data, was enriched, elaborated, and clarified with in-depth description and analysis of the five core participants’ specific cases. The findings from the quantitative data give an overview of a large sample’s perceptions and indicate a significant statistical picture of views on the NS construct. Results of the semi-structured and focus group interviews with the core participants were generally consistent with the questionnaire findings, but also helped to provide further clarification and in some instances, generate additional findings. Below, I begin with the linguistic profiles of both research groups.

Similar to the majority of survey participants (88.70%), the core INNESTs did not consider English to be their first and, therefore, mother tongue, which means they were not NSs of English according to the traditional category of NS (i.e., defined by birth and early childhood language acquisition). Also, two of the participants (i.e., Ahmad and Fariba) had two mother tongues, as did 31.3% of survey participants. A further 6.35% of survey participants had three mother tongues; this was not the case with any of the five core participants. The other three core participants were speakers of only one native language as were the majority of survey participants (62.6%). Moreover, four of the core participants identified their mother tongue as the official language of their birth country. This was in line with the majority of survey participants (85.2%). English was either a second or foreign language for the majority of survey participants (97.4%) as it was for
three of the core participants (Chen, Rashmi, and Sook). The majority of both survey and core participants originally came from “Outer Circle” or “Expanding Circle” countries.

The quantitative data were complementary with regard to language proficiency as well. The majority of survey participants (96%) considered themselves to be highly proficient in English (4 or 5 on the 0-5 scale), with an average of 4.5 for the population. Similarly, three of the core participants reported a high proficiency level, and the average for all five was 4.2.

In terms of self-identification, the majority of survey participants (i.e., 60%) did not consider themselves to be native speakers of English. This was similar to the core participants’ responses: three of the five, Chen, Rashmi, and Sook, identified themselves as NNSs. Difficulties in self-identification were observed both among the core participants and survey participants: 8.7% of the latter were undecided, and 2.7% provided no response. Due to the one-time-completion nature of questionnaires, it was not possible to follow up and ask the rest of survey participants if they had difficulty identifying themselves.64

As for the determining factors for being an NS of English, the quantitative data complemented the qualitative component in that a wide range of factors were assigned by both groups. This supports the contention that the construct is perceived in different ways and does not have a single definition. This calls for a theoretical perspective that could account for the multidimensional nature of the NS construct. Although none of the factors assigned by survey participants dominated, birth was the factor given the most importance by the core participants. The core participants also considered language proficiency to be a noteworthy requirement, which was consistent with the responses of a significant number of survey participants.65

64 This and other limitations of this study are discussed in Chapter 9.
65 A reviewer of this section wondered about a seemingly contradictory finding. The question was as follows: “The survey participants did not consider others validating their English speaking as an important factor: Acceptance by other native speakers of English – only 16 identified this as important. All of the core participants, however, identified acceptance by others as important. How can this be explained?” To address this query, I think it is noteworthy to point out how the data for this section was elicited from the survey participants. On the Background Profile form, they were provided with an open-ended question to identify the most important factors in the NS construct. From among the ten factors identified by them,
A full exploration of perspectives on the NS construct would require a longitudinal study that would follow the participants throughout the program to examine changes in perspectives as a result of contact with other INNEST colleagues and/or native speaker colleagues, contact with ESL students during the practicum, and negotiation of nativeness in relation to communities (i.e., college context, practicum site conditions, INNEST’s ethnical community, and the Canadian community as a whole). That said, given the nature of the quantitative component—because it is not longitudinal, the results from survey participants could not be used to further explore the five cases.

Discussion and Interpretation

In this section, I discuss and interpret the results in an attempt to find an answer to my first research question: How do INNESTs—as learners, speakers, users, and teachers of English—negotiate their linguistic capital in the English-speaking Canada? To do so, I examine the results within my theoretical frameworks, comparing them with previous research. It should be noted that the theoretical frameworks used in this study were used as a compass to steer my way to understanding the results.

One important aspect of the study of the NS construct has to do with the contextual specifications. In particular, use of Kachru’s (1985) model as a starting point, to study INNESTs in the Canadian context would not be helpful. An overwhelming majority of immigrants to the “Inner Circle” country Canada come from either “Outer Circle” or “Expanding Circle” countries to have new linguistic experiences in their new setting. The interaction of INNESTs’ experiences in a country where English has a primary role generates a third inter space, which is different from their former “Outer” and/or “Expanding Circle” countries. Therefore, to make distinctions between INNESTs’ former selves and their new status in order to assign a native or non-native status would present an oversimplified binary classification system that could not actually describe the range of possibilities in a multicultural country like Canada. For INNESTs, to be English speakers is not necessarily an explicitly dichotomous—and inherently polarized—either-or experience. Rather, it is a combination of their lived experiences—as teachers and

language proficiency dominated (See Table 17). So, it is not that they did not consider validation by other NSs as important; rather, they gave it less importance than some other factors.
users of the language in their new country – and the people – be it their students, colleagues, and others – they come into contact with in their communities. Moreover, a major problem with Kachru’s concentric circle model is how it positions native-speaking English countries. The inner circle countries, such as Canada, are viewed as the “source of models of correctness, the best teachers and English-speaking goods and services consumed by those in the periphery” (Graddol, 1997, p. 10). Moreover, Modiano (1999) maintained that Kachru’s inner circle “re-establishes the notion that language is the property of specific groups” (p. 24). According to Rajadurai (2005), the “tri-circle model inadvertently reinforces the concept of the native speaker as the center of reference, thus promoting a form of linguistic imperialism and language hegemony that Kachru was determined to avoid” (p. 114).

The results show that dichotomization is persistent and INNESTs are placed on different sides of the NS–NNS dichotomy regardless of their language proficiency. This categorization is overly simplistic because it ignores not only the multidimensionality of the construct and the continuum it contains, but also speakers’ own choices and self-identification. In fact, the classification is complex and cannot be used to make generalizations about speakers’ linguistic identity. As seen in the case of the core participants, the general tendency is to assign individuals into one category or another. The fact of the matter is different in that people are not easily put into categories (Paikeday, 1985a). The disturbing reality, however, is that INNESTs are assigned to one category or the other.

Research on the NS construct has mainly focused on two approaches: dominance and difference. Supporters of the dominance approach (Medgyes, 1994; Quirk, 1995) highlight the differences between NS and NNS language proficiency and consider NNS status to be a “linguistic handicap” (Medgyes, 1994, p. 103). Proponents of the difference approach consider differences to be assets, as both NSs and NNSs bring certain resources

66 The continuum model would make sense in regard to individuals’ linguistic skills (i.e., language proficiency). However, when it comes to identity, a continuum is not helpful. It is like describing a person as being less or more Canadian.
67 The forced choice of “either/or” or “neither/nor” is problematic for one’s sense of identity. As argued by Taylor (1995, p. 225), it validates the idea that “our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition of others” – that is, members of the dominant group(s).
that are unique and facilitate each in their own way the process of second language learning and teaching (Braine, 1999). In the study, not all the participants explicitly referred to their bilingual or multilingual skills as positive attributes that could break the dominant categorization and dichotomization. In the case of Ahmad and Fariba, viewing their bilingualism or multilingualism as a resource (Cummins, 2001) rather than a problem helped them maintain confidence in their linguistic identity. As Kachru and Nelson (1996) contended, maintaining an NS–NNS dichotomy only serves a monocultural and monolingual standpoint.

Pennycook (1998) claimed that English is still a language of colonial discourse. He argued that this is evident in dichotomies such as native and non-native speaker which confer privilege and prestige on the former. Rockhill and Tomic (1995) maintained that new immigrants who are learning English are defined as “other,” as “culturally and linguistically inferior” (p. xi); the dominant discourse of ESL suggests that once you acquire English, you have been liberated (p. 210). In this study, the implicit messages of the supremacy of native speaker status and the ideological relationships that influenced individuals’ decisions to work to sound like and/or pass for an NS were central to their negotiation of their status as INNESTs and their practice of the dominant discourse of the NS–NNS dichotomy. The resistance shown by INNESTs – which takes various forms using different strategies – was the result of this discourse.

The findings from this study suggest that the NS construct is not merely a linguistic category; rather, it is a socioculturally mediated, and politically constructed identity. Determination of who is an NS is not necessarily a matter of choice and election; it is realized, understood, negotiated, and determined in the context of other social factors, including who believes who is a native speaker, or how he or she looks or sounds, and what this is based on. That said, the NS construct goes beyond language proficiency. Indeed, to maintain a predominantly language-oriented stance in regard to the NS construct is ideological itself. As Pennycook (1994) argued, to claim ideological neutrality is in itself to take a political position, the position of maintaining the status quo by choosing not to challenge it. I argue that, although the construct may involve self-identification and have to do with highly advanced language ability in real life situations,
its affirmation depends on how the speaker is received as well.

Holliday (2005, 2006) argued that the native speakerism is ideologically, hence, politically loaded and its dominance is chauvinistic. This perspective views not being a native speaker as a deficit, lack, and incompleteness. The NNS, then, is the other, who should go a long way to prove his or her worthiness in the mainstream TESOL program. The voices of the core participants reveal their peripheral existence. In fact, forcing people to fit into categories serves chauvinism. The NS construct brings with it a sense of privilege; once owned it opens doors to opportunities. In other words, the construct means access. Willingness to move away from the periphery to join the centre’s native community as a true or “honorary” member, however, is a matter of choice and motivation, and involves conformity to NS linguistic and sociolinguistic norms.68 As Coulmas (1981, p. 365) rightly argued: “The price of becoming ‘a facsimile of a native’ is a change of one’s personality. Everyone may not be ready to pay this price.”

The data from the participants suggest that the NS category is not of a fixed nature. Rather, speakers can move in and out of it (hence, a temporary nature). For example, a permanent state of nativeness was not seen among the participants. Typical characteristics of nativeness have also to do with interactions with others in an English-speaking environment. That said, and given the constantly changing settings in which one interacts with others who may speak the same or a different English variety or even the same mother tongue, it is possible that speakers shift planes, at times speaking a specific language variety or using a particular accent (Soheili-Mehr, 2006a). An NNS speaker may even “fake” an identity – so to speak – and be regarded as a native speaker (cases of Ahmad and Fariba). Confidence, though, is the key to being able to pass as a native speaker.

Moreover, this study implies that linguistic identities are closely related to individuals’ acts arising from a desire for linguistic affiliation with a particular group of individuals.

68 Broughton (1978, p. 253) talks about native speaker insight, which embraces both competence and performance, and categorizes the non-native speaker as an idealized learner who “uses the (English) language with such approximation to native-speaker norms that offence, ridicule, or misinterpretation do not occur: it is a non-idiiosyncratic, self-effacing conformity which affords to a foreign speaker honorary membership, as it was, of a speech community.”
speakers, that is, native speakers (Ahmad and Fariba’s cases, particularly). In addition to affiliation, and the recognition associated with it, sociocultural conditions can influence one’s linguistic identity over time and in different contexts. Despite the fact that investment is important, there can be conflicts between the self-ascribed linguistic identity and affiliation of NNSs, and the expectations of the culture of the native language. The language proficiency test requirement set by the TESL Ontario Association is a good example of the gap between one’s self-ascribed identity and validating views of the native culture. I argue that the requirement that all INNESTs irrespective of their individual unique backgrounds take the language proficiency test is based on a monolithic conceptualization of NNS identities and encourages nothing but insularity – an insult to INNESTs’ linguistic identity and/or linguistic repertoire, which does not include only English. Leung et al. (1997), in their research with linguistic minorities in the UK, found that assigning fixed linguistic identities to individuals led to misrepresentation since many of the linguistic minorities claimed simultaneous levels of relationships with different languages and the speakers or communities associated with those languages.

As seen in three of the core participants’ cases (i.e., Chen, Ahmad, and Fariba), the language proficiency requirement set by TESL Ontario was viewed as “unfair,” “absurd,” and even “insulting.” According to this requirement, for any INNEST applying for TESL certification in the province, if her or his “mother tongue is NOT [capitals in the original] English, s/he must meet the English language proficiency requirements” by writing a proficiency test, such as TOEFL, MELAB, Can Test, COPE, etc. (See Appendix B. TESL Ontario Certificate Requirements). There is no suggestion that TESL Ontario would interview the applicant to learn more about the applicant’s linguistic history and abilities, or that an accommodation or waiver might be considered under certain circumstances. This means that all INNESTs applying for certification, regardless

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69 The concepts of affiliation, changing identities, and shifting positions have been previously recorded in research on international migrants. For example, Friedman (1995, p. 15) described the case of “a relatively dark-skinned Brahmin woman who moves back and forth between London and Calcutta. As a Brahmin she is privileged by caste; as a woman, she is oppressed. As a frequent traveler, she is well-off in class terms, but called black by the British and subject to the disorientations of a bicontinental postcolonial identity. As a dark-skinned woman, she is differently disadvantaged within the Indian context of colorism and the British context of racism.”
of their linguistic and professional identities, must write a proficiency test, based solely on one assumption: that their mother tongue is not English. I intentionally use the word “assumption” as I have been unable to find any information on TESL Ontario’s detailed website about any research conducted by or for TESL Ontario establishing that if one’s mother tongue is not English, then the only way s/he prove her or his linguistic abilities is to write a proficiency test. Following Cummins’ (2007) position, I argue that such assumptions only favour a particular ideology. INNESTs’ voices should be heard, and their choices and self-identifications should be viewed with respect. Linguistic proficiency is definitely important; however, a proficiency test may not be the best solution to the problem of establishing whether someone is proficient, especially given the complexity of the NS construct. This without even considering the problem that, according to Davies, in an interview with Kunnan, such tests are based on an idealized native speaker:

Language testing clearly relies on some native speaker model since it is this model that determines the description of Language X, both its micro and its macro functions. Thus even if we take (for our target) near-native speakers (that is highly proficient educated learners) we are still dependent on our native speaker model for our judgement as to their near native ability. At the same time the construct we use (the model) for our tests is necessarily not based on a real person but on – precisely – a construct, an idealised representation of what we think native speakers are, know and can do. (Kunnan, 2005, p. 48)

Apart from testing based on the idealized NS, there is the question of the validity and reliability of such tests to measure linguistic competence, regardless of NS–NNS status. Paikeday (1985b, p. 392) suggested that such tests be constructed and run, although he is dubious about their results:

As for the notion of native speakership, I think the acid test would be if someone could come up with a battery of tests of basic linguistic competence which could be applied without bias to a wide spectrum of people from various parts of the English-speaking world who claimed English as their mother tongue or first language and if such tests showed that these people were categorically different from those for whom English is a second or foreign language. The tests would probably only show that “native speaker” is a fuzzy notion and the term, as used by linguists, merely means “competent user,” with no essential connection with parentage, place of birth, first language, and other circumstantial differences in language acquisition.
As much as the goal of learning a second language is not to approximate as closely as possible the standards set by NSs, it is questionable to test against the linguistic skills of an idealized native speaker. Moreover, beyond language proficiency, an individual’s English learning history and usage, not to mention the individual’s agency and personal choices, are important, too. Therefore, any (ideologically informed) bureaucratic effort to eliminate from consideration teachers’ linguistic and professional choices and voices, or to impose requirements that are neither evidence based nor empirically proven is problematic, and could be viewed as unfair.

Moreover, the danger of imposing proficiency tests on expert language users without research-informed justification is that they measure individuals’ performance on such tests and downplay their language proficiency level in spite of their self-perception. Such requirements may be simply a manifestation of how the NS construct is realized or — better to say — distorted in the minds of those who dictate they be fulfilled even by highly proficient INNESTs, people who are perceived as non-proficient users of English until proven otherwise through a standardized test. The outcome may be a barrier to joining or even exclusion from the professional community. Perhaps we need to pay more attention to INNESTs’ self-perceptions and voices rather than merely their performance on a standardized test when evaluating their language skills.

According to Giles and Powesland (1975), people may adjust their language to accommodate their conversation partner. That is, their language and that of their interlocutor may converge. A reason for moving to this convergence may be that it is socially accepted to do so. This is seen in the study in the cases of participants who felt the need to assert a Canadian identity in interactions with Canadian-born speakers and their choice to adopt a Canadian accent rather than their normal English variety accent. In this way, they actively constructed their linguistic identities to align themselves with members of the Canadian-born community. Motivation plays an essential role in this process in that these participants were willing to integrate into and to be accepted in the Canadian society. People may control different parts of the NS–NNS continuum or choose to shift their position along this continuum according to their conversation partners or as their lives dictate. Adopting a Canadian accent to use with Canadian-born
classmates or ESL students is a good example of such control and agency. This is done in recognition of the fact that language represents power, and may be due to the fact that choice of a language variety can signal a claim to be a member of a particular social or linguistic group with the accompanying degree of social status or power.

The superiority and validity of the NS construct has been challenged and “interrogated” by critical applied linguists such as Canagarajah (1999b). This study’s participants are in line with those of previous studies as they bring varieties of Englishes that are used in different parts of the world to Canada. The notion of World Englishes pays special attention to the hybridized nature of contemporary English and the validity of different varieties of the language. Given that the world is shrinking globally and many language issues are common across different cultures, we should pay attention to what speakers of World Englishes bring with them into the TESOL profession so as to encourage awareness of linguistic diversity and foster linguistic justice for individuals. As such, further critical re-evaluation of NS stereotypes and (re-)development of values such as respect for linguistic diversity are needed so that individuals can negotiate freely their (at times, multiple) identities. As Amin (2000) put it, that the native speaker is the only valid user and teacher of English is a myth. It is also a myth that one knows English well if one is born in an English-speaking environment. This represents a stereotypical view of the NS construct which should be demythologized, demystified, and disrupted. Resistance strategies – such as the ones used by Ahmad, Chen, and Fariba – to the mainstream notion of the construct help in this process. Another way is to focus on the advantages of being bi- or multilingual and other linguistic strengths instead of worrying too much about slips or mistakes (e.g., in Sook’s case). After all, both NSs and NNSs

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70 In a review of this chapter, a dear colleague wondered how much notions of native speaker enmeshed in similar notions of standard, pure, authentic, or correct language in INNESTs’ L1s or home countries denigrate co-existing social varieties of L1 and also denigrate minority languages in the home country context. I agree that this may be a problem. In the case of Persian native speakerism in Iran, my lived experiences and observations attest to the existence of such a notion, in which, for instance, the Tehrani variety of Persian does enjoy a higher status of authenticity among many speakers of the language. I also concur with my colleague that the idea that teachers are guardians of the purity of language standards and that certain varieties are unacceptable or even corrupt or impure are not found in “Anglophone” societies exclusively. In fact, some of the INNESTs’ attitudes towards a standard of quality in any language and the idea that teachers are intended to be the guardians of such standards may have preexisted immigration to Canada and been in some way transferred from L1 to L2. Thus, INNESTs may suffer when standards they uphold in general as teachers and speakers of L1 that put them in a socially dominant position in the home.
make mistakes.\footnote{In a way, this is true on the face of it. But when we start talking about World Englishes the notion of what constitutes a mistake in language becomes quite complex.} Davies (1991, p. 13) posits that the erroneous or non-standard language produced by native speakers can go unnoticed, but “might well be corrected and/or stigmatized if the speakers were known/thought to be non[-]native speakers.” Expert speakers of English, regardless of their NS or NNS status, do more self-monitoring for incorrect usage or errors.

In addition to the above strategies, one can acknowledge that there is a variety of Engishes and accents – the position taken by Rashmi – and focus on the multidimensionality of the NS construct, highlighting the fact that there is a diversity of NSs coming from different sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds. Multiple positions mean multiple differences, which should be affirmed and celebrated. Indeed, using one’s bilingual or multilingual status as a source of power and bringing it to the foreground could help break the oppressive unilateral definition of the NS construct. This way, a more inclusive and fair concept of relationships based on legitimacy can be developed, which can ultimately help end the power inequalities among speakers from different backgrounds.

**Reconceptualizing the Native Speaker Construct**

As noted in Chapter 2, substantial work has been done in the NS–NNS area. However, three theoretical frameworks on the native speaker construct, suggested by Davies (2003), Rampton (1990), and Cook (1999, 2007), stand out in terms of thoroughness. In this section, I briefly revisit these theoretical frameworks in light of the findings from this study, and suggest a reconceptualization of the NS construct.

Davies (2003) has produced the most thorough, detailed, and authoritative text on the NS construct. Moving beyond earlier linguists (e.g., Bloomfield), he argued that L2 learners can become, or pass as, NSs of the L2. On this basis, he claimed that the NS construct is not merely linguistic but sociolinguistic. In this way Davies attempts to
redefine the NS construct so that it includes both NSs and NNSs (p. 9). For him, at the bottom of the NS construct lie confidence and identity: confidence in one’s linguistic competence (i.e., language proficiency), self-identification, and validation of identity by others. However, this gives rise to two questions. He concludes that the NS–NNS dichotomy is created not only by NSs, but also by their NNS counterparts. For example, he said that, “even if I cannot define a native speaker I can define a non-native speaker negatively as someone who is not regarded by him/herself or by native speakers as a native speaker” (p. 213). So one must ask: Who is to judge? If an NNS (such as Ahmad and Fariba in this study), confidently self-identifies as an NS, but is not accepted as an NS by other native speakers, what then? Also, what level of linguistic competence is required to make one an NS, and how is this to be measured in a reliable and valid way? Because Davies does not address these issues, his argument that acceptance (i.e., membership) be the determining factor means that NS status would be based on subjective judgements, which would create discrepancies. Davies declares that although “the theoretical debate about native speakers may be unresolved, nevertheless, in the daily practice of language teaching and testing resolution is necessary” (p. 161). But he has not given a clear path to resolution. Moreover, although Davies argues for an understanding of NS status that is, “more ordinary and attainable by non-native speakers” (p. 9), he remarks that only very few NNSs could attain this status. These lacunae in Davies’s theory illustrate the problems that arise when it is assumed, as he does, that the NS construct is of a relatively unitary and fixed nature.

Rampton’s (1990) alternative to the NS construct takes into account language expertise (i.e., language proficiency); language affiliation (i.e., attachment to or identification with a language, irrespective of whether one belongs to the group typically affiliated with it); and language inheritance (i.e., birth into a family or community in which the language dominates regardless of claims of expertise in or affiliation with that language). Rampton argued that an implication of being an NS of a language and having it as one’s mother tongue is that the language is inherited “either through genetic endowment or through birth into the social group stereotypically associated with it” (p. 97). He argued that one who is considered to have inherited a language has a high level of proficiency in it. An advantage in Rampton’s expertise model is that there is a shift from
who one is to what one knows. Moreover, he regards both inheritance and affiliation as negotiated within and across social boundaries. Using Rampton’s concepts, we see that Fariba and Ahmad inherited two languages, and the other three, one. As for expertise, all five emphasized their lifelong commitment to learning, using, and teaching English. Also, three of them self-reported high language proficiency. In terms of affiliation, Ahmad and Fariba showed more attachment to English than Rashmi and Chen did. Sook’s attachment was the least of all. Affiliation, though, meant different things to these individuals. For example, Ahmad and Fariba mainly used English for professional purposes. A problem with Rampton’s framework is that some aspects of affiliation may not be relevant to all individuals in all situations. Moreover, the term inheritance may generate a tendency to think of the fixed status of the birth factor, resulting in stereotypical association of individuals with a particular ethnolinguistic group.

As discussed in Chapter 2, in Cook’s (1999, 2007) theory, multicompetence, he suggests that individuals who know more than one language are multicompetent and have a distinct compound state of mind, uniquely different from two monolingual states. In this model, there is no overlap between NSs and NNSs:

The indisputable element in the definition of native speakers is that a person is a native speaker of the language learnt first; the other characteristics are incidental, describing how well an individual uses the language. (Cook, 1999, p. 187) According to Cook, multicompetent individuals can be considered legitimate second language users. In the course of the interviews in this study, participants began to see their competence differently. In particular, those with a higher level of confidence in their linguistic abilities began to go beyond the strict dichotomous NS–NNS divide and shifted their attention to their status as multicompetent language users as bilingual or multilingual individuals, as opposed to NNS learners or speakers. Therefore, Cook’s approach can be considered as a notable alternative to NS–NNS dichotomy in helping to define the NS construct (and rejecting its importance, for that matter). Cook’s multicompetence model, in fact, allows individuals to better define their status taking into account their prior language learning and using experiences, and demonstrates to them that they are “successful multicompetent speakers, not failed native speakers” (Cook,
This is a good way to address the feelings of inferiority that can result from being defined as “non.” From among the different perspectives on the NS construct discussed here and previously (Chapter 2), Cook’s framework seems to best capture the themes explored in the present study, and the complexity and multifaceted nature of the NS construct.

Now, in order to propose a reconceptualization of the NS construct, here I briefly highlight the key features discussed up to this point. As the findings in this study show, the dichotomous NS–NNS categorization is problematic: it is oversimplified, short-sighted, either-or oriented, too simplistic, and in the end, misleading. According to a recent position statement from TESOL, such classification “does not actually describe the range of possibilities in a world where English has become a global language” (TESOL, 2006). In fact, it is within this range of possibilities that scholars such as Paikeday find it impossible to find an NS: “Personally, I believe there is no such animal as a ‘native speaker.’ The more I study it, the more it seems a myth propagated by linguists” (Paikeday, 1985b, p. 394).

Further, the ideological load and political implications inherent in the NS construct should not be ignored because it can be shoring up access to power for some, and lack of power for others. In a blunt statement, David Guralnik, involved in compiling Webster’s New World Dictionaries for over 40 years, wrote:

"I wouldn’t want metaphysical views on what I now see as a question that has even more political and sociological overtones than linguistic ones. I am inclined to think that many, if not most, of the adherents of “native intuition” are motivated by unconscious – or even conscious – notions that are elitist, perhaps racist." (Paikeday, 1985b, p. 395)

Another important point is that INNests with high linguistic competence should be viewed as advanced or expert English language users. The descriptions of the participants in the study clearly show that one key criterion for measuring high second language achievement is the self-identification of successful English users themselves; in other words, self-identification can and should be taken as a valid measure. Furthermore, the study rejects the idea that the NS construct is unitary, or one side of a binary divide;
supports the multiplicity and multidimensional nature of the NS construct; and implies that the construct should be viewed beyond the traditional dichotomy. Although birth into an English-speaking environment is an important factor that is hard to ignore, it is a myth to think that in order to know English well, it has to be one’s first language. In other words, one can pass as an NS without having spoken it as their first language. In addition, identities are constructed across time and place, and individuals’ agency and willingness to change may lead them to join (or leave) real or imagined communities as they choose. Therefore, mere focus on individuals’ past, rather than also on their present, does nothing but reify the construct.

Moreover, INNESTs are far from being a uniform, homogeneous group. Although, the diversity of the group may be viewed as a factor that will prevent INNESTs from coming together to assert their status as language experts, it also creates an ideal situation for viewing language proficiency and professional expertise on a continuum, a point that Pasternak and Bailey (2004) make. To show the diversity in the participants’ perception of NS construct, and their own self-identification, more categories than NS–NNS are required: monolingual, bilingual, multilingual with one dominant language, bilingual with separate dominant languages at home and at work, and so on. However, I believe that an attempt to develop a new set of categories would be useless as it would ultimately lead us to further divisions and dichotomies. So instead of using different categories, I propose a theoretical framework to better describe the complexity of the NS construct and the self-identification of the participants. Following a poststructuralist approach (Pennycook, 2001) – which has at its centre a multiplicity of meanings and subjectivities – I suggest a reconceptualization of the native speaker construct as critical, complex, contextual, dialogic, dynamic, ideological, intersecting, multifaceted, multiple, negotiable, relational, situated, and shifting as a developmental process as opposed to a fixed unitary product or state. In this framework, the construct would be realized as the interaction of simultaneous, intersecting, and interlocking axes, as shown in Figure 8. The findings of this study suggest that it is not helpful to essentialize the NS as a construct consisting of only one, two, or even more of these axes. As we saw, the participants in the study engaged with the construct from different angles.
Figure 8. A Schematic Integrative Framework for Negotiating Native Speaker Identities.
The NS construct, as shown in Figure 8, can be viewed as the interaction between and among some or all of the factors in negotiating one’s status while one is involved in a negotiation process with others. Through interaction with others, the INNESTs in this study socialized and were socialized, and the construct was negotiated closely with other factors such as cultural identity, nationality, attachment to mother tongue, and race. The NS construct emerged through this process, offering each INNEST a perspective on its meaning. In this sense, because negotiation is tied to an individual’s actions and participation, the construct is no longer abstract; rather, it is a matter of an individual’s agency. The negotiation of the construct does not take place within individuals per se; rather, it is constructed between them in interaction. In this way, linguistic identities become pluralistic, are constantly reconstructed, and remain open to individuals’ negotiation. That said, INNESTs are not merely passive hostages of the NS construct, but they are active agents and/or makers of it.

Through this lens, the essentialist interpretation of the NS construct – as a static and fixed status with a flattening heterogeneities effect – is replaced with a model that acknowledges not only individual differences among speakers, but also the dialectical relationship among contextually specific determining factors, informed by situational dynamics, such as INNESTs’ new professional community in their host country. It posits that the realities of the speakers – their background and context – be it linguistic, social, cultural, political, educational, and economic, are interactively determined, simultaneously (re-)defined, and in an interlocking manner marked by, at times shifting, factors and forces with equal or varying values, and rejects the reductive tendencies to make one factor or force the source of power or oppression. This model imagines INNESTs as active and full participants in the TESOL professional community by moving away from unified and static linguistic identities towards linguistic identities that are fluid, negotiable, dynamic, multiple, intersecting, and contextually situated. Because it is not bounded by the conventional understanding of linguistic identity, the model recognizes the possibility of transformation; it demands the restructuring of power relations among professionals in the community by questioning the linguistic hierarchies that dichotomize individuals into “us” and “them” (Shohat & Stam, 1994), and
oversimplify speakers’ sources of linguistic competency. It enables individuals to not only look for sources of their own individual linguistic constraints, but also to challenge the political hegemony of the traditional linguistic dominance of the native speakerism and call for the reconceptualization of power relations among fellow speakers of the language and the dismantling of linguistic hierarchies. The political hegemony of the native speakerism is, I suggest, best described as what Freire (1970) calls “pedagogy of the oppressed.” This understanding enables those affected by linguistic oppression to look for the structures and sources of their oppression, and seek liberation.

**What is in a Name? Focusing on the Label**

Language is not neutral. It can empower some discourses and cause others to be overlooked. So, it is important to determine, in any context, what label is used, who is using it, and why. Henry & Tator (2002, p. 25) contended that the meaning of labels are politicized, and once challenged, they reveal the embedded power relations that favour the elite’s interests. The hidden meanings of labels, then, help us “not to discover truth (i.e., powerful knowledge) but to understand how truth is formed” (Henry & Tator, 2002, p. 24). Appiah (2005, p. 66) specifies the importance of embedded meanings in labels by highlighting their effects:

> Once labels are applied to people, ideas about people who fit the label come to have social and psychological effects. In particular these ideas shape the ways people conceive of themselves and their projects. So the labels operate to mold what we may call identification, the process through which individuals shape their projects – including their plans for their own lives and their conceptions of the good life – by reference to available labels, available identities.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the most common label for teachers with a non-English L1 has been non-native English speaking teachers. In the same chapter, there is a suggestion of alternative terms and that a shift in terminology reflects substantial redefinition of the problems with the native speaker construct and the resulting conflicts in the field of TESOL. Also, as this study suggests, this term does not capture the complexity of the community of INNETs. A name change and/or re-naming (e.g., in the case of Ahmad and Fariba) obviously represents deliberate attempts by people, for linguistic as well as political reasons, not to mention a group’s attempt at self-
determination, to project a different image.\textsuperscript{72} From a sociocultural theoretical perspective, what a name or label – as an artifact – does is mediate identification with a collective identity and formation of association among individuals. If a group of individuals adopt a new label to identify the INNEST community, this might mean that they agree that there are few or no common theoretical grounds and that they do not want to pursue disagreements over what does or does not construe as the NS construct. The implication of such a position is that they are already certain that such disagreements are fundamental and in no way resolvable. That said, since language use is changing constantly with time and place and mirrors changes in public discourse, and given that the main purpose of language is communication, different terms should be acknowledged. Therefore, although one may object to a group of individuals’ adoption of a new label, due to the nature of language and community, self-descriptions (whether of groups or individuals) should be recognized.

As discussed earlier, reaffirming competing conceptualizations of the native speaker might lead to lingua-centrist views or even chauvinistic feelings of native speakerism, which might create – if not further the already existing – distance among the members of the TESOL professional community. The reflection of the native speakerism conceptualization in the persistent use of the NS label not only legitimizes but also gives preferred status and greater degree of linguistic power and dominance to some members of the profession. At the same time, the frequent use of the NS label in the field in general, and by professional associations in particular, may connote that the NS is the “norm” or “standard,” and generate external boundaries to separate others – INNESTs – from one’s very own – NESTs. The INNEST membership may internalize this as an inferior status, and allow this to supersede their multiple professional identities, thus finding themselves categorically restricted from access to linguistic legitimacy and power in the community, and ultimately losing out in the competition.

Having the above in mind, deconstructing the discourses surrounding the native speakerism and conflicting and/or competing views – dominant or oppositional – on the different terms associated with it is desirable because it helps uncover the complexities of

\textsuperscript{72} This might also be due to the fact that a name is not precise or even correct.
the construct as well as reveal systemic practices of privilege rooted in structures of
dominance, framed by assumptions and biases, and articulated by dominant groups,
decision-makers or official professional associations (Hall, 1997).73 Unmasking official
or hegemonic discourses is important because – as rightly noted by Wetherell and Potter
(1992) – they have not only the capacity to construct and regulate social groups, but also
the ability to make evaluations, to create truth, and ultimately to maintain social relations
by imposing identities and normative practices through institutional and organizational
policies. These dominant discourses carry the unattested assumptions and undisclosed or
unspeakable conceptions that influence, guide, and manage the norms of social practice
(Ewick & Silbey, 1995). Moreover, these hegemonic discourses have both the power to
interpret issues according to their own definitions and world views, and to function as a
medium for society’s discussion of the same issues, constructing the reality and
experience of the subjugated groups, and reproducing existing ideologies and relations of
power (Karim, 1993; Said, 1978). Therefore, counter discourses surrounding conceptions
and labels should be welcome as they reveal the inequalities that the dominant groups
wish to minimize or deny.

Terminology is an important issue in today’s multicultural world and people
should be sensitive to the diverse linguistic and ethnic communities. Although
problematic terms are not always negative in themselves, there is always a danger that
they can become stereotyped code words for simplification or classification of an entire
group of people – perceived to be homogeneous – in a linguistic community, serving as a
vehicle of linguistic reductionism or social marginalization.74 On the other hand, an
INNEST with a strong sense of confidence and pride in, and positive attitude towards, his
or her linguistic capital may reject a label (such as the non-native speaker) as negative,
and construct its function only as an in-group solidarity with other members of his or her
INNEST linguistic or professional community. That said, two points are in order here.
First, based on the cases in this study, I suggest that people’s choices in self-identification
and use of labels should be acknowledged and considered valid in their own right. Giving

73 Willinsky (1998, p. 191) reinforces this point by telling us how language “was used to regulate and
police access to authority and knowledge among colonized people.”
74 In a monograph, Agnew (2007) presented a detailed discussion on the politics of naming based on data
from her discourse analytic study with minority immigrants in Canada.
INNESTs themselves the right to choose and define labels is an empowering, non-hierarchical approach, which is not only validating but also possessing for those not in positions of power. Second, neither removing the label from our professional lexicon – as Cook (1999) rightly argued – nor setting up new labels will help; rather, a possible solution is revisiting and negotiating what labels such as INNEST, NS, NNS, or multilingual speaker entail in order to critically address the exclusion of some professionals and effectively eliminate denial of their membership in the TESOL professional community.

**Summary and Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have described and discussed the native speaker construct and identity through the data gathered during the quantitative component of the study with survey participants as well as the data gathered during the semi-structured and focus group interviews and observation sessions with the core participants. The mixed-method approach to gleaning participants’ descriptions and definitions of the NS provided both qualitative evidence and quantitative support for the findings in regard to the construct from NNESTs’ perspectives. I outlined my findings of multiple and at times contradictory perspectives on the notion of the NS. This diversity I attribute to the participants’ different backgrounds as well as the complexity of the construct.

Being a highly skilled speaker (i.e., expert) is what counts as opposed to whether one is born in an English-speaking country. In fact, with the mobility of population around the world these days, it is too difficult a task to determine who belongs to which circle. Labeling and fitting into specific compartments serves nothing but the dichotomizing of people. The result is not helpful as it only contributes to chauvinism and the political agendas of those who seek to draw lines between people to separate them. Self-identification is important, yet not sufficient. Real life situations and real people are determining as far as the construct is concerned.

INNESTs view the NS construct as complex and consisting of multiple dimensions. The NS construct is thus not perceived in simple terms. Yet, in terms of the actual practices of nativeness, teachers continue to experience mostly conventional
realizations of NS–NNS dichotomization. Thus, while the majority of INNESTs were critical of conventional conceptualizations of the construct, traditional categorizations of nativeness were still predominant. In terms of connecting research and practice, the gap between how INNESTs perceive the NS construct and its realization in relation to how it is perceived by others (e.g., ESL students) should lead us to view the need to resolve the issues around it as urgent. This could lead us to develop more realistic and inclusive policies, enhance TESOL teacher development, and inform more appropriate pedagogies and training.

75 I discuss this in more details under research implications in Chapter 9.

76 Having reviewed this chapter, a dear colleague – who is a highly seasoned second language educator – agreed with the potential benefits of this research implication, but saw it as very challenging since he would argue that the standard native language construct is accepted by INNESTs before immigrating because they benefit from such language hierarchies and do not generally problematize them in their home country. I concur with my friend that this might be the case. However, I argue that the immigration process does in fact influence INNESTs’ understanding of the construct because it serves as a site for them to critically negotiate the construct in a new sociocultural and linguistic environment where their status and identities are restructured and reconstructed in contact with other members of the new community, especially Canadian-born speakers of English.
CHAPTER 7
RESULTS: PROFESSIONAL CERTIFICATION – INDICES OF IDENTITY (RE-)CONSTRUCTION, CAPITAL NEGOTIATION, AND RESPONSE TO THE DISCOURSE OF PROFESSIONAL REQUIREMENTS

Introduction

With the goal of exploring immigrant non-native English speaking teachers (INNESTs)’ professional identities issues, this chapter focuses on the “I” in INNEST, that is, the “immigrant” in immigrant non-native English speaking teachers and presents the description, analysis, and interpretation of the findings in answer to the second research question in this study:

Q2. How do INNESTs – as skilled professionals in Canada – negotiate their disciplinary identities and respond to certification requirements and Canadian professional norms in the course of participating in a provincial licensing association’s TESOL certification program?

This question is addressed through a discussion of the following two subquestions:

Q2a. What are the core INNESTs’ experiences with and views on provincial certification within the framework of a TESOL program in Ontario?

Q2b. To what extent and in what ways do quantitative data obtained from survey INNESTs, analyzed using an integrative mixed method, contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the certification process?

To answer these questions, the intersection of two types of discourse is investigated: the discourse of gatekeeping, reflected in the certification requirements set by the provincial licensing organization – TESL Ontario (TESL ON); and the discourse of the INNESTs who have had the experience of applying for such certification. Through
an analysis of these discourses, I discuss how the INNESTs positioned themselves as immigrant ESL professionals pursuing their career in a new setting. I also demonstrate that the certification process serves as a site for professional identity (re-)construction for the participants. To this end, how these INNESTs demonstrate and (re-)position themselves in response to the requirements imposed on and/or dictated to them by TESL ON is discussed.

**Description, Analysis, and Interpretation of Data: Chapter Format**

As mentioned before, two groups of participants are documented in this study: (a) survey participants: a large number of currently practicing certified INNESTs (115 in total); (b) core participants: a few (N= 5) representative soon-to-be certified INNESTs. It should be noted that in this section specific attention is paid to the certification process in order to explore participants’ experience of obtaining entry into the ESL profession in the Canadian context, their experience in the TESOL program, and their experience with the professional standards and structures that make up a TESL ON approved program. In particular, INNESTs’ perceptions of certification as an initial requirement for the practice of second language teaching are studied to identify how their integration into the profession is affected by the certification process. It is important to note that exclusion from TESOL certification is not the subject of this chapter, and it is not my purpose to identify factors contributing to INNESTs being denied access to certification. That said, this chapter offers a glimpse into INNESTs’ experience inside the TESOL certification process.

The chapter is divided into five major sections: first, a presentation of the findings of the quantitative component involving survey participants; second, a thorough overview of the results of the qualitative component involving the core participants, including the major emerging themes; third, an analysis of the research data at the mixing stage, which brought together the results from both components; fourth, a discussion and interpretation of the findings; and, finally, a summary and conclusion.
A Quantitative Examination of the INNESTs’ Perceptions of and Experiences with the TESOL Certification Process: Survey Participants

In this section, I first present a description of the findings from the quantitative component. Next, I provide an analysis of these findings.

Description of the Quantitative Component

The data for this section were gathered through a questionnaire administered to survey participants (See Appendix F). There are 20 items on the questionnaire, statements having to do with the certification process, 10 of which are relevant here for discussion of the second research question. The remaining 10 items, which relate to the third research question, are dealt with in Chapter 8. The participants were asked to respond to the statements using a 5-point Likert scale in which 1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = No Opinion, 4 = Agree, and 5 = Strongly Agree. The scale was later interpreted to see if the statements and the criteria expressed in them were important to the participants or not – in which 1 is being not important at all and 5 being very important. Table 19 shows the participants’ responses to each item and provides a detailed analysis of the results according to the ranking for each item, and what percentage of the total those responses were. As well, an overview of the results, through a calculation of mean, mode, and standard deviation, is provided.

77 These ten items are numbered 1-10 here for the sake of readability. In the original Questionnaire (Appendix F), they were numbered as 1-3, 5-9, and 13-14, respectively.
### Table 19. Survey Participants’ Survey Responses for Each Statement on Certification through a TESOL Program

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response Statement</th>
<th>1 SD F.</th>
<th>1 SD %</th>
<th>2 D F.</th>
<th>2 D %</th>
<th>3 NO F.</th>
<th>3 NO %</th>
<th>4 A F.</th>
<th>4 A %</th>
<th>5 SA F.</th>
<th>5 SA %</th>
<th>0 M/NA F.</th>
<th>0 M/NA %</th>
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<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
<th>Mode</th>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>4.73</td>
<td>0.65</td>
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<td>33.91</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30.43</td>
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<td>20.00</td>
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<td>6.08</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>6.08</td>
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<td>1.74</td>
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<td>5.21</td>
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<td>46.08</td>
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<td>115</td>
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<td>0.67</td>
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<td>0.87</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>4.60</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes**
- Total number of respondents: 115
- F: Frequency of responses
- Response types: SD: Strongly Disagree = 1; D: Disagree = 2; NO: No Opinion = 3; A: Agree = 4; SA: Strongly Agree = 5; M/NA: Missing/No Answer = 0
Item 1 asked the participants if they thought there were advantages to having previous teaching experience in an EFL context for teaching ESL in Canada. Responses to Item 1 showed that participants believed that previous teaching experience was important. An overwhelming number of them (96.5%), with a mean (i.e., average) of 4.73 on a scale ranging from 1 to 5, and a mode of 5, responded that their EFL experience was certainly an asset. The responses for this item had the least dispersion rate among the 10 items (SD = 0.65).

Given their non-Canadian teaching experience, Item 2 asked participants if they agreed that the Canadian TESOL certification process had resulted in positive changes in their teaching behaviour. The mean for Item 2 was 2.34 (signifying a response lower than “No Opinion”), with a mode of 1, and a standard deviation of 1.29. In other words, the majority of the respondents (64.34%) did not believe that the Canadian TESOL program they had attended resulted in positive changes in their teaching behaviour.

Item 3 asked to what extent the INNESts’ level of professional expertise had increased as a result of Canadian TESOL education. The mean for Item 3 was 2.62, with a standard deviation of 1.45. In other words, most of the participants (n = 68; about 60%) reported that they did not believe that at the end of the program their sense of language teaching expertise had improved. Views in this section, however, varied (SD = 1.45: the highest dispersion among the 10 items), and 1/3 of the participants reported that they were more expert as a result of the program.

Item 4 asked participants to rank the relative importance of Canadian TESOL certification as a requirement for ESL teaching. Responses to Item 4 showed that a majority of the participants, 86% (n = 99; mean = 1.7), believed that the Canadian TESOL certification should not be a gatekeeping factor for teaching English as a second language in Canada.

Item 5 asked if participants had experienced challenges and difficulties, if any, during the Canadian TESOL certification process. Participants’ responses varied. Although many of them (43%) did not think that they had experienced difficulties, 28%
did not express any opinion, and 29% reported that they had experienced challenges (mean = 2.82; mode = 2). This might be due to the fact that the term “challenges” was interpreted differently by different respondents. Some might have agreed because they thought the certification process was challenging; others might have agreed because they had experienced difficulties around going through the TESOL program. That the word “challenges” is subject to interpretation may also explain the large number of respondents who gave no opinion (n = 32; 28%).

Responses to Item 6 revealed that the participants were divided in their views on differences between Canadian academic and professional expectations and those of their country of origin. Forty-eight percent did not agree that there were differences; 40% agreed that there were differences, and 11.5% had no opinion (mean = 2.79; mode = 2).

Interestingly, and against expectations, in response to Item 7, more than half of the respondents (about 53%, with a mode of 4) agreed that they had experienced cross-cultural difficulties in Canada.

As for the cultural sensitivity of the Canadian TESOL education programs that they had attended (Item 8), about 58% of the respondents chose 1 or 2, that is, strongly agreed or agreed that the program they had attended did not take into account their professional and cultural background.

Yet, responding to Item 9, a very high percentage of the participants (93%, with an average of 4.38, mode = 5 and SD = 0.67) agreed that they were allowed to maintain their own voice and identity throughout the TESOL program.

Moreover, 96% of all the INNESTs (mean = 4.60; mode = 5) were coherently (SD = 0.70) of the view that TESOL programs should acknowledge immigrant teachers’ educational and professional experience in order to empower them in their TESOL professional development (responses to Item 10).

In the second part of the questionnaire, the participants were asked to rank three statements according to how closely they reflected their views on the certification process. The three statements were:
Statement A. Immigrant non-native English speaking teachers who would like to teach ESL in Canada should be able to do so without first completing a TESL program and obtaining a TESL Certificate in Ontario.

Statement B. Immigrant non-native English speaking teachers who would like to teach ESL in Canada should only be able to do so after completing a TESL course, and obtaining a TESL Certificate in Ontario.

Statement C. Immigrant non-native English speaking teachers who would like to teach ESL in Canada should be able to do so after their credentials have been assessed, and they have completed any missing required courses in a TESL program.

As shown in Table 20, a majority of the participants (about 72%) chose Statement C as their first choice, agreeing that a flexible case-specific TESOL program requirement, determined after an assessment of credentials, would be the most appropriate option for INNESTs. Not all the respondents provided reasons for their choice. Among those who did, the following were recurring motifs:

- unnecessary financial burden;
- unnecessary redundant course work;
- it is unfair to be required to take a whole program without its being really necessary;
- time-consuming.
Table 20. Survey Participants’ Views on Certification as an Essential Process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
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<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>115</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: This table is only about the participants’ first choices, not the ranking described above.*

Analysis of the Quantitative Component

As noted earlier, descriptive statistics and frequency counts were employed to describe the views and experiences of the INNESTs with the TESOL certification process. A five-point scale was used to allow respondents to indicate for each item how well it matched their views and experiences. The 10 items on the questionnaire concerned importance of EFL experience in ESL teaching; importance of Canadian TESOL education; influence of Canadian TESOL education on teaching expertise; TESOL education as a requirement for teaching ESL; challenges during TESOL certification process; academic and professional differences; cross-cultural difficulties; TESOL program’s responsiveness to cultural/professional diversity; accommodation of new identities in the Canadian TESOL program; and empowerment in TESOL program respectively (See Appendix F).

The data display general tendencies among the participants in certain areas. For instance, a majority of the respondents (96.5%) believed that their previous EFL teaching and professional experience should have been taken into consideration in the certification process. Given their prior professional experience, it is not surprising that 64% did not believe that the Canadian TESOL program they had attended had actually improved their professional development. This is consistent with their responses in regard to improvements in their teaching skills. Again a majority (60%) did not think that the
program had produced any changes in their language teaching skills. As such, 86% rejected the notion that Canadian TESOL certification is essential for teaching English in Ontario. To be more specific, 72% of all the participants opposed the imposition of a uniform comprehensive TESOL requirement on every INNEST without consideration of his or her professional experience. Another 13% of the respondents strongly rejected the idea that they should have to obtain a certificate as a prerequisite to teaching in Ontario altogether.

Despite the above general tendencies, there were areas in which INNESTs’ responses varied. For example, they differed in the degree to which they had experienced difficulties during the TESOL certification process – 43% reported that they had not experienced difficulties. One would have expected this percentage to be larger given the population’s strong position against the certification requirement. Moreover, one might have assumed that the group would be more homogeneous in its view of the differences between Canadian academic and professional expectations and those of their countries of origin. However, this was not the case. The group was divided on the question, which was interesting given that a large number of them did recall experiencing cross-cultural differences throughout their integration into the profession in Canada. This division was not apparent in their view of the cultural responsiveness of the Canadian TESOL education programs that the respondents had attended. A majority (58%) agreed that those programs were not sensitive to their professional and cultural backgrounds. However, this lack of cultural responsiveness on the part of the programs did not mean that they did not help participants to maintain their professional voice and identity. Yet, the participants suggested that TESOL programs should help to empower immigrant teachers by paying more attention to their educational and professional experiences.

**Qualitative Data: INNESTs’ Perceptions of and Experiences with the TESOL Certification Process: Core Participants**

**Identification of the Main Themes**

The purpose of this section is to present the qualitative data obtained from the core participants. A constant exploratory focus helped direct the qualitative component of
this study, which involved the analysis of autobiographies, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussion, questionnaires, observations, and field notes as well as other data sources, including follow-up e-mail exchanges with participants, their comments and follow-up self-reports on class activities or practice teaching sessions, examples of their course work, course outlines, and course readings. The transcribed data were put into units of meaning, compared with each other, and ultimately grouped into thematic categories. This section is organized according to the themes as they emerged from the data; it explores the INNESTs’ negotiation of their positions and identities in response to the discourse of certification requirements. The key items on the questionnaire administered to all participants were also categorized under these themes to make it easier for the reader to compare the findings of both quantitative and qualitative strands in the final mixing stage.

Teachers’ perceptions of the certification requirement were explored and categorized through constant comparison of the different data sources in the study using the following emerging themes: (1) negotiating linguistic capital; (2) negotiating economic capital; (3) negotiating educational capital; (4) negotiating professional capital; (5) negotiating sociocultural capital; and (6) negotiating symbolic capital. The last category is discussed by looking at certification (a) as a source of uniformity and homogeneity; (b) as a source of correctness and authority; (c) as a source of privilege and prestige; (d) as a source of legitimacy; (e) as a source of transformation; and (f) as a means of empowerment. The themes and subthemes are presented in a narrative format, which includes actual statements from the core participants. An attempt has been made to include as many voices as possible. Below, I introduce and discuss these themes.

**Negotiating Linguistic Capital**

As mentioned in Chapter 3, according to Bourdieu (1986, p. 241), capital is “accumulated labor” in various materialized and embodied forms. The different types of capital, as defined by Bourdieu (1991), can take different forms: economic (e.g., material, money, or shares), cultural (e.g., skills, knowledge, cultural dispositions, and cultural goods, such as books), social (e.g., social connections and networks), symbolic (e.g.,
fame, reputation, and accumulated prestige), and so on.

Linguistic capital, which is a form of embodied cultural capital through which an individual displays one’s mastery of language (Bourdieu, 1991), is a major area of inquiry and theme in the present research. The INNESTs in the study accumulated linguistic capital prior to their immigration to Canada and continued to do so thereafter. Their reflections on their status as non-native English speaking learners, teachers, and speakers, and their negotiation of their linguistic capital is discussed in detail in Chapter 6, which addresses the first research question.

Negotiating Economic Capital

The second theme is the teachers’ negotiation of economic capital. In addition to the capital accumulated by them prior to immigration, they continued to negotiate such capital after immigration as well. This was mainly represented in two ways: (a) the financial challenges that the INNESTs faced during the TESOL certification process; (b) the INNESTs’ perceptions of how a Canadian TESOL certification would contribute to their economic status. In the next two sections I elaborate on these two points.

Challenges

As far as economic challenges are concerned, financial resources are required to embark upon and complete a TESOL program. Teacher candidates have to pay program tuition as well as expenses associated with certification application, not to mention the living expenses of them and their families during the program. Three of the core participants (Ahmad, Chen, and Rashmi) were married and had children. Of these, Ahmad and Chen, who came from a culture in which men are expected to be the main providers for family, were expected to support their families. Ahmad, however, relied solely on his spouse’s income during the program. Chen worked, but the income from his wife’s full-time job was a significant financial resource for their family. Rashmi’s husband in India was her only source of financial support. Although Sook received some money from her parents in Korea, her own savings from teaching jobs she had held in Korea were her main source of support throughout the program. Fariba was the only one
who supported herself without assistance.

Tuition for a TESOL program was an average of $4,000.00 at the time of the study.\textsuperscript{78} However, fees varied across institutions.\textsuperscript{79} This had limited INNESTs’ options. Fariba, for instance, had a two-hour commute to school because the difference between the fees of this school and the one in her own area was significant. Chen commented that whichever approved institution he chose, he would get the same teaching certificate, so why should he pay more to attend a more expensive school?

\begin{quote}
It is not important to me if the program at University of (…) is more recognized nationally and internationally. I can’t afford them, and can’t pay for a big name, really.
\end{quote}

(Chen, Follow-up E-mail)

Participants expressed concern about the costs associated with the certification process and the limited number of ESL-related jobs available to them before the certification process had been completed. Rashmi explained that it was difficult to get a teaching job to earn some money while she was still in the program and not certified. One LINC centre supervisor had told her that they would not be able to hire her before she was certified.\textsuperscript{80} Because she was persistent, she was finally able to get a volunteer position as a teaching assistant, which she hoped would lead to a paid position. She described this stage as “frustrating.” Ahmad had totally given up hope of getting a teaching job while in the program and was completely dependent on his wife’s teaching income. He said:

\begin{quote}
What’s the use of applying? It is not worth it. You spend a lot of time and apply, and they say, where’s your certificate? So, I am gonna wait till I get it [the certificate].
\end{quote}

(Ahmad, Follow-up E-mail)

While his wife was working full time to support the family, Ahmad contributed to the family by taking care of their two children. This had made Ahmad’s life difficult as he

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{78} Given the fact that teacher candidates had limited financial resources, and relied heavily on their spouse and/or family for assistance, this was a considerable amount of money.

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{79} TESOL programs in the Province of Ontario are offered through four different types of institutions: universities, colleges, school boards, and private institutes (See Table 1). Some of these programs have been in place for a long time, and tuition varies based on history, institutional structure, and affiliation.

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{80} LINC refers to Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada.
had to balance his duties as a husband and father of two and his TESOL studies. In response to a question about the challenges he faced, he responded:

[I had] many. Not if any, many: the challenges of a father and a husband who is enrolled in a full-time program. They are mainly time related. It’s very difficult to come up with a time to do your work. You have responsibilities towards your family, and that comes first, that always comes first. And then your schoolwork, which is still very important, you have to do it. So basically I was … most of the time, I’m obviously up late, sometimes up to 4 and 5 o’clock to XX sleepless hours, of course, to be able to keep up with my program work.

(Ahmad, First Interview)

Chen found it difficult to work full time and attend the program at the same time. Yet, work was a necessity as the family had many financial commitments to meet. Handling the two tasks made it difficult for him to concentrate fully on either one, which created a great deal of stress. This is what he had to say in this regard:

I know that I should concentrate more, focus more. And I know that, this is what I should do, should read and it’s helpful to my future career, but just thinking about work, you know, it’s just like an internal struggle. At work one voice in me is just saying “No need to read it.” Just read the beginning and read a few lines … and go back to work.

(Chen, Second Interview)

Sook agreed with the others that there are financial challenges, not just for language teachers, but for immigrants in general. She commented:

As far as immigrants are concerned, I think they need, of course, financial support. What I mean is most of them, in general, have to learn English at a LINC centre, or if it is financially possible, go to a private institute. Teachers, specifically, need to attend TESOL programs, but it means that they can’t work during that time. So, well, they have kind of double difficulties. They have to learn English, or attend classes, but they don’t earn money, so during that time, I think financial support is very important to some extent.

(Sook, First Interview)

Chen also identified a lack of financial support as a challenge he faced in the certification process. He commented on how tough it could be for one to survive financially:

There were those who could not afford to pay, you know. We had two
classmates, like us, immigrants, who withdrew from the program because of financial difficulties. They needed to work to support their families. I myself paid my tuition in instalments. 
(Chen, Follow-up E-mail)

He wondered if a shorter, customized, and less costly program would be more appropriate for new INNESTs in the country:

Newcomer centres begin by telling you how to write a resume, [or] how to prepare for an interview. I think that’s helpful, but this is not the priority. The priority is that even if I pass the interview, and get a job offer, but still I don’t know, (…) according to employers, the CANADIAN way of doing things in my area. I think a short period of time of trainings would be sufficient for people like me. HRSDC 81 people just say (…) you need to get a license. And, uh, uh, to get a license, that means more time and I need to spend more money. (…) I had many years of teaching experience in China. Then do I still need to pay, let’s say, 3 semester’s tuition fees, to get another, like a certificate to teach ESL? You know, this is really a challenge to me. (…) I always feel that’s not really necessary. Most of their courses I can exempt, you know. I think a few weeks, like 4 to 8 weeks, of training would be sufficient and more reasonable, money-wise. 
(Chen, First Interview)

Apart from tuition and program registration fees, participants described the certification process as “costly” because there are other fees at each stage of certification. These include fees for a Canadian equivalency degree evaluation, language proficiency tests and reports, the application for Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition (PLAR), TESL ON membership 82, and the application for certification. According to TESL ON (2004), those who want to apply for certification through PLAR, need to submit the required portfolio to the PLAR Centre at the University of Saskatchewan and pay a fee for its adjudication. This is an extra financial burden for applicants, as is evident in the following comments by Fariba:

My question is you [TESL ON] charge money for both membership application and certification application, and there are more fees for taking the program, then, how come you do not have an accreditation process in place? Besides, why should I send my application to Saskatchewan and pay again if I want not to do the program? I had to also pay extra for my

81 HRSDC refers to Human Resources and Skills Development Canada.
82 This fee is compulsory as those applying for certification must first join TESL ON and pay annual membership fees in order for their certification application to be considered.
degrees to be evaluated to be equivalent to Canadian BA and MA degrees. Citizenship and Immigration Canada validated my degrees before my coming here. And it is not acceptable? This is like adding insult to injury to me. They [TESL ON] are the provincial certifying body, but do not have an accreditation process in place. And who pays the price? Of course, people like me.
(Fariba, Focus Group Interview)

Reiterating Fariba’s view, Rashmi commented:

I wish there was only one association doing all the evaluation and certification. This would save us a lot of time, money, and energy. Now if I want to teach ESL somewhere else in Canada, I should then apply for TESL Canada certification, which is a different thing … process, you know. Again, I should prepare another time-consuming application and pay more money. This is not certification, you know … it is like torture!
(Rashmi, Focus Group Interview)

The frustration expressed by INNESTs such as Fariba and Rashmi is understandable, especially since having the professional certification does not necessarily guarantee that one will secure a job in the ESL market. Moreover, there seems to be a lack of a central body to oversee the whole accreditation process by evaluating teachers’ prior credentials as well as (re-)certification(s). Or, if TESL ON is such body, then there is lack of coordination to consolidate expenses for newcomers who also have to meet the expenses of settling in a new country and living day to day. Lack of coordination between accreditation bodies leads to further hardship for INNESTs. This, of course, affects their integration into the professional community. Another concern related to the issues of the financial burden of certification was the view among the participants that perhaps applicants were not receiving good value for their money. This was strongly echoed by Fariba:

To me, sorry, but I say it. This … this certification thing is a show! The association earns a lot of money for membership and certification application. They love my money, but they don’t have 10 minutes to do an interview with me face-to-face to see what I have to say. Sorry, I don’t buy their game.
(Fariba, Focus Group Interview)

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83 I discuss this in the Epilogue of the thesis where I provide an update on the status of the core participants.

84 I discuss this in more detail later in this chapter.
But the participants found that there was no alternative to the certification process. Rashmi, for example, expressed the helplessness that the participants felt:

> What else can I do? I need the certification to get a job, so I gotta pay what they say.
> (Rashmi, Follow-up E-mail)

**Expectations**

A second aspect of the economic capital issues associated with TESOL certification has to do with the financial gain expected as a result of acquiring a Canadian TESOL certificate. In response to the researcher’s question, “Why did you decide to enrol in a TESOL program?” participants provided a number of different reasons. Ahmad, for instance, talked about the importance of integration into the Canadian TESOL professional community and of the fact that a certificate is a requirement for practicing ESL teaching, which he saw as a “stepping stone … towards [his] final destiny” (Ahmad, First Interview). However, one recurring idea in the participants’ responses was that there are economic benefits associated with having a Canadian TESOL certificate. The following comments from Fariba are about these benefits:

> I invested more than $5,000.00 in this certification, but don’t really think it was all worth it. So many things in it were what I already knew. But I am hopeful that … that now with the certificate, I can reap the benefits and the joy of doing it.
> (Fariba, Second Interview)

Other participants made similar remarks. Rashmi, for instance, stated:

> Why register in a TESL program? Well, because well-paying positions are asking for it [the certificate]. I do not want to end up teaching at a private language school with a … $15.00-an-hour pay, you know what I mean?
> (Rashmi, First Interview)

Consistent with the views of Fariba and Rashmi, Chen said:

> When you have [the] TESL ON certificate, you can get a better job. University of (…) pays more than $50.00 an hour; (…) College pays $40.00 an hour; LINC starts from $30.00–32.00, and all … I mean all of them have good package[s] for health, retirement, sick leave, too. They ask for [the] certificate … when you don’t have it, you can teach at
language schools, many of them are here in Toronto. Just go to Yonge/Eglinton intersection. You’ll see. But they don’t pay much. Twelve to 20 dollars maybe, and there is no benefit plan.

(Chen, Focus Group Interview)

Overall, the participants agreed that, despite the financial difficulties, they had to invest in the certification process, hoping that it would bring about considerable change in their economic situation.

**Negotiating Educational Capital**

In this section, I address the third theme, INNESTs’ educational capital, from two different angles: (a) negotiation of educational backgrounds; (b) the TESOL program’s educational requirements.

**Educational Background**

In studying immigrant teachers’ lives, one finds it hard to ignore the value of the educational capital they obtained in their countries of origin prior to immigration. As described in detail in Chapter 4, all of the core participants in this study had university degrees from their respective countries. Their educational credentials had been reviewed, evaluated, and validated by the Canadian Government during the immigration process. All the participants valued their academic backgrounds highly as higher education was traditionally viewed as important in their home countries: China, India, Iran, Iraq, and South Korea. Two of the participants (Rashmi and Sook) had BAs in English Education. Chen had a BA in English Language and Literature, and Fariba a BA in English Translation. Both Chen and Fariba had specialized master’s degrees in TEFL and English Language and Literature. Ahmad was the only one with a bachelor’s degree in science. After completing his education in Iraq, among other jobs, Ahmad “got into teaching.” He welcomed the idea of doing the TESOL program, considered it “absolutely helpful,” and said that it helps teachers brush up on their knowledge and skills. The rest of the participants, though, questioned the necessity and fairness of being required to attend a year-long certification program that, they believed, did not measure up to a specialized 4-year undergraduate degree in English education; they found it “painful.” The comments made by Chen express this idea:
I was BELITTLED and it was a PAINFUL experience, with a family to feed, I have to start all over again and spend a lot of money. I feel … like my qualifications are not taken seriously and … and are overlooked. Much worse, they are not willing to accommodate us … those of us who think we don’t have to go through the whole process. They just say, either do the certification, or go through PLAR.

(Chen, Interview One)

Fariba expressed a similar view:

My degrees have been evaluated by the comparative department at University of (…) as being equivalent to a Canadian degree. I have been granted immigration status based on my skills, and here I am to start all over again, do a program for almost a year.

(Fariba, Follow-up E-mail)

The initial stage in the process of professional certification for teaching ESL in Ontario involves “successful completion of 250 hours of required TESL course work from an institution recognized by TESL Ontario” (TESL ON, 2004). Applicants must also provide documentation from their program’s practicum supervisor “which describes in detail the nature of the teaching practicum and its duration. The teaching practicum must be a minimum of 50 hours” (TESL ON, 2004). If applicants have not completed a TESOL program approved by TESL ON, they should either attend such a program or apply for PLAR. Obviously, none of the participants had attended a Canadian recognized TESOL program when they arrived in Canada. Nor did they have any certificate or diploma from a program of this type from their home countries. The concept of ESL certification – as it is understood in the Canadian context – did not exist and was not needed in their countries. Teachers with a university degree in English or English teaching education were automatically qualified to teach.

The PLAR stage, which was designed to support experienced teachers, was not, in fact, a source of support; rather, it was perceived as an extra source of difficulty. First of all, although the teacher candidates were applying for TESL ON certification, they were required to apply to a PLAR centre in another province, Saskatchewan. Second, it represented an additional cost. Third, the PLAR process involved provision of many letters, including letters from practicum supervisors in their home countries, which could be almost impossible for some to acquire. Rashmi, for instance, said:
How am I supposed to find my practicum supervisor now, and ask for a letter? This was long time ago. I don’t know where he is now. I am not even sure if he would remember me now as I did my practice teaching many years ago.
(Rashmi, Follow-up E-mail)

**Educational Requirements**

In the second part of this section, I discuss the INNESTs’ perspectives on the TESOL program curriculum. According to TESL ON (2004), the minimum requirements for an approved TESOL program are three: (a) theory, with minimum of 70 hours of instruction; (b) methodology, with a minimum of 120 hours; and (c) practicum, with a minimum of 50 hours. The theory component consists of three parts. It must include instruction in foundations of language and language learning, such as competence and performance, first and second language acquisition, and learning strategies. Also, linguistic systems – including phonetics, morphology, and pedagogical grammar – should be covered. The third section in theory is sociocultural and sociopolitical issues, such as cultural pluralism, acculturation, and antiracism. The methodology component must cover teaching foundations (e.g., teaching methods, lesson planning, classroom management, Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC), Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB), etc.), teaching language skills (listening, pronunciation, grammar, etc.), and language assessment (testing principles, techniques, etc.). Finally, the practicum component includes 30 hours of observation and 20 hours of supervised practice teaching in an adult ESL classroom (See Appendix C for the full required curriculum).

The participants’ views on the contents of the required curriculum were divided. On one hand, Ahmad and Rashmi believed that the curriculum contents were essential for teachers. For Rashmi, most of the items in the curriculum were useful and provided an opportunity for her to review much of what she had learned before. Ahmad was the most positive among the 5 participants; he thought that the contents were all “extremely necessary” and “useful.” He and Rashmi also pointed out that without experience in the Canadian system, such as was provided in the practicum component, he would not be able to get a sense of actual teaching in Canada. The other 3 participants agreed that some
of the courses were essential for new immigrants. Chen, for instance, said that the parts of the program that specifically addressed the Canadian context were new for him:

I think it is absolutely important for a new teacher to know about [Canadian] Language Benchmarks [CLB] and LINC system, and I am very happy that they were included in the program. Learning them has boosted my self-confidence.
(Chen, Follow-up E-mail)

Sook, too, was of the view that learning about the Canadian context was necessary, in general. But she questioned the relevance of some of that content (CLB and LINC Guidelines) for ESL teaching at private language schools, colleges, and universities, where that knowledge is not generally needed. There were also a number of other concerns about the program requirements. One was raised by Chen, who was under the impression that the details of the contents were not readily available prior to registration:

At the beginning, it is like this is a Canadian TESOL program. But it is not transparent what it is. Yes, TESL Ontario has listed the program requirements on the website. I know that. Once you take it, you’ll come to know that, no, you really did not need to take the whole program.
(Chen, Follow-up E-mail)

Others expressed concern about the coursework, which they had found to be repetitive. Sook commented:

For me, it was mostly repetitious, and I did not really need to invest one year. I agree that the Canadian contents are important, but they could be offered through some workshops. Why did I have to be forced to take all the courses?
(Sook, First Interview)

Chen and Fariba echoed Sook’s view: “Apart from CLB, LINC, and few other items, the coursework was not a big deal!” (Chen, Post-Observation E-mail); “Topics like multiculturalism, antiracism, LINC and CLB were great. The rest was not what I had expected.” (Fariba, Post-Observation E-mail).

In fact, most of the participants were familiar with and had studied the majority of the texts used in the TESOL program during their university studies in their country of origin. This was especially true of the main required texts: Brown’s *Principles of*
Language Learning and Teaching; Brown’s Teaching by Principles: An Interactive Approach to Language Pedagogy; Harmer’s The Practice of English Language Teaching; Kramsch’s Language and Culture; Larsen-Freeman’s Techniques and Principles in Language Teaching; and Lightbown and Spada’s How Languages Are Learned. (See Appendix D for a complete list of the course books used in the program.) For example, Chen commented on the teaching methodology contents in the course books:

Although I understand that teaching here in Canada has its own features, such as CLBs, you know, or LINC curriculum, but teaching methodologies that instructors teach us here in the program are from the … the books I had read many times. I read Harmer and Brown many times back home. The new editions have not changed that much.
(Chen, Second Interview)

Fariba and Sook agreed with Chen and were comfortable discussing the different editions of the texts as well as details about their contents. However, the participants expressed few reservations about the adequacy of the required texts and topics covered. One such reservation was raised by Chen who believed more pedagogical grammar should have been included in the program, especially for Canadian-born peers. He recalled the intensive and extensive grammar teaching he and other Chinese teachers were exposed to during his high school and undergraduate years in China.

Moreover, some of the participants expressed frustration over doing coursework they had done before in greater depth. The strongest statement of this came from Fariba who insisted:

It is totally unfair. This program is for those with no language teaching background. In our cohort there was this 22–23 year old girl with a BA in philosophy … quite fresh from university. She didn’t have any … I mean, no language background. And here I am with MA in language teaching. How about those of us with good qualifications and teaching experiences? I did a complete one semester-long course in language testing during my BA and another one again during my MA. Here they have a 20-hour language testing course. There was not enough time to cover all the stuff

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85 At one point during the focus group, participants talked about the required course books for the TESOL program. This provided them with an opportunity to show their knowledge about TESOL materials, which was highlighted by the researcher’s acknowledgement of participants’ knowledge of materials, especially Fariba and Chen who even remembered exactly the detailed changes in the new editions of books by Brown and Harmer.
in the chapters in Brown and Harmer. No time for practice test construction. There wasn’t time for looking at tests like TOEFL in detail. And I am in this course like … OK! Let me tell you … I, I could be the instructor of that course. I learned very LITTLE! The only section new to me was CLBs with 3 hours of instruction on it! That’s it!
(Fariba, Second Interview)

While Rashmi thought the number of training hours for experienced teachers should be reduced, she also thought that real novice teachers would need more time than was given to absorb certain topics and practice them in their practicums. The following comments indicate her position:

The time duration for some of course topics, it is very short. I could do it because I was already in this profession. I knew teaching skills. I knew classroom management. Many things, but for any new [teacher] or someone who has just graduated or, you know, just completed his or her education, and took admission to TESL, won’t be able to teach after getting this course only, because practice period is very short. Fifteen days [of practicum] is not enough or 1 week is not enough to get experience. It takes time. You know, the course is meant for a whole year. It is too much for people like me. It is not short really.
(Rashmi, Second Interview)

Likewise, Sook questioned the adequacy of a year-long TESOL program for novice teachers, comparing it with the 4-year program for training teachers of English she took in Korea. She pointed out:

I learned the same material over here, just like over there. I studied … 1 year, whole year, things like phonology or transformational grammar or other English education textbooks or things like that. So what I will learn is for a 4 year education, but here, well, I finish all the things within 2 semesters … I went to school [there] every day, hours and hours, back-to-back classes, and here, 3 times a week, 3-hour class. Well, it’s not that bad, but well, I just expected a lot more and a little bit more intensive classes compared to this one.
(Sook, Second Interview)

To sum up, participants suggested that individualized evaluations would go a long way to help determine which certain courses or topics were necessary, and how long the training should be.
Negotiating Professional Capital

In this section there is a discussion of the emerging themes in INNESTs’ responses as they pertain to their sense of professionalism and negotiation of professional capital. These are: (a) professional expectations of teachers; (b) teachers’ professional image; and (c) teachers’ professional lives.

Professional Expectations of Teachers

In the core participants’ view, there were similarities and differences in the expectations of them as (student) teachers in Canada. For the most part, they agreed that expectations of them as teachers in the Canadian context were similar to those in their home countries to a large extent. Although not always made explicit by the program staff, regular attendance, punctuality, and meeting assignment deadlines were expected – none of which were new concepts to them. Ahmad summarized these expectations as “do your best, be at your best behaviour, be a good boy, meet your deadlines, and do all what you are asked to do!” (Ahmad, Second Interview). Given the challenges faced by the participants in their daily lives, meeting deadlines was not an easy task for some, including Ahmad himself.

Another similarity was teachers were expected to project a professional image. The following comments from Ahmad highlight the features of this image:

As a teacher … you are expected to be a role model, present yourself professionally, be able to inspire your students, of course, and give them the hope that they can do it. They can learn the language and have the basic knowledge that could help them improve their life.
(Ahmad, Second Interview)

Participants also reported differences in the expectations and requirements. One such difference was that, in their home countries, student teachers were required to learn an additional language – by taking courses in a language such as French or German at some point in their 4-year program – to get a better understanding of what learning a new language entails.

Moreover, participants agreed that in their home countries they were expected to
know “everything” about their subject matter. Sook pointed out:

Everybody expect[s] teachers to know all things about their field, their subject. So it is very embarrassing if I can’t answer my student’s questions because they, well, don’t accept the idea teachers can have something they don’t know. They have to [know] everything, they have to answer all the questions they ask. They have to be very knowledgeable about their field. So that’s the traditional concept about teachers in Korea, or Korean people. (Sook, First Interview)

While echoing this, Ahmad differentiated between “knowing everything” and “being knowledgeable,” and maintained that although he personally preferred his home country’s approach as it put more pressure on teachers to continue learning, “the Canadian approach” was more realistic. The following comments reflect this perception:

[Here] we were directed in the direction that as a teacher, you are not expected to … have all the knowledge, but at the least you have to be more knowledgeable than your students in order for you to direct them to their resources, to where they can get their knowledge from. And I totally agree with this approach. (Ahmad, Second Interview)

Fariba made a very interesting distinction as well. In her opinion, the difference in expectations was more that of knowledge versus skills. She commented:

[There] you have to prove that you know a lot. To students, that you are not a native speaker of that language, in EFL context, that you know a lot. They test you. They ask you different questions and you should be able to answer, to prove that you’re a teacher. So skill doesn’t count. Knowledge counts. Ability counts. (…) Techniques don’t count that much in EFL teaching in Iran. That was the thing that you have to prove, that you have the knowledge. OK? Here, skills are important … Being in ESL, you should prove that you’re a teacher first because there are so many, so many interviews and stuff that before you walk into the classroom … you have to prove already that you have the knowledge. So when you walk in the class, you have the knowledge. You should prove that you’re a teacher. That’s a different story. (Fariba, Second Interview)

Given this, she firmly believed that EFL teaching was way more challenging than ESL as teachers had to be ready to be constantly challenged and tested on their knowledge of subject matter by their students, especially at the higher levels.
A third difference related to the nature of teachers’ knowledge. Participants were of the view that in Canadian TESOL, there was more emphasis on “practical” knowledge, as opposed to “theoretical.” This was particularly the case with Chen and Fariba, who had related graduate degrees. Sook commented that despite the similarities in the TESOL materials used in the two settings, in Korea her teaching revolved around theoretical or “knowledge about language” aspects conveyed to students through lectures, whereas in Canada, she was expected to apply her theoretical knowledge in her practice. Reflecting on her own learning experience as a student in Korea, Sook stated:

So the textbooks are very familiar, but even though I learned from the same textbooks, the approach of teaching is really different. What I did for my university days was listening to the lectures of my professor, taking notes, and memorizing all the things that he said or what was written in the textbook, and preparing for my exam because I have to explain the theories or methods or techniques on the exam to be a teacher.  
(Sook, Second Interview)

In addition, the participants said that the role of teacher was viewed differently. All the participants believed that their classes in their countries of origin were almost always teacher-centred. This created a challenge for them in that they needed to learn to adapt their teaching behaviour to their new context. For instance, Chen received negative feedback on practice teaching from his TESOL educator for behaving as if he was “the only star” at the centre of classroom (Chen, Post-Observation Field Note). This was echoed by Rashmi as well, who had also observed this difference in attitude towards teaching in the two contexts. Here is what she had to say:

The mentality is totally different in our country. … But here in Canada, what I have seen, it is very difficult to convince students and to manage them X because the law is very much in favour of students. You cannot say anything, you cannot pressurize them to do any work, so it is totally different. … The attitude is very much different. Teachers, they have to be very clear about each and every step they have taken towards the students, why they have done so, so it’s very challenging here in Canada.  
(Rashmi, Second Interview)

It is worth noting that Rashmi’s own attitude changed during her practice teaching. The student-centredness of the class helped her because it diverted attention away from her, and thus took some of the pressure off her as the teacher.
Another difference highlighted by the participants were the detailed observation criteria in the Canadian program compared to the lack thereof in their home countries. Prior to the practice teaching, the TESOL educator provided teacher candidates with teaching performance evaluation sheets in which expected teaching requirements were listed. The form was then completed by the TESOL educator during the practice teaching sessions and shared with the teacher candidates afterwards. This was helpful because it let the teachers know well ahead of time how they would be evaluated. Fariba thought highly of this procedure:

[In my home country], they [the supervisors] just sat … and, you know, if you were my consultant [supervisor] and you came to my class, you had some, you found some weak points, and if Mr. (…) [someone else] was my consultant [supervisor], he would come to my classroom, and the weak points in his view might be good points. There were no criteria. Nothing! So it was … sometimes the things that the consultants [supervisors] told me were contradictory. … So I just picked up things and kind of followed the footsteps of my own teachers … the teachers I loved.
(Fariba, Second Interview)

**Professional Image of a Teacher**

The second aspect of INNESTs’ negotiation of their professional capital had to do with the image of the teacher in their native context and in the Canadian context. Throughout the program, particularly during their practice teaching, there was consensus among participants that their conceptualization of the teacher needed extensive revision. All 5 INNESTs came from countries where teachers enjoyed an authoritative professional image. This image was shared by students, parents, and the general and professional communities. Each of the 5 used special wording to describe this figure: “the ultimate authority” (Ahmad); “the supreme power” (Rashmi); “the authoritative figure” (Sook); “the ultimate power” (Chen); and “the king of classroom” (Fariba). Describing the actualization of this image in classroom, Ahmad mentioned that classroom seating was arranged so that teacher stood at the centre and in front of the classroom, the centre of attention, with “god-like” powers in control of all the activities in the class (Ahmad, First Interview).

The arrangement of the classroom as a representation of the teacher’s image was
noted by Rashmi as well. She described sharing a couple of photos from her first practice teaching in Canada with her family and colleagues in India. They asked where she was and what she was doing:

When they saw the pictures from this class, they were asking whether it is class or cafeteria, and we were enjoying tea, coffee, snacks and students were moving from here and there. … But in India, (…) there is a very rigid system, formal system, which means we have to follow and student[s], they are not free to talk or walk as X as teachers, as here in Canada I have seen. They have to be really respectful. There are rules, norms, and duties. They have to obey them. There is a system. In some places, (…) they have to come in X uniform. (…) They cannot leave class whenever they want. They have to be on time.
(Rashmi, Second Interview)

Rashmi attributed the teacher’s image as a “supreme power” both in and out of the classroom whose judgment should always be respected and followed to the existence of rigid rules:

Suppose if I would say “This colour is green,” it may be red, it may be blue, because my teacher has said it is green, then it is green. If parents feel so, say “No, it is red” not green. They would get: “No, my teacher told me it is green and it is green,” then it will remain unless teacher corrects it. This kind of thing means they have got the power.
(Rashmi, Second Interview)

According to Sook, in Korea the image of the teacher was the same. There students are educated to respect teachers to such an extent that they “can’t even step on a teacher’s shadow … teachers are thought to be kind of very authoritative figures in the classroom. They are kind of a knowledge-giver to students.” (Sook, Second Interview). Although initially a bit taken aback by the relaxed Canadian classroom norms, Sook became very keen on her new image as a “kind of friendly facilitator,” who was there to encourage her students to learn in a very comfortable atmosphere.

**Professional Life of a Teacher**

Comparing their professional lives as teachers in their home country with what they envisioned the Canadian certified status would bring, the INNESTs’ beliefs were divided between those who were less optimistic (Chen, Rashmi, and Sook) and those who
were more so (Ahmad and Fariba). From the former camp, Chen, with years of university teaching experience, did not see his future professional status taking shape easily in Canada, as is expressed in the following excerpt:

> If I stayed in China, life would be easier for me because, you know, I was already teaching at university in China. Not much money at that time made, but after I left China, teachers at universities were highly paid. Now my former colleagues – now seniors – could afford to buy vehicles like cars here, and everything is guaranteed for them, and here, as I mentioned to you, life starts from zero.
> (Chen, Second Interview)

To him, part of the challenge was securing a job in the already highly competitive market in Canada. He doubted he would be hired by a university, so he saw his options as limited to teaching adult ESL/LINC classes. Similarly, Rashmi was sceptical about whether she would have a smooth professional career after certification. In response to the question about where she saw herself after graduation, she commented:

> Let’s see if I stay in this job. If I don’t, I’ll be getting a good break in my … profession. (…) because what I have experienced here in Canada, teaching is a very tough profession. It’s not easy as it is in our own country. Again, the mentality is totally different in our country. Teachers, they have got a very prestigious position, but here in Canada, what I have seen, it is very difficult.
> (Rashmi, Second Interview)

Like Chen, Rashmi believed that she had a long way to go to establish herself as a teacher in Canada, and anticipated difficult times. Her former job in India provided her with a monthly salary of 25,000 rupees – very good pay for a teacher. And she thought it would take her a long time to reach the professional stability that she enjoyed back home in Canada. As an example, she said that now that she was in Canada she used public transportation while in India she had driven her own car. Moreover, she believed that teaching in Canada was more hectic than in India, and involved a greater time commitment for less money. During her practicum she observed that her host teachers spent many hours grading or correcting students’ works, time for which they were not paid. Also, three of the teachers at her practicum site taught evening classes on top of their daily 9-to-5 teaching duties; and two of the three worked as part-time writing
instructors at a community college on weekends, making it almost impossible for them to have quality family and social lives.

Ahmad and Fariba, however, were more optimistic about their future professional lives. Fariba, who had chosen other career paths as part of her back-up plan, was now determined that she would continue as a teacher after completion of the TESOL certification process. She believed that the program would give her the professionalism that she very much wanted to have. Here is what she had to say:

At some point, I thought when I go to Canada, I won’t teach any more. I was a good one, but I just sort of wanted to escape from that. So I came here and I wanted to see if teaching in Canada is a profession. It’s a totally different thing. In Iran, teachers are not considered professionals, unfortunately. (…) When I started my practicum with (…) School Board the way they value teachers, the way they appreciate, the way they approach teachers, the way they help them, support them made me think about teaching again and (…) then I thought, [and] I decided “OK, this is the teaching I want. That, that teaching was not a profession. It was just teaching. (…) Teaching here is more professional, more appreciated, more valued, better paid, [has] higher position, [is] more enjoyable, less stressful. That’s how I look at teaching English here.

(Fariba, Second Interview)

Among other things, Fariba’s positive attitude clearly influenced her teaching. Her supervisors gave her highly positive evaluations and reported a high rate of student satisfaction.

**Negotiating Sociocultural Capital**

In this section, I discuss the findings related to the sociocultural values that INNESTs negotiated during their certification process. Participants engaged in culture-related conversations and activities in their TESOL coursework, and socializing with Canadian-born as well as INNEST classmates provided opportunities to discuss and/or reflect on cross-cultural issues. Two major themes emerged: (a) differences in cultural norms between the INNESTs’ home countries and Canada; and (b) the way INNESTs responded to and dealt with these cultural differences.
Cultural Differences

A major topic identified by all the core participants was the difference between Canadian cultural norms and the ones they grew up with, and the challenges they faced as a result of cultural differences. Although the 5 participants were from five different ethnocultural backgrounds, they shared more cultural similarities than differences. Some of what they had in common were inquisitiveness and curiosity, the importance of education, notion of time and time management, respect for the elderly, hospitality, and the role of the family.

Although all the participants acknowledged similarities between their home values and Canadian cultural norms, Ahmad was the only one who felt that the similarities far outweighed the differences. Two reasons seem to account for his belief. First, his knowledge of the world and his vision of life – as consisting of shared needs and feelings among all human beings regardless of geographical location – played a role in his belief. He pointed out:

Well, definitely there are similarities. … People wherever you go … they look forward to the future. They want to improve their life and their lifestyle and the standard of their living. They want to have a better life. They want to buy … You have a pressure on you … you’re expected to have a certain look. If you don’t meet that look then you’re excluded, or at least that’s the feeling that you are left with. If you don’t have a car in the driveway, you don’t get to do certain things … people always try … depending on, social understanding. You try and fit in … You try and meet that image.

(Ahmad, First Interview)

The second factor that contributed to Ahmad’s focus on similarities was that he had experience living in socially and culturally diverse communities. Although he admitted that the Iraqi and Iranian contexts in which he had lived were not as diverse as the Canadian context, the experience of living in a diverse society was not entirely new for him, as stated in the excerpt below:

Where I come from, it’s a diverse society. It’s not that people speak one

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86 In their cultural conceptualization, the participants perceived time as relatively flexible and flowing as opposed to the general tendency to focus on time urgency in the typical North American culture.
language and look alike and do things the same way. People have different religious backgrounds, different racial backgrounds, so … even in Baghdad itself, we have areas in Baghdad where people speak in different accents from other areas of Baghdad, and people look different. If you’re from the south, you probably have darker skin than if you’re from the north where you’re more fair and probably more colours, you have more colours to you. But when you all come together, you have the Kurds, you have the Shia, you have the Sunni, you have the Christians, you have the Turkmens, you have all those racial, cultural groups as well as religious differences, they have to come together and, and we [are] used to living in peace and have to get used to each other.

(Ahmad, First Interview)

The sociocultural differences, as reported by the core participants, include a number of items. All of the teachers, including Ahmad, perceived their home country’s culture to be different from Canadian culture in terms of personal and social relationships and values. All, except for Ahmad, wanted to maintain their ties with their home culture. Some Canadian values highlighted by the participants were being friendly, direct, polite, punctual, and time sensitive.87

On different occasions, Chen spoke of his cultural heritage and how important this and his Chinese education were in his life. He described his education in a Communist context, and the value his family and teachers placed on Chinese culture. During the TESOL program, there were instances when he experienced “internal conflicts” that made him feel different from his peers. One example was that he was silent during the lectures while other students actively asked questions if they did not understand the lecture, or challenged the instructor if they had different opinions on a topic. When asked why he kept quiet, he responded that despite wanting to express his thoughts, he felt that he would be untrue to himself if he challenged the instructor. Moreover, he believed it was his responsibility to figure things out, and that the instructor’s job was completed in the giving of the lecture. For him, silence involved active thinking, giving him the chance to write down his thoughts. Chen’s respect for the teacher as an authority and his silence-as-virtue value were rooted in his Chinese cultural values. He was also highly cognizant of the cultural differences in communication styles.

87 Time sensitive is used to describe someone who pays much attention to deadlines and timelines.
Fariba also spoke about not being sure when to speak up during TESOL class discussions. In her Persian value system as well as Islamic culture, a student or a junior does not talk until she is called upon. In spite of this difference between the Canadian classroom and her experiences in her home country, Fariba ended up expressing her views. In this sense, she considered herself “truly Canadian.”

Cultural affiliation among the participants is an interesting point. The majority of them talked about not wanting to give up their cultural identities. Sook and Rashmi had the strongest position of the participants in this respect. They identified themselves as foreign nationals living in Canada. On the other hand, thrilled about his Canadian status, Chen defined his cultural identity as hyphenated Chinese-Canadian – with “Chinese” coming first. With a focus on the professional image of the teacher in Canadian society, Fariba called herself Canadian-Persian. Only Ahmad described himself as simply Canadian. Ahmad and Fariba – the most sociable in the group – were the 2 who socialized most with their Canadian-born peers in and out of classroom. Fariba told me about meeting and dating a Canadian man and keeping this from her parents back home. This was a cultural taboo that “would give [her] parents a heart attack!” (Fariba, First Interview). She explained that she did not want to remain in a “caught-between-two-cultures” situation, which would make her indecisive and passive. For her, coming to Canada was a personal choice and she was willing to act according to the norms of her new country. But to avoid tensions between her and her family she kept silent about anything that would worry them. At times, this made her feel bad because she was not being honest with them. Another aspect of Fariba’s experience of cultural difference is evident in the following excerpt:

I found the TESL program here very non-threatening, I guess it is because here is so diverse. People are immigrant friendly, well, not always, but mostly. They are also very conservative [reserved]. I mean, that’s my experience, so there wasn’t much problem or conflict. I have been told that here is different from the neighbors in the south [the US], that they are not as conservative, maybe more boastful, I don’t know, I should go there sometime to figure this out for myself. I think I am not very Canadian in this sense. My dad always told me not to be like that or “you lose in life.” Our teacher educator was very goal-oriented, well-organized. I don’t want to say that I am not like that, but I found myself more of a thinker, my
Canadian peers in the program were more doers, like, “OK, I want to teach speaking, what are the strategies to do that?”
(Fariba, Second Interview)

Here, Fariba describes the differences she sees between herself and her Canadian-born classmates. She is not reserved, and is not as a practice-oriented as they are; rather, she sees herself as someone who is more concerned about the ideas and theories underpinning practice. These, she thinks, are some differences in the new culture.

Fariba also observed a difference in the pace of life, ability to multitask, and the importance of meeting deadlines. She explained:

Handling the assignments was a bit tough. Actually, it was sometimes very overwhelming. I felt like my language skills made me a bit handicapped at times. I needed to write and rewrite. A couple of times, I got classmates to read and edit my final drafts. You know I am more like a person who focuses on one thing and then do(es) it; my peers, were more, like, quick. I think they are raised this way, and taught like this at school. I had to ask for extensions a couple of time to submit my assignments. Time was always an issue, and I think the course was very extensive.
(Fariba, Second Interview)

Fariba learned more and more about Canadian culture as she worked her way through the TESOL program. She realized that the pace of life for most Canadians is different from the pace of life she had experienced back home. Ahmad made the same observations about the Canadian pace of life:

Life […] the pace of living … in general is very, very fast [here]. You don’t really enjoy life as much and you don’t really enjoy, socially, enjoy the company of your relatives and friends […] People seem to be caught up with their daily life problems […] because everybody’s facing problems in this country. Everybody has problems, and mostly financially. […] Over here you don’t get to see your brother or sister. Maybe, once a month. If you push it, and maybe if you are diligent and, and meeting with your relatives probably once a week. I had my nieces and nephews all over me back home on a daily basis.
(Ahmad, First Interview)

Ahmad also talked about the importance of time management, especially because the TESOL course assignments were numerous, creating a heavy workload for him. In his case, he found this very challenging as he was a full-time student with a family of three.
Ahmad believed that part of the reason he found time management difficult was that in the Canadian academic culture the course requirements and expectations were different from what he had experienced in his home country, where “the norm” was listening to lectures and writing tests. Of course, for him the challenges were greater because he had done his undergraduate degree a long time ago, and he had to reorient himself to academic culture to have “the discipline of sitting in front of the computer, go to the library, do research, and type in [his] work in a presentable way” (Ahmad, Second Interview).

Rashmi talked about cultural differences in the way one was to prepare resumes and covering letters. Towards the middle of the program, she registered in a multisession workshop at a newcomer centre to learn how to prepare a resume “in a Canadian way.” In addition, she mentioned some of the discussion topics in the TESOL program. One such topic was sexuality and the diverse sexual orientations of students in an ESL classroom. For Rashmi, this was a source of culture shock, as described below:

People are very open here, and that kind of culture we don’t have. So as I have seen here, and schools, too, I have seen, the children they are very free. They can hug, they can kiss, and they can behave in a very frank manner. In our country it is not like that. There are certain limitations which you are not permitted to cross. Let me give you an example, when I came here a friend from university took me to downtown area. There is a street in downtown area, it’s called Church. There are a lot of people living in that neighbourhood who are gays or lesbians and … in my home country there is, well, there are people like that, with that sexual orientation, but they are not free to walk around. [In India] even we cannot recognize who is lesbian, who is gay, in our country. Here you can make out very easily … Two men are walking together hand-in-hand, arm-in-arm on the street (…) in our country, it is not open, they are not permitted to behave in this manner. (…) One more example I can give to you, the same example of my brother-in-law. He and his wife stayed together for 5 years before marriage, just to check whether they are comfortable with each other and they can continue in the future. (…) This kind of companionship in our country before marriage is not accepted at all, but here it is permitted, and nobody objected to that. (…) In India, pre-marriage relationship and sex is … totally prohibited.

88 In fact, one of the reasons for Ahmad’s decision not to register in a TESOL program earlier was his fear that he might not be able to adapt to Canadian academic culture. Also, originally he was of the belief that such programs were only for native speakers of English.
Also, Rashmi juxtaposed the teacher-student relationship in the Canadian and Indian contexts. She was surprised to see that instructors in her program wanted their teacher candidates to call them by their first name, whereas in India the relationship was more formal:

Students are not so free to discuss and to talk to the teacher as they are free here in Canada, and we call our teacher, not by name, by Sir, Ma’am or Teacher. But here I’ve seen that you can call them by name. Rather, they prefer to be called by name. They say that “I’ll appreciate if you say XX my name.” It is not that way [in India]. So that was shocking, number 1. Number 2, I have seen that some women, they bring their children to their classes. They are permitted, which is not permitted in our culture.

Sook also found the cultural differences to be “huge”:

In Korea, you don’t have to say a lot in the classroom. All you have to do is just taking notes, memorize, and writing reports, assignments. Sometimes you can say and reveal your opinion about the topic, but … you don’t have to do that most of the time, except your presentation. So I was afraid because I heard that in Western society students are encouraged to tell their opinions about, well, all the things, even for others. And with me, I have to say a lot in English.

The freedom to express one’s thoughts was a recurring theme among the core participants. Ahmad, Chen, and Fariba maintained that this was not a value in Iraqi, Chinese, or Iranian society, in general, and in classroom settings, in specific. In China, for instance, Chen believed there was only economic freedom, not freedom of expression. Ahmad mentioned that teachers and students had to worry about execution or persecution for themselves and their families if they talked about forbidden political or religious issues in Iraq. Fariba said that there was freedom of speech in Iran, but no “freedom-after-speech.”

Having witnessed numerous instances of it during her practicum sessions, Sook acknowledged the freedom in Canadian society and schools, and attributed it to the importance of individuality – which is in sharp contrast to the collectivism of Korean
People do whatever they want [in Canada]. They don’t care about what others think. They are being themselves. So they can do everything freely. [...] I think individuality is alive here. But compared to Canadian culture, Korean culture is more like everybody [has] to go with the flow. [...] Canadian people have more freedom about their behaviour. It’s a very good thing, I think. Sometimes it’s really depressing [in Korea]. I have to think about others, think all the time. “OK, if I wear this kind of dress, what would they think about me?” [...] Another thing is [...] that Korean people are very care giving … and ask questions about you. Sometimes it feels nosy. [...] In Canada, I feel that it’s just like one sentence, it’s ‘none of your business.’ That was the real shock for me when someone told me that here because I asked [with] very good intentions, but [...] if I did the same thing in Korea – I do the same thing in Korea – they think I’m very considerate and very warm-hearted. [...] Well, I remember that I asked my TESL classmate, well, just because I think he looked depressed to me. So I asked him “Is there something wrong in your classes?” or “Why you just don’t look happy now?” And it’s very common question in Korea. And he said “Well, it’s OK. Thank you,” and there was another girl who has been in Canada for 10 years, and she just directed me to the corner, and said “Don’t ask personal questions like that.” [...] She thought I made him very uncomfortable and even offended because I didn’t have a right to ask. I have asked the same questions from other Korean people, but [...] you should not ask those questions from Canadians.89
(Sook, Second Interview)

Sook was keenly aware that the freedom to express ideas created opportunities for teacher candidates to ask questions about the teaching activities in the program. Inhibited by her culture, though, she did not use this opportunity:

Well, I thought to myself, “If I ask this question, wouldn’t the instructor think I’m stupid?” Well, they don’t seem to think like that here, but in Korea, everybody’s just afraid of asking question because they are afraid of losing face in front of others. So it’s really hard to make them [Korean students] ask something. Whenever you ask them “So are you with me? Do you understand?” they always say, “yes,” but if you check, well, they may not know.
(Sook, Second Interview)

She believed this was mainly due to the fact that Canadian classes are student-centred, whereas in Korean teacher-centred, lecture-based classes, students are supposed to take

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89 The sociocultural differences had such a strong effect on Sook that she considered returning to Korea because of them.
notes and memorize the lectures. That is why Sook, over the course of the TESOL program, began to question the academic culture in her home country, and find it guilty of discouraging students’ creativity, originality, and critical thinking.

At different stages in the data collection, participants focused on cultural attitudes, comparing Canadian and their respective cultures. Chen, for instance, asserted if one does not assimilate to the Canadian way of doing things, then she or he should be ready for difficulties. He recalled a critical incident during an end-of-TESOL-course potluck dinner in which his Chinese cultural attitudes put him in an awkward situation:

In the Chinese culture, when we get together, you know, we drink tea. Once you finish your cup, I will fill, fill up and you drink. And again and again ... You may just need to go to the washroom back and forth because of this [Laughs] … This is typical. A good thing, you know. It is my respect to you. And you don’t say no. It would be an insult if you said no. It is not the same here. You just say no! I guess I was very much in my Chinese mode when I insisted to pour more tea for (...) [in the potluck]! [Laughs]

(Chen, Focus Group Interview)

He provided another example of the difference between the Canadian way and the Chinese way. In Chinese culture, you, out of respect, simply nod or say “yes” to show agreement with what your friend is saying regardless of what you actually think about it. The Canadian way, he thought, is to be more straightforward.

Fariba’s response to cultural differences was similar to that of Chen, but she perceived herself as more Canadian than Iranian as far as some cultural norms were concerned. To start with, coming to Canada as a single woman on her own was not “very Iranian.” She also did not agree with some of the other restrictions of traditional Iranian culture, such as the ability to politely decline an offer solely out of respect (Ta’arof).

Response to Cultural Differences

The core participants negotiated the cultural differences described in the previous

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90 Given that Sook’s TESOL teacher educators were facilitators – rather than knowledge givers, this constituted a big difference for her.
91 Chen thought this could be challenging. If he was undecided on which value to subscribe to, he would be caught between choosing a value in one culture and being dishonest in another.
section in different ways. The TESOL program seminars and classes served as a site for the participants to socialize with Canadian-born classmates and instructors and (re-)visit their cultural values as well as learn Canadian norms. This contributed to their sense of cultural integration, assimilation, or separation, which are discussed in this section.

In Fariba’s case, having accepted some characteristics of the new culture, she ceased being the person she had been. She both welcomed and challenged the new culture, at times embracing it and at times resisting it, holding onto her past familiar self. She explained as follows:

> Well, I come from a place where your supervisor or teacher educator is the boss, and you don’t challenge him. It was interesting for me to see that such positioning was absent in our course. Our main teacher educator was almost like one of us. I never felt there was like … an authority. This made me feel really comfortable. But at the same time, I, kind of like, was wondering what he [the teacher educator] was doing in front of the classroom! [Laughs]
> (Fariba, Focus Group Interview)

Elsewhere, welcoming the TESOL instructor-student relationship at various points in the program, Fariba expressed mixed feelings about how instructors reacted to her inquiries, and suspected that this was based on a difference in cultural norms, as described in the following quotation:

> In our first session, our main teacher educator – we had four altogether – was very friendly, and accommodating, and asked about our educational and … cultural background. This was great, you know. I felt good to share my background with the rest of the class. Later on, I didn’t get a chance to do this. I am not sure, maybe because there was a lot of material to cover, and we were not given much chance to talk about our own experiences with the topics. This was a little bit hard as I was struggling to accept what we were being taught – for example on teaching reading comprehension strategies – and what I thought would be a better idea. Even when I raised things, it was like she [the teacher educator] avoided my point. I guess it is a cultural thing. My background traditions tell me to get an answer on this or that; the class was like, yeah, you can do that as well! Like there are different answers.
> (Fariba, Focus Group Interview)

Ahmad agreed with Fariba that negotiating differences could be challenging. For him, however, the most important goal was to integrate into Canadian culture. Therefore,
he was open to adjusting to the new norms. This adjustment was ongoing and done through both adapting to and adopting cultural values. He said:

   When you come into a culture that is new to you and you want to settle, you definitely want to adapt and, it makes life easier for you to accept certain things and change your views about some of the things that you’re used to. You also need to adopt some of the social concepts and, not necessarily all of them, but at least some of them in order for you to be able to survive.
   (Ahmad, Second Interview)

The willingness to “adapt” and “adopt” helped Ahmad to experience a “smooth” integration. This was – he pointed out – partially because he was married to a Canadian. He also believed that resisting the cultural norms of a person’s new host country was impossible because “a rock” – his metaphor for an immigrant – undergoes changes because of “wind, rain and snow,” i.e., effects of the new environment. When asked to give an example of a cultural adjustment, Ahmad described a change in his value system such that his intolerance for homosexuality – a taboo in his predominantly Muslim country of origin – had changed to acceptance, the cultural norm in the Canadian context. In Ahmad’s own words:

   That’s been a BIG change. You have to live with these [norms], you have to accept these social views of different groups in this society.
   (Ahmad, Second Interview)

Ahmad’s approach, he believed, was the main reason that he did not experience culture shock. Throughout the program, as reported by him as well as observed by the researcher, he welcomed conversations with peers and instructors on cultural norms and differences. In his opinion, this helped him to learn more and better.

   When asked to describe his response to cultural differences, Chen had a lot to share. Echoing the challenges of learning to behave according to the new cultural norms, Chen added that the pressure of such differences (e.g., a different pace of life) had left him feeling isolated. Here is what he had to say in this regard:

   This is probably part of the Chinese culture, and part of my personality. I’m not a person who’s that open to talk about, you know, [things like] I’m not well. I always intend to avoid this topic. I don’t want people to have a
bad feeling about me, about my health, this kind of thing. But this turned out to be more like a burden to me because in doing so that means … I was putting myself in a more isolated situation. So when some friends call me “[Chen], what are you doing? Are you OK?” I just tend to say “OK.” I think most Chinese people, they want that way. They don’t mean to tell you a lie, but they just don’t want to tell people the bad things. And this part also changed with time. I realized that people cannot possibly help me because they don’t even know what happened to me, so how could they help me? And for family members, you know, it’s very hard, and the parents … so I don’t want to bother them. And that makes my situation even worse. So later on I realized I should change my mentality. I should talk to people. And one thing is I did talk to one of my friends, a Chinese-Canadian friend. I said I had no money, and, you know, it’s embarrassing in the Chinese culture when you talk about [that] (…) Now, I need to borrow some money, and I know it’s a very sensitive topic. And fortunately he understood and lent me some money and also offered me to do some, some translation work for him. (…) This gave me some hope, and also made me re-think. I think it’s better to use the Canadian way of dealing with people, and just tell people that I’m really in a difficult time, and could get more help.

(Chen, Second Interview)

Although understanding and accepting such cultural differences was instrumental in creating positive episodes in Chen’s self and improving his well-being, this did not last. The following excerpt shows that Chen saw his cultural self fractured:

Canadian experience (…) it DID create some problems for me. (…) For the first time, I realized I was so weak. I mean psychologically speaking, I just thought, you know, I was no longer myself. (…) What I lost is, you know, my self-confidence.

(Chen, Second Interview)

Chen felt alienated from Canadian cultural norms. He associated his self-respect with loyalty to his Chinese cultural values, hence he felt isolated in the Canadian context. In order to “survive” his sense of isolation, Chen resorted to “spirituality” – a “truly” Chinese value – by spending time thinking about the meaning and philosophy of life. And this was his “most important” strategy for dealing with cultural differences – what, he believed, would give him back his lost strength.

Despite her scepticism about a smooth professional career – as mentioned earlier in this chapter, Rashmi – who was initially “very much delighted, excited and happy”
about coming to Canada, in general, and attending a Canadian TESOL program, in specific – dealt with cultural differences very differently than Chen. In this respect, she shared Fariba’s attitude. She imagined her future professional self as an established ESL teacher in her new country. This was a great source of motivation that allowed her to accept the new norms more easily. Towards the end of the program, when asked if she still felt the same way, her response was ‘yes,’ only now she was more “confident” as well. Her cultural adjustment was more adaptation than adoption of the new values without questioning. In fact, there were times when she showed resistance. For instance, in one of her classes, she got into an argument with some of her classmates about whether picking a new, English-sounding name would increase her chances of getting a job interview. Taking a position, Rashmi maintained:

[A classmate] said you should change your name and use an easier name. It’s very difficult to pronounce and understand. At that time, I did not object, but later on I told him, “I don’t want to lose my identity. I’m [Rashmi] and I want to remain as [Rashmi].” Others are not comfortable, as comfortable with my name, they have to learn it, but I will not change it. … Similarly, if I feel like wearing an Indian dress, I do that. It is not necessary that I have to wear something Western. Sometime if I feel like wearing, I do that. I don’t mind what others are thinking.  
(Rashmi, Second Interview)

Despite some disagreements with classmates, she believed that her interaction with her TESOL peers helped her to understand the new norms, and to re-evaluate her own value system. She also tried to connect her culture and the new culture. For instance, her life as a member of a close extended family in India helped her to “live” with her classmates more easily, as described in the excerpt below:

Joint family … Everybody lives together. So we develop kind of sharing habits … and tolerance because so many people are there living together. Cousins are there, uncles, aunts are there. We have to respect them. So these kinds of cultural traits, it has helped me here also … For example, [Name] is totally Chinese. She cannot speak or understand a single word of Hindi, and I cannot speak Chinese, but still we sat together for 3 months, 4 months, that is a long period, and now we are very good friends.
(Rashmi, Second Interview)

However, Rashmi’s willingness to interact with classmates was limited to the classroom
setting. On numerous occasions, she refused to attend events to socialize with peers outside the classroom. She believed, as a cultural value, family always comes first, and so she had to share the joy with her family.

Another challenge for Rashmi was multitasking and keeping up with the pace of life in Canada. Completing the numerous course requirements was overwhelming for her, particularly at the beginning of the program. This changed towards the end as she came to know the educational system and the expected behaviours better (e.g., how to give a good class presentation). One strategy that she made use of was forming study groups with peers, especially Canadian-born classmates. This helped her to stay on task. Her interactions with the program instructors also changed towards the end of the program when she had become more comfortable with the Canadian “informal, friendly” teacher-student relationship. She indicated that the support from the practicum host teachers and their cross-cultural communication tips “mentally prepared her,” which was instrumental in her being able to make this change.

Sook also reported that she had received a lot of help from peers regarding cross-cultural communication. Given that a number of the classmates and instructors were immigrants themselves, she felt there was sympathy towards her situation, as stated below:

My instructors, classmates, also, just they seem to try to understand me and sometimes feel sorry for my situation. Just very supportive, try to be very supportive because they thought I was alone in Canada ... Well, they considered my attitude for improving myself very positively, so tried to help, and tried to understand me. Well, usually the misunderstanding is awkward from ignorance of others, but even though you’re ignorant of other cultures or other backgrounds, if you try to understand, and, well, try to have a conversation to resolve the conflict due to difference or ignorance, it’s not a big deal in the case. Well, in that way some of my instructors were also immigrants, so they knew how life in Canada is, and my classmates were just trying to figure out what kind of situation I’m in. (Sook, Second Interview)

Despite the support, Sook did not intend to adapt to Canadian cultural norms as she could not see herself getting an established teaching position in Canada: “So I don’t think I really try hard to integrate into Canadian society.” (Sook, Second Interview) As a matter
of fact, towards the end of the program, she was more determined to return to Korea. She also believed that cultural adaptation may be easier for some people than for other, but, more important, the main question for an individual should be whether one wants to adapt or not. She used pop culture as an example of obstacles to adapting to Canadian culture:

Well, I don’t think it’s really hard to integrate into Canada, well, as far as relationships with people. Yes, but I don’t know. It’s sometimes hard because I’m not familiar with superficial things. I don’t know that actor’s name, the famous singer’s name, or (…) but I can’t involve them into mine. So in that way, it’s a little bit hard. But I think it’s not an essential part of integrating into another culture. And I think the most important thing is attitude … If I really want to or not. Yeah, but well, I really feel, very strongly feel I would like to keep my Korean identity, but it doesn’t mean that I don’t, or I can’t, well, conform with Canadian culture.

(Sook, Second Interview)

Overall, Sook did not think that she had changed her fundamental cultural beliefs during her time in the TESOL program. Despite her own resistance to some aspects of Canadian cultural values and norms, Sook observed and acknowledged how much more successful one could be integrating professionally if one were open to cultural differences. She said that her more successful peers differed from the others in terms of openness and willingness to interact – the more sociable and the more willing you are to meet new people, the more successful you are.

A concept that is useful here is that of culture shock. There are five stages in Pederson’s (1995) model of culture shock: (i) honeymoon stage: time of excitement and optimism; (ii) disintegration: frustration and helplessness; (iii) reintegration: beginning to fight back; (iv) autonomy: balanced and objective perspective on the new culture; (v) interdependence: acquiring a new identity as a bicultural or multicultural person. A review of the five cases in the study attests to the fact that only Ahmad and Fariba had reached the interdependence stage. This could be why they expressed willingness to assimilate to their new country. Assimilation is often defined as the adoption of another culture either by choice or necessity (Richards and Schmidt, 2002). Individuals may choose not to accommodate the new culture (as in the case of Sook in this study); accommodate the new culture but not assimilate (as in the cases of Chen and Rashmi), or
be willing to assimilate (as in the cases of Fariba and Ahmad). The participants’ assimilation patterns – as shown in their responses to cultural differences – account for behaviours that would allow or not allow them to be successful in the new professional environment. Another factor facilitating assimilation might be the participants’ ability to make connections between their original culture and the new culture.

In this section, examples of cultural conflict and convergence were presented and discussed. In the next section, I turn to the participants’ negotiation of their symbolic capital.

**Negotiating Symbolic Capital**

In previous sections, the linguistic, economic, educational, professional, and sociocultural forms of capital are discussed. The sixth and last major theme is symbolic capital. I examine this by looking at certification (a) as a source of uniformity and homogeneity; (b) as a source of correctness and authority; (c) as a source of privilege and prestige; (d) as a source of legitimacy; (e) as a source of transformation; and (f) as a means of empowerment.

**Certification as a Source of Uniformity and Homogeneity**

The core participants’ discourses around certification reveals patterns of similarity in that they focused on the importance of Canadian TESOL education as a source of uniformity or homogeneity in the certification of immigrant teachers. Participants believed that their education, experience, and, particularly, their credentials were of value, and as such, questioned the certifying association’s unwillingness to accept (the transferability of) their credentials. In Fariba’s words, this had to do with the certifying association’s desire that teachers “all to be like each other” (Fariba, Follow-up E-mail). Chen was also doubtful about the gatekeeping standards and believed that the certification process did not identify INNESTs’ transferable skills. He asserted:

> It is like I am worthy if I have Canadian certification. I would be like other ESL teachers in Canada.  
> (Chen, Follow-up E-mail)
Chen’s view is significant as it emphasizes the fact that certification would give him the chance to be accepted professionally because he has achieved the “likeness” goal. Echoing Chen’s thoughts on the notion of homogeneity, Rashmi, however, welcomed this as a factor in her success in being accepted in the TESOL teaching community in the future. To provide examples, she spoke of aspects of teaching dynamics having to do with rules and regulations, such as “accessibility of teachers,” which make them more available to their students through in-person meetings, phone calls, and e-mail that are specific to the Canadian context (Rashmi, Second Interview). One could only be assured of having been exposed to these through a supervised and recognized TESOL program, overviewed by a certifying association. Unlike Rashmi, Sook was not optimistic that certification would help her pass as a “qualified ESL teacher in Canada” (Sook, First Interview). For her, being a non-native English speaker was an unchangeable reality, and certification would not make her like Canadian teachers. Being different from teachers who were native speakers, she believed, was how she would always be perceived by students who expect to “learn authentic and real English” – what she as a non-native speaker perceived she lacked. Sook, however, became more optimistic towards the end of the program when she was closer to the certification stage. Then she focused more on her areas of strength, and believed them to be great assets that she could use in order to gain her students’ trust. This is what Sook had to say in this regard:

I’m not a native speaker, so it’s very natural for me to have some mistakes or not to know something they know. I have other strengths that they [Canadian native-speaking peers] don’t have, like having teaching experience before, and I myself, as an ESL learner, I can be more sympathetic to my students, and I think I can know better what they are going through, what kind of difficulties they are going through, so everybody has their own strengths and weaknesses, and I just recognize what strengths I have.
(Sook, Second Interview)

Ahmad believed that the uniformity of certification had a positive effect in the overall system, as it would ensure that teachers, regardless of their location, would know the key concepts, theories, and methodologies, “taught to the them in very well-designed [TESOL] programs” (Ahmed, First Interview). He also mentioned that language learners would benefit as they could move anywhere in Ontario, and still rest assured that they
would have certified and qualified teachers who have received the same training. Fariba believed the certification process did not appreciate her areas of strength, did not view them as assets, and did not contribute to a sense of diversity; rather, it reinforced teachers’ conformity to centralized, mandated standards:

My ability to immigrate and adjust to this new culture is huge plus, you know, and shows my abilities … this is a great advantage that I have. Instead, by forcing us to do the certification thing, they are penalizing us because you come from somewhere else ... So do you mean all I learnt back home is not good, and your program is only good? It is not really just fair.
(Fariba, Focus Group Interview)

**Certification as a Source of Correctness and Authority**

Participants engaged with the discourse of certification as a source of authority on teaching expertise, and generally regarded this as a positive aspect. They described their belief that certification would endow them with a position of authority in the Canadian professional community. In this discourse, certification creates an image of “correctness” and “authority” among colleagues.

Ahmad, for instance, pointed out that the TESOL program, in general, and the teaching certificate, in specific, “boosted” his confidence level, and contributed to his success in the field:

I’m sure had I not gone through the experience of going through this [program], I wouldn’t be as successful in teaching my class the way I am right now. … I could proudly say that I am a teacher now. … I thought I was ready … not until I was involved in the TESL program. That’s when I thought I’d better change my ideas here and humble myself a little bit. So the program was fabulous. It helped me to acquire the skills that I needed and they made me able to be what I am right now, a good teacher.
(Ahmad, Second Interview)

Also, he believed that the program increased his teaching expertise:

I could definitely say that I am a good English teacher right now. I am able to do needs assessment for my students, know what they need, and put together a program for them that is tailored for their needs, whether it’s individual needs or needs as a group. And I think I’m able [to do] that.
I’ve done it with my classes, and I’ve done it for individual students as well. And I love the fact that I can manage and meet the challenge of teaching multilevel classes and I’ve taught multiple classes, and I’ve tailored my lesson plans so that it will meet the needs for the two levels that I was teaching and whatever is in between as well. So expert, I don’t know if that’s the word, but I think I am a good English teacher.

(Ahmad, Second Interview)

He especially liked the pedagogical grammar course in the program, which provided him with the chance to revise and correct his own knowledge of the language. He expected that his TESOL certificate would help him “get the benefit of the program” and open up better career options for him as he was now better prepared for teaching.

Chen expressed satisfaction with the TESOL program in that it “provided a very good framework of teaching” not only for “internationally trained professionals … and new immigrants” but also for “Canadian teachers” (Chen, Second Interview). This – together with extensive contact with classmates to share and discuss their teaching styles, strategies, and methods – served to reinforce Chen’s confidence in his knowledge and skills in ESL teaching. His Canadian teaching certificate, he believed, would put him in a stronger position to get a job in the teaching market. When asked if he would recommend attending a Canadian TESOL program to other immigrant teachers, he said that he would do so without reservation.

Echoing many of Chen’s sentiments, Rashmi hoped she would be able to secure a teaching job in Toronto after receiving the certificate because then no one would question her knowledge and teaching skills, even though they were based on her education and experience in India. But she also reported that the certification process helped her “to notice shortcomings” in her teaching as well as helping her to establish an image as a good teacher in the Canadian context:

I hope after TESL ON gives me my certificate, no one would ever question if I am expert in the field … if I can prepare good lessons before I enter the class.

(Rashmi, Second Interview)

Sook’s view of herself as a teacher evolved throughout the program. Initially, she did not think that TESOL certification would affect her substantially. Although she
anticipated that it would be “refreshing,” she expected “no big change” (Sook, First Interview). Having to take a full TESOL program, in fact, made her “feel very small,” and “like a novice teacher.” Her certification by TESL ON, she suspected, would compensate for this and serve as proof for her expertise.

Fariba felt so strongly about the inherent contradiction in the requirement for Canadian certification, and about the assumptions on which the requirement is based. She stated:

My sense is that they are saying that our system is better, and you need to go through our program to learn the right way, and we decide if you are good enough. You know what I mean? And I am, like … wait a minute … The Ministry [Citizenship and Immigration Canada] has already decided that I am good enough to work in Canada, what are you talking about? It seems like … they do not even recognize and respect their own government’s decision.

(Fariba, Second Interview)

Elsewhere, she related holding the Canadian-acquired certification to “who is doing it right” and “who knows how to teach” judgments in the teaching market (Fariba, Focus Group Interview), questioning why it is common for language schools to ask for Canadian TESOL certification. Together with Chen and Rashmi, Fariba sympathized with the preference of some private schools for Canadian-born, native-speaking teachers as a marketing tool to attract more international students. However, using the criteria of where a teacher was educated or certified to make hiring decisions seemed arbitrary criteria to them. They could not see how a preference for Canadian credentials could be justified. This is an important issue because requiring Canadian-issued TESOL certification for a teaching position could be used to discriminate against individuals who are not born in Canada, are not native speakers, or do not hold such certification. This visible form of discrimination is done openly, as it is now widely accepted as common sense in the ESL community that teachers must be certified in Canada. This implies that individuals with certification other than Canadian have less expertise. Also, there is the sense that a background of non-Canadian teacher education is a disadvantage that needs to be corrected by the Canadian TESOL certification process. Moreover, INNESTs may come to perceive that, in Canada, language teaching experience in another country is seen
not only as a disadvantage, but also something to be penalized. And the penalty is being required to take courses all over again, the only difference being that the courses are given in Canada.

Certification as a Source of Privilege and Prestige

In addition to the aforementioned “correctness” and “authority” associated with Canadian TESOL certification, participants also discussed how certification would make a difference in how they were received in the TESOL professional community. All of the participants were of the view that Canadian certification is viewed “better” than others, and that this is demonstrated by the privileges and prestige associated with it.\textsuperscript{92} Participants observed and experienced – directly or indirectly – this prestige through course discussions on job hunting and interactions in adult ESL and LINC practicum sites. In a number of instances in this study, participants’ discussion of certification focused on the notions of privilege and prestige. For example, Rashmi referred to the high prestige associated with Canadian certification:

> My certificate here in Canada is very prestigious … I think, in the eyes of my friends, here and [in] India … you should see my Facebook page. I put a photo there … it was me teaching a class in practicum. You should see comments from my friends. (…) I think … for me to look for jobs here, I am more desirable when I have a Canadian certificate. My host teacher told me they will prefer to have me when I get my certificate from TESL Ontario. My students respected me when (…) [the practicum host teacher] said Rashmi is doing TESL Ontario program. They said “wow.” I felt they really respected me more.
> (Rashmi, Focus Group Interview)

Echoing Rashmi’s perspective, Chen wondered why Canadian certification is valued more highly:

> I really don’t want to say … say that those who … push you, me … to do this Canadian certification are discriminating. But I don’t know why do they believe that only people who graduate from places like TESL Ontario are really better … or qualified … more qualified? Everybody in the program here says, finish the program, and put the certificate on your resume, then … you get … a better job.

\textsuperscript{92} The word ‘prestige’ is used for the high sense of honor given to those who hold such certification.
Contrary to the issues expressed by Chen, Ahmad, however, was less critical. But still he confirmed the other participants’ view in a way. He highlighted the positive change in his professional image that being a certified teacher approved by the provincial association will bring, and expressed the belief that the prestige attached to the certification was well-deserved. He said:

Definitely … the certificate tells everyone that my skills are honoured. I spent a lot of time and money on this [the certificate]. I expect more respect.

(Ahmad, Focus Group Interview)

Sook distinguished between language skills and teaching skills, and said that her self-perceived weak oral skills should be considered separately from her teaching experience, and she doubted that certification could actually do that. Also, she felt that being required to go through the program to be certified was a comment that her teaching experience did not meet the standard norms, thus she felt that her prior teaching experience and expertise were not honoured:

I know my English oral skills are poor, but how about my teaching? Telling me I need to do all this training again … it makes me feel really bad. I feel like a new teacher … like my day 1 in class when I started teaching in Korea.

(Sook, Focus Group Interview)

Fariba displayed frustration and anger when it came to this topic. She expressed her frustration as follows:

This certification thing is all about them; how about us? As if we were inferior? Who has the right to say what I have is worthless, and what they are offering in their association is good? How about all those years of experience I bring to this country?

(Fariba, Focus Group Interview)

Elsewhere, Fariba talked about the difference between a university degree in TESOL and a TESOL certificate, and asked why the Canadian TESOL certificate was the gatekeeper in the Canadian job market:

Do they mean to tell me that this 300-hour certificate is better than my 4
BA years and 2 MA years? How can that be? The certificate here is good for the resume only, I think, because it is “Canadian,” you know. It will help you get a better job, because everybody is asking for it out there. (Fariba, Second Interview)

Overall, the participants believed that because Canadian certification was favoured by the wider ESL community, the lack thereof would create a sense of inferiority and possibly lead to rejection or exclusion. Moreover, with Canadian certification, teacher candidates could apply for higher-paying, government-sponsored language teaching positions, such as LINC, for which TESL Ontario certification is a requirement. This entails that higher teaching expertise is attached to TESL ON certification, hence, more prestige is given to those who hold it: higher status in the profession, greater employability in the wider ESL community, and eventually more professional options. The embedded message privileges certain professional backgrounds and implies that Canadian certification signifies education and experience superior to those gained elsewhere. Designation of the Canadian-issued certificate as the threshold devalues and/or implies non-transferability of diverse professional capital accumulated elsewhere. This, in turn, means less privilege and less prestige is attached to those with that foreign professional capital.

It should be noted that prestige can influence what the accepted standards or norms in the professional community are. The question to be asked is, in fact, why standards or norms should be based on the “taken-for-granted” criteria of privilege and prestige, creating a cycle in which prestige determines accepted norms, and norms specify sources of prestige.

**Certification as a Source of Legitimacy**

Closely connected to the themes discussed in the previous section, participants reacted to TESOL certification as a source of professional legitimacy. They were cognizant of the fact that completion of an approved TESOL program was key to their being recognized as legitimate members of the ESL community in Ontario, and specifically key to securing high-paying jobs. Chen and Fariba were more outspoken on this issue. Chen, for example, connected his decision to register in the program and
finding a job in the following way:

Well, I took it because I had to! … Without the Canadian certificate, people do not hire here. (…) Almost all the companies they, no matter either you are social sciences or, you know, the natural sciences … and X or even doctors, they just say “Canadian experience required.” I had almost 10 years teaching experience in China. Then do I still need to pay, let’s say, 3 semesters’ tuition fees, to get another a certificate so that they say, OK, you can now teach like ESL? You know, this is really a challenge to me. (…) In the very beginning, I felt that I cannot accept it. So that’s why I didn’t take the TESL program before. … I just thought, you know, I don’t want to do that, but realistically if I didn’t do that, looks like I’m not qualified. … It’s not possible for me to get, you know, a job of teaching English here (…) I think I already accepted it as a reality. (…) This is the reality, so I have to do this, to get the TESL certificate. (Chen, First Interview)

Rashmi agreed with Chen that certification would get her through the legitimacy gate, as is shown in the following quotation:

What I have come to know here, that whatever experience you have gained in your own country, whatever education, that is not recognized here unless there is some Canadian education in your resume. They give preference to that. This is what I have come to know now. And this was the reason that I took this TESL program. (…) I got this [volunteer teaching] job only because of this [TESL] program. When I told her [the language school director] that I am doing TESL program, first part I have already completed, and second part I’ll be completing this month, she said “OK, it’s fine. You can do my work comfortably.” (…) I think I didn’t get the job because I was a teacher over there [in India], I got it because I am doing TESL here [in Canada]. (Rashmi, Second Interview)

Fariba asked why certification was the gatekeeper for professional legitimacy, and wondered why this requirement was not communicated to her when she filed for immigration, as can be seen from the following excerpt:

I agree that things like language proficiency should be mandatory … after all you want to live in an English-speaking country, right? But why don’t you let people with good language proficiency to teach if … as far as their necessary paperwork is good? I can’t understand that really … really. Why did CIC approve me for immigration, then? I think, you know, it really seems to me that CIC and TESL ON are not really communicating well. (Fariba, Second Interview)
She was also critical of the fact that she had to complete the program alongside some other candidates, who, in her view, were not as educated as she was. She said:

Most of the courses in the program … I have taken already. There were students who had never taken courses, say, in phonetics. (...) [A classmate] was like, “You have taken a course on phonetics in your undergrad for a whole semester!” and here [in the TESL program] we did a quick 20-hour course on teaching pronunciation … and that was it. And … we are both going to apply for the same job later!
(Fariba, Focus Group Interview)

Ahmad agreed that the Canadian certification was taken as a sign of legitimacy by the ESL community, as shown below:

Well, you know … this is Canada. If you want them to hire you, … if you want to make it easier for yourself, you should, … you need Canadian everything, … Canadian experience, Canadian education, … Canadian certification, Canadian name, blah, blah, blah [Laughs].
(Ahmad, Second Interview)

Both Rashmi and Sook believed that there were other sources of legitimacy, such as native speaker status. This was evident in Rashmi’s volunteer teaching position as well as in the practicum process. She pointed out:

My feeling was that … the Canadian native teachers were viewed more valuable by the host teacher and students … and I had to kill myself to show that I was good enough.
(Rashmi, Second Interview)

The participants held the view that “Canadian” TESOL certification was favoured – as a source of legitimacy in the professional community – because a person without a TESL background and an experienced immigrant teacher with a TESL background, both registered in the same program and worked towards the same certificate. This implies that it is easier for a Canadian-born teacher candidate to gain legitimacy in the professional community.

When the idea of an acceptable standard or norm signified by certification is generated, maintained, and established by the authorities of the licensing association, the validity, reliability, and credibility of other signifiers of expertise might be weakened – if
not overlooked altogether – leading to the view that teachers, whatever their experience, who are not certified are non-standard or even sub-standard. As a result, the accepted standard becomes the legitimate standard. Moreover, the status of those with unacceptable and/or alternative signifiers of expertise as legitimate members of the professional community might be challenged or compromised.

**Certification as a Source of Transformation**

Another aspect of the participants’ discourse around TESOL certification had to do with the notion that certification is a site of change in individuals’ professional lives. The participants’ reactions to this were mixed. Ahmad, for instance, did see certification as a positive site of change. Referring to Canadian TESOL certification as a means of support, Ahmad maintained:

This is one of the blessings that we enjoy in this country [Canada], (…) a socially advanced society. (…) Don’t forget: this is a country that is built on immigrants. We need immigrants. Canada is a country where if you don’t have immigrants coming in, life would not be the same. Many things will not run. So we need to have them come and we need to integrate them and help them, help any immigrant in any means possible to get them to integrate and be able to function to the fullest of their ability. (…) what we need to do is we need to support them financially as well as have programs, training programs ready for them to have them assimilate and be able to locate, really land in the job that they are looking for, and move ahead in life. Certification does that. It can change your life. It’s like … it gives you a passing mark.

(Ahmad, First Interview)

To give an example of this kind of change, Ahmad reflected back on his own life at the beginning and at the end of the certification process:

It helped me to change … just as I said. Because we [cohort peers] helped each other as students. We knew as we came closer to knowing each other, we helped each other. And I benefited a lot. (…) [During] the first part of the program, I put myself all the way at the end when it came to [teaching] simulations and all these things, just so that I would see what other students came up with and how they would fare, and how they would be evaluated, all these things. And the second part though, it was a bit too much for me to keep up at the end when I left everything at the end for the first part. The second part, I learned my lesson. I was in the first, but I put myself somewhere in the middle so that I would see, and it’s a good
strategy. This way you get to absorb the shock and know what the professor is looking for, mainly, as well as you, yourself, you could evaluate the effort that the other student is putting in, whether you want to match it, be better, so on ... *All this helped me to change*, and I am grateful for it. (…) It [the TESOL program] always encouraged me to take advantage and bring, regurgitate, if you want, your previous knowledge, your previous experience, and take advantage of it and use it to your benefit as a teacher here in Canada.

(Ahmad, Second Interview)

Chen agreed with Ahmad that the program acknowledged his previous experience, but was doubtful about whether that experience was given enough weight by the certificate-issuing association, and whether the certificate would ultimately change anything in his professional life. Here is what Chen had to say:

Yes, my previous teaching in China was acknowledged. … Yes … my classmates wanted to hear about them. But honestly speaking, it was not celebrated! Did not see any celebration! [Laughs] … Or I didn’t need to do all the coursework. What is the use of that? … *It has taught me things, but ... changed me totally? Not sure.* Classmates helped a lot … but TESL ON, no. (…) I don’t know if anything will change with this certification. There is not enough [work] out there, you know.

(Chen, Second Interview)

Rashmi said that certification helped her to change as it gave her the opportunity to meet and interact with other individuals, and find support “from peers, from instructors, and from the administrative staff” (Rashmi, Second Interview). She firmly believed that the TESOL program, in general, and the certification process, in particular, helped her to change her professional identity as a teacher. In the following excerpt, we see Rashmi defining her professional identity and giving some details about the transformation in her life as a teacher in Canada:

[The TESL Certificate] does increase my capabilities, abilities. It has added definitely to my resume. It is additional qualification and professional development in my personality. So whatever technologies, techniques, methods I have learned from this, they can be incorporated in my own area. I can use them. (…) Any person who’s specialized in any particular field, maybe education, maybe law, medicine, engineering, from my point of view, that person is a professional. (…) At the end of the TESL program, I am a TESL professional … because I am certified. I have got a specialization in this field. So this is one of my professional
identities. I am a professional. (...) Specialization is required in order to become a professional. Parents, they are teachers too because they teach a lot, but they cannot be termed as professionals. We learn a lot of things from our parents, but do we call them professionals? No. (...) They don’t have expertise in any particular subject which they are teaching us like math, English, science, whatever. In order to be a professional, you need to achieve a specialization in that field to obtain a certain kind of certificate, degree, diploma, which certifies that you are a professional; you are expert in that field. So after getting this certificate, TESL certificate, I can call myself a professional in Canada. (Rashmi, Second Interview)

Nevertheless, Rashmi was rather pessimistic about whether this would lead to a substantial transformation in her status. She pointed out:

I think immigrant teachers will still suffer after they get the certificate … you know, people like me … I go through the trouble of getting Canadian education and credentials after coming here. But inside me, I know that it will be hard to find good jobs. Not for me only … not enough jobs for Canadians, too. (Rashmi, Second Interview)

Sook expressed similar thoughts about the transformative nature of the TESOL program. She saw her professional teacher identity as stronger as a result of the opportunity to affirm her previous experiences and to learn new lessons. In the excerpt below, Sook explains how:

After taking TESL program and making Canadian friends, when we experienced similar teaching scenarios, I felt that “OK, I’m experiencing Canadian culture now with them.” They were very helpful. (...) Some classmates sometimes asked my experience as an English teacher in my country. And because I think they knew that the experience I went through can be helpful in any way after being an ESL teacher. So they just, well, wanted to know what kind of experience I had in the classroom, or what differences are there in Korea and Canada. So that kind of thing is a little bit encouraging. Yes. Well, students, my classmates, and instructors asked me a lot about what I think about the topic of the class, because they sometimes thought maybe I can give another perspective. So in that way, yea, I think experience was appreciated. (...) My professional identity as an ESL teacher has changed because of the [TESL] program… because teachers should try to understand their students. The attitude towards students has to be supportive, the teacher should be approachable, and especially ESL teachers, because they deal with students from different backgrounds, many different countries. Well, I think they try to learn what
their students have in their home countries because for me, well, let’s say, for example, for me, I know about Korean students, or some Chinese or Japanese, but I don’t know about Eastern Europeans or Middle Asians, even, or Sri Lankans, African, West Indian ... anyway, because I have to deal with all different, well, students from different countries, I have to have attitude to learn about my students. That’s, I think, well, really important to be a good ESL teacher. Because if they don’t know about their students, they can’t handle the difficult situations which confronts different backgrounds. It can be conflict between teacher and students, or it can be conflict between other students, among other students. (...) For that they have to know what differences make this conflict. Well, it’s important, and diligence, because the more prepared, they prepared for the class, the more time invested for the class, yeah, the better class they will have, of course.

(Sook, Second Interview)

Fariba rejected the idea that TESOL certification could transform her professional life by strongly vocalizing her position against the policies set by the certifying association. She said:

I am not sure if certification will change anything ... They put me into so much trouble to get certified, and pay their expensive application fees. I must also pay their ... their membership fees. They say they revoke my certificate if I don’t want to be a member and pay their fees. And what are they doing for us?! Can I expect that they will help me find a job? No! I know that I will be on my own. I am sorry to be bitter, but I think this is about money.

(Fariba, Second Interview)

To summarize the points made in this section by the participants, it could be said that there were mixed feelings about whether certification would transform their professional lives. Although the participants generally reported positive change as a result of the TESOL program – thanks to interaction and collaboration with individuals involved in the program, including classmates – they were overwhelmingly critical of the certifying association’s policy that certification be mandatory, and they expected the association to do more to help them get jobs after certification. In other words, the participants’ positive view of certification as a source of transformation was juxtaposed with the failure of the certificate-issuing association to meet their expectations.
Certification as a Means of Empowerment

The final theme in the participants’ negotiation of their symbolic capital comes from their discussion of the role of the TESOL certification process in empowering them as ESL professionals in Canada. It was evident that all of the participants had attended TESOL programs mainly in order to be certified. Although the participants’ views were divided in some respects, all of them spoke generally about the benefits of certification as a source of empowerment. Ahmad noted that certification would mean confirmation that he met provincially recognized standards, which would bring him increased credibility in seeking employment in the Canadian market. He believed that attending the program benefited him in a number of ways. Here are some examples:

The [teaching] simulations that we did were very good, preparing for them, getting the critique back from fellow students and also from the instructor. They all made me feel more confident in my ability to manage a classroom, present my class, my lesson plan to my classes, and a very, very positive experience.
(Ahmad, Second Interview)

As an example of empowerment, Chen referred to transparency that certification brought in that people would know what program requirements an individual with a certificate had successfully met. He believed this would ensure that his expertise in those areas is acknowledged. In the meantime, Chen spoke about the psychological stress he had to go through as he was not sure whether certification would empower him in his future endeavours in the field:

The other difficulty is that I don’t know what I would do in the future in terms of career. (…) What can I do? Probably just do some labour work, and, like I did before, something like security guard. (…) In my mind I want to return to the educational system, but I know how big the gap is, right? (…) What’s the purpose for me to come to Canada? Just to work as an administrative assistant? Like a support person? I feel, you know, sometimes just feel very, very uncomfortable. (…) I just felt not balanced because this is not what I wanted, but (…) I have no choice. I need to work, to make money.
(Chen, Second Interview)

For Rashmi, certification was positive as it had brought a professional development opportunity for her to brush up some of the areas she had studied long ago.
This was a source of power for her. She was hoping that certification would make up for her lack of the “Canadian experience” demanded by employers, and serve as means to confirm her expertise in ESL:

Only that certificate can help me that I’m certified to teach English in Canada. That is the only certification I’ll be having. (...) that will help me. Because they want to see that at least because this is one of the requirements which I have seen in the jobs that this person should be TESL certified and should have Canadian experience in that kind of stuff. Experience I don’t, certificate I’ll be having.

(Rashmi, Second Interview)

Sook regarded certification as a way to obtain heightened respect among peers – a great empowering factor as it could help her to develop more networking with them, which could help her find teaching jobs. Interaction with and positive feedback from peers in the program, she believed, was a significant positive outcome of the certification process for her.

Despite the aforementioned positives, some participants were critical of the process as well. Chen asserted that certification could only be “a real source of empowerment” if individuals with the necessary paperwork and required educational qualifications – regardless of whether they were issued by recognized Canadian or non-Canadian universities – would be allowed to teach. On various occasions, Chen went through episodes of frustration and anger, doubting himself and his expertise. While in his final weeks of the program, here is how he described his feelings of helplessness:

Chen: It is getting tougher and more frustrating for me. There is something very strongly inhibiting me from speaking out what is right at the tip of my tongue. I regret to have stepped into this program. At times, I am at the verge of cracking up. My instructors and classmates are being very patient and understanding and I can never ever thank them enough. I had been a very dynamic teacher back home. I once won the “Best Teacher” Award and many certificates of appreciation. But, here I feel so worthless. I am fighting a new battle here which I feel I might lose. I have to re-establish myself right from the beginning. To go through what I am going through is dejecting. I get sick.

(Chen, Follow-up E-mail)

Chen also criticized the way his credentials were evaluated by the certifying association,
and noted the lack of opportunity to discuss his qualifications with them as disempowering:

They did not even have a face-to-face interview to see me in person, and then judge me.
(Chen, Follow-up E-mail)

Chen was not alone. Rashmi, too, talked about certification as a potential source of disempowerment. She pointed out:

As if they have a checkmark list, and if you are not Canadian, then you have to take the whole program. That is why there are many people who don’t do the certification. But like many others, I have some hope in me. What else can I do? I know people change careers. I have heard that many ESL teachers go to Ontario College to become school teachers. I don’t want to do that.
(Rashmi, Follow-up E-mail)

Fariba displayed great frustration and believed that certification could negatively influence professionals’ sense of power to the extent that they might choose to change career. The following is her discourse – an example of an emotional reaction to the fact that the program was mandatory for teaching eligibility:

I think this Canadian certification thing and Canadian experience is just an excuse. I just can’t understand. What is Canadian certification? Why is it that people like me, come to Canada and get disappointed because they don’t have a Canadian certificate or job experience? Why should I start right from the beginning, like a new teacher, fresh from university? Haven’t you seen people who stay here for 3 years, then get their [Canadian] passports and leave? Honestly, I think asking a qualified teacher to do a Canadian certification is a big joke.
(Fariba, Follow-up E-mail)

Citing her professional history, Fariba noted that the relevance of her “international experience” was empowering, and emphasis on “Canadian experience” through certification was disempowering. She reiterated her view of this as follows:

It’s funny because when immigrant teachers like me show their foreign credentials and experiences, they are not easily accepted because they do not have enough “Canadian ESL experience.” But when Canadian teachers here come up with foreign credentials and volunteer experience, like teaching English in another country, that is a strong factor in their
resume. Why? Isn’t this double standards?
(Fariba, Follow-up E-mail)

In this section, the qualitative data from the core participants’ discussion of their views of certification as a source of symbolic capital was presented. This concludes the main themes with regard to the participants’ perceptions of and experiences with the TESOL certification process. In the next part, I turn to the data obtained from the questionnaires completed by the core participants.

Qualifying the Questionnaire Results

As explained in Chapter 5, the questionnaire that was given to survey participants was given to the core group of participants twice: once before the first interview (Appendix H) and again after the second interview (Appendix I). The purpose was to see if the participants’ opinions changed as a result of their experiences in the TESOL program. Table 21 shows the core participants’ responses to each administration of the questionnaire.
Table 21. *Core Participants’ Survey Responses for Each Statement on Certification through a TESOL Program*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Ahmad</th>
<th>Chen</th>
<th>Rashmi</th>
<th>Sook</th>
<th>Fariba</th>
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Notes
Response types:
SD: Strongly Disagree; D: Disagree; NO: No Opinion; A: Agree; SA: Strongly Agree

Response timing:
(a): Response before the first interview
(b): Response after the second interview
From the responses to Item 1 shown in Table 21, it is clear that they all, strongly and consistently, both before and after the program, believed that having previous experience in an EFL context is an advantage for teaching ESL in Canada. As for Item 2, which asked whether Canadian certification resulted in positive changes in expertise, all except Fariba agreed that it did. Fariba’s views on this question were consistent. The responses from Ahmad, Rashmi, and Sook to Item 3 show that they consistently considered certification to be a source of professional expertise. Chen came to agree with them towards the end of the program. Fariba was the only one who did not believe this. All 5 disagreed that Canadian TESOL certification should be an essential requirement for teaching ESL (Item 4). Interestingly, both Ahmad and Sook had no opinion about this at the time of the first questionnaire. Item 5 asked about challenges and difficulties during the Canadian TESOL certification process. Participants were homogeneous in this regard, all responding that there were challenges. Chen, Rashmi and Sook responded differently to Item 6 than Ahmad and Fariba in both the first and second instance, agreeing that there are differences between Canadian academic and professional expectations and those of their countries of origin. This was also the response pattern for Item 7; Chen, Rashmi and Sook agreed that they had experienced cross-cultural difficulties in Canada. Based on participant responses to Item 8, it appears that all of them expected the Canadian TESOL education programs to be responsive to their professional backgrounds at the time of the initial administration of the questionnaire. However, Chen and Fariba’s views had changed towards the end of the program. Similarly, both Chen and Fariba changed their views about the accommodation of their own voice and identity throughout the TESOL program (Item 9). In response to Item 10 all the participants agreed that acknowledgement of their educational and professional experiences was the key to their empowerment.

As far as responses to the second part of the questionnaire are concerned, all the participants, both at the first administration and the second ranked Statement C first, agreeing that they should be able to work as ESL professionals after their credentials have been assessed, and they have completed any required courses in a TESL program that they have missed. Statement B, which stated that full certification should be the
prerequisite to teaching was ranked last by all participants in each instance.

**Mixing Stage: Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Data**

As discussed earlier, a mixed-methods research design incorporating both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection was adopted for this study. The results of the questionnaires and comparative analyses of the qualitative data were integrated at the mixing stage to facilitate interpretation of the findings. This procedure allows the researcher to carefully analyse the data separately and merge the quantitative and qualitative findings together at the interpretation stage. Using the mixed-methods research design guided by a quantitative data collection method, the questionnaire – administered to survey participants – was qualified in order to allow for a comparison of quantitative results with qualitative data obtained through an exploratory lens. The 5 core participants served as qualitative cases to enable a more in-depth description of the data. This helped the researcher to employ a sequential explanatory strategy (Creswell, 2003), in which the interpretation of qualitative data is supported by or validated against quantitative questionnaire data, to explore the INNESTs’ experiences with and their perspectives on provincial TESOL certification. The next section presents an overview of the data mixing.

The findings from the qualitative case study strand fit fully with those from the quantitative case study strand in a number of ways such that the strands complement each other. The data were consistent in seven major areas: the importance of EFL experience in ESL teaching; rejection of TESOL certification as a requirement for teaching ESL; acknowledgement of academic and professional differences; acknowledgement of cross-cultural difficulties; agreement that TESOL program accommodated diversity; and agreement that recognition of educational and professional experiences would empower INNESTs. Moreover, there was an overwhelming consensus among the two groups of participants (i.e., the core participants and 72% of survey participants) that INNESTs should be able to work as ESL professionals after their credentials have been assessed, and they have completed any missing required courses in a TESL program. In fact, 13% of all participants did not at all believe that certification should be a mandatory
requirement. Therefore, the full certification process was rejected as a professional requirement. So, overall, the findings from the quantitative strand complemented those from the qualitative strand in these areas.

However, there were areas where there were discrepancies between the quantitative and qualitative data. These inconsistencies should be acknowledged and integrated, not necessarily to highlight contradictions in the data, rather, to help to get a better sense of various viewpoints represented in the findings. The discrepant data are described using a complementary lens. These occurred in four areas. First, the majority of the core participants (all except Fariba) agreed that the Canadian TESOL education/certification process resulted in positive professional changes. The majority of the larger group (64.34%) did not agree.

A second area in which there were discrepancies was the influence of Canadian TESOL certification on professional expertise. Again, the majority of the core participants agreed (Ahmad, Rashmi, and Sook consistently agreed; Chen acknowledged this towards the end of the program; Fariba never agreed). Most of the larger group (about 60%) thought otherwise, a difference that is similar to the one described in the previous paragraph.

Third, all of the core participants acknowledged that they experienced challenges during the TESOL certification process. The data collected from the survey participants group was not homogeneous in this regard – 43% reported experiencing no difficulties, 28% had no opinion, and 29% acknowledged experiencing difficulties.

Finally, in regards to TESOL programs’ responsiveness to cultural and professional diversity, there was a huge gap between the two strands. All of the core participants expected that the programs would be responsive in the first administration of the survey at the beginning; however, Chen and Fariba’s views had changed towards the end of the program; that is, they came to believe that their programs were not responsive to their professional identities. About 58% of all participants agreed with the view that Chen and Fariba came to in the end. That said, the data collected from survey participants were divided between the two positions expressed by the core participants.
The reason for the above inconsistencies between the qualitative and quantitative strands might be due to the fact that the core participants had the opportunity to discuss aspects of their professional identities in relation to certification on a number of occasions over an extended period of time, and this is being compared to one-time evaluation of the certification process collected from survey participants through the administration of the questionnaire. That said, although the group of survey participants lacked the opportunity to fully express their beliefs at different stages of certification – which may lead to a less nuanced understanding – they cannot be represented as lacking the ability to assert their beliefs, and as a result, leading to errors in expressing their beliefs. Although this may seem to be a simplified understanding of the data, it can also help us to logically understand inconsistencies.

Inconsistencies within the qualitative data are not surprising as the group of core participants was not completely homogeneous with respect to their professional and educational backgrounds. As such, they would, naturally and reasonably, have different viewpoints. This is a common phenomenon in qualitative research, in which each participant’s unique perspective is examined (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Therefore, such differences between the participants do not generate remarkable dilemmas in the interpretation of the findings. The integration phase of the study also shows another important point: the complexity of the negotiation of professional identity. In fact, the quantitative strand helps to reveal this complexity and the different responses to it possibly due to the different professional trajectories among the study participants. The integration of the two strands, then, reveals the need for special consideration of individuals’ professional identities.

**Discussion and Interpretation**

The research themes underlying INNESTs’ TESOL certification experiences and the ways the certification requirements were taken up, appropriated, or resisted by them as they developed professional identities in Canada are covered in the previous section. In this section I explore connections between the teachers’ construction of their professional identities through the discourses they employed and the gatekeeping discourse operating
through official certification by relating the findings of this study to other similar studies and revisiting some theoretical standpoints.

Requirement and Barrier

One of the purposes of this study was to document INNESTs’ experiences in the TESOL certification process and to identify factors that influenced their integration into the Canadian ESL professional community. The data revealed important findings with respect to the INNESTs’ experiences, in their similarity and differences. For one, the data displays a general tendency among participants in certain areas, particularly, with respect to certification as a requirement and barrier, which strongly influences INNESTs’ professional trajectories. In the initial stage of pursuing teaching, the licensing was viewed as a gatekeeping tool that, for the most part, failed to recognize INNESTs’ prior educational and professional experiences in their home country. The INNESTs felt that they had to start from the scratch, re-investing in capitals that they had accumulated over a long period of time. Some of them contested the requirements of the certification process, commenting that this was done without a fair, systematic evaluation of the international experience and expertise they brought with them to Canada. They also showed concern about their professional assets being deemed less valuable or even worthless. These findings concur with the observations made in the literature, described in Chapter 2 of this thesis, that immigrant professionals are “de-skilled” and “disentitled” in the Canadian context (Beynon et al., 2004; Fleras & Elliot, 1999; Henry et al., 1995; Thiessen et al., 1996). Fleras and Elliot (1999), for instance, argue that:

Immigrants have long endured racial abuse and discrimination in the field of employment. Licensed occupations, including medicine and dentistry, continue to impose restrictions and deny accreditation, which results in blocking the entry of immigrants with foreign degrees and credentials from outside of Canada (p. 276).

These findings are also reminiscent of the views expressed in Holliday (2005); he discusses NNSTs’ struggle to assert their professional credibility and identities and how they “have to provide credentials of their professionalism on a daily basis” (p. 13). Holliday attributes the source of such struggles to the source of professional credentials,
that is, the importance of the “Centre” countries\(^{93}\) in issuing certificates, and the value attached to such certificates – as opposed to individuals’ teaching experience:

> What it boils down to is the fact that having certificates from dominant English speaking countries is far more important than the actual experience gained from working with ESL learners and educators in rich ESL environments. (Holliday, 2005, p. 29)

**Positioning**

INNESTs not only engaged with the discourse of provincial certification, they were also positioned within it. This *positioning* entailed a status that produced tensions rooted in an immigrant-as-vulnerable discourse based on the assumption that the INNESTs’ professional selves were at a disadvantage (De Fina 2003; Barkhuizen & de Klerk 2006) with regard to access to material and/or symbolic capitals (Norton 2001). At the same time, INNESTs’ discourse is influenced by the ideology of certification – as a source of power and gateway to privilege, such as higher-paying teaching positions. This leads to INNESTs’ identity claims through investment in provincial certification, by which they will be elevated to a site of access to forms of capital in their new host country, hence more privilege, power, and prestige, and ultimately better personal and professional lives. The prospect of a better life in the future as well as tensions created by educational, cultural, social, linguistic, and professional differences generate different forms of belonging and negotiations of identities.

**Belonging**

Through the lens of Wenger’s (1998) three models of belonging to a community – engagement (getting involved actively); imagination (creating images based on experience); and alignment (trying to fit in) – one can see how INNESTs produce and negotiate possible images of themselves in the new TESOL community. In fact, the interaction of the INNESTs with the discourse of certification helped them to co-construct their position in that community by aligning, resisting, or participating. For instance, by active engagement, Ahmad displayed willingness to adapt to the system. He

\(^{93}\) As explained in Chapter 3, the “Centre” is the notion associated with BANA (Britain, Australasia, and North America) English-speaking countries.
believed that certification could help INNESTs like himself to gain credibility for their professional work. So he adapted and welcomed the opportunity to act as a legitimate new member of or peripheral participant in the TESOL community. The positioning created by certification challenged Fariba’s sense of legitimacy and authority as a second language teacher and put her in the uncomfortable situation of being barred from her professional identity by the requirements of certification. She tried to resist the image of incompetent teacher imposed on her by the discourse of certification by exercising individual agency. Moreover, as exemplified by the excerpts from the interviews and other modes of data collection, the INNESTs disagreed with some aspects of Canadian TESOL certification that fall within a devaluation discourse. Chen resisted some of these values and norms by choosing not to adapt and to resist participation in order to express his identity. He believed that embracing this discourse would endanger his sense of strength. Conflict in discourses results in tension. The outcome is resistance – resistance to the power of the professional certifying association, rejection of its standards or values, or adoption of the association’s norms or practices according to members’ own needs – as seen in the cases of Fariba and Chen (Pennycook 1998).

Sense of Inferiority

It seems that for a majority of the INNESTs, the gatekeeping function of certification is not internalized. This is evident in the overall consensus in both participant groups that the process of certification is unnecessary, and in their counter-position to the official discourse of professional certification. The concerns we saw expressed – extensively and deeply – by most of the core participants served to safeguard their professional identities by positioning them against a perceived imposed discourse in which the foreign teacher is the inferior teacher, informed by mandatory certification. In a number of instances of statements by participants (e.g., Rashmi or Chen) it was revealed that they had internalized a sense of inferiority. Affected by and relying on the discourse of certification, participants constructed their selves, which, according to Goffman (1997, p. 29), is “a product of joint ceremonial labor,” in which an individual “must rely on others to complete the picture of” their self. INNESTs’ engagement with the authoritative positioning discourse inherent in mandatory certification provided a site
or space for them to represent their professional selves. This representation showed itself in different ways for different participants depending on the degree of agency and resistance they displayed. Some reshaped their identities by showing resistance (e.g., in the cases of Fariba and Chen), some by acceptance (e.g., the case of Ahmad), and others by appropriation (e.g., the cases of Rashmi and Sook). Pavlenko (2003, p. 261) considers this site or space “a fertile space for re-imagination of professional identities in TESOL,” in which professionals can develop and display their agency. This is what Varghese et al. (2005) refer to as the agentive and transformative identities.

Antagonism

When a professional individual’s qualifications are perceived as inferior, or less than adequate in the native professional community in the host country, it creates a feeling of subordination. In reaction to this people tend to resist joining or accepting the practicing values and/or norms of the given community. Consistent with that, I argue that the certification requirements helped foster a sense of de-professionalized incompetence, opposition, and resentment among the INNESTs. The animus represented as opposition on the INNESTs’ parts is quite obvious in how they counter-positioned themselves as experienced, qualified, competent, valid, and legitimate individuals in the ESL community. In this situation, their professional identities were shaped by their opposition to the qualifications set by the licensing body, which seemed to have led to a feeling of hostility or – in Clarke’s (2006) words – “antagonism” on their part. This resonates with the findings of Clarke’s study. He reported a similar opposition among new language teachers in the Persian Gulf region to institutional expectations and government policies.

Otherness

Connolly rightly argues that “identity requires difference in order to be, and it converts difference into otherness in order to secure its own self-certainty” (Connolly, 2002, p. 64). This can be seen in the present study’s INNESTs, who, caught up in a process of “otherness” (Said, 1978), became antagonistic to a hegemonic discourse in which they were perceived as different – as others – who needed to become qualified ESL professionals by “our standards” as a result of getting “our certificate.” The sense of
otherness is disturbing in this regard and as it de-constructs the “our” and “their” view of various forms of capital, it reproduces stereotypes and sustains artificial, binary constructions embedded in racist narrative oppositions, such as superior/inferior, generating mixed codes of professionalism and acceptable standards.

Now, why were INNESTs in this study so strongly opposed to the standards set by the licensing association? It could be due to a reaction – through protective feelings towards their prior educational and professional experiences – against official assimilatory discourses, as well as the perceived lack of accommodation on the part of the licensing association because of its unwillingness to negotiate the professional development tasks individual INNESTs would need to accomplish in order for them to be able to practice teaching in the Canadian context.

Peer Effect

As mentioned earlier, a common theme consistently presented in and persistently challenged by the participants’ discourses was the labelling of them as professionally inferior and subordinate. One aspect of this was that the participants’ diverse professional backgrounds were positioned unacceptable by the certifying association. Interestingly, in contrast, it seemed that this perception was viewed as inappropriate by non-INNEST peers in the TESOL program, and that the non-INNEST peers valued the differences in academic and sociocultural traditions. For instance, Chen described a typical language classroom in China where the tenets of Marxism were present, and classmates asked questions to learn more; and Fariba recalled how her description of an ESL teacher’s linguistic knowledge in Iran attracted the attention of peers in the TESOL program. People found their different backgrounds to be relevant to their lives on a personal level. Support from peers – as a mediating tool – had a positive effect on the negotiation of differences in sociocultural norms needed to facilitate the re-establishment of the INNESTs’ professional identities (Lantolf, 2000). Therefore, viewing professional differences through a positive lens can facilitate a collaborative model of identity construction in a healthy environment of mutual respect as opposed to an ideological lens that fosters a sharp confrontational approach.
Integration Versus Segregation

With respect to the certification process as a means for integrating new INNESTs in Canada, there were mixed reactions, creating a mix of discourses. The comments made by the participants about the appropriateness of a full certification process for immigrant teachers were mixed. On the one hand, there were positive perspectives, such as importance of TESOL program’s topics specific to the practice of ESL teaching in the Canadian context. On the other hand, there was an overwhelmingly negative response to the certifying body’s requirements. The result of this was a counter-discourse of segregation rather than integration. This segregation was understood on the part of INNESTs as “belittling” and based on label – “immigrant” – and their place of origin – where they had accumulated their professional capitals over many years. The perceived allocation of lower status for no other reason than the place of origin of professional capital is believed to be associated with political and economic consequences, such as less power, privilege, and prestige, which challenges the widespread neo-liberal discourse (Giroux, 2004). This discourse holds individuals responsible for their successful integration into the new system, and for the most part fails to take into account the structural obstacles to integration. The collection of both such positive and negative positions was influential in the INNESTs’ reconstruction of their professional identities as ESL teachers in a new, English-speaking country.

A One-Size-Fits-All Approach

This study suggests that another counter-discourse emerged from the remarks of the participating INNESTs. This deals with TESOL professional development in a new country through a “narrow” approach to certification by one path, taking Canadian TESOL courses set and required by the licensing association. Although the INNESTs agreed that the certification requirement can help to ensure the quality and uniformity of the courses across the different institutions offering it in the province, they also believed

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94 An examination of INNESTs who choose not to go through the certification process because they find it costly, time-consuming, and insulting to their professional identities was beyond the scope of this study. But given the segregation discussed here, it would be interesting to explore if the perceived “sink or swim” certification process might be a pivotal factor in further segregating or alienating individuals to such an extent that they decide to change professions.
that this narrow approach limits the realization of the potential of qualified and experienced INNESTs, and is insensitive to their various forms of professional capital. In fact, the INNESTs see their professional credentials and forms of capital being evaluated by a one-size-fits-all approach by the certifying association, and that the way the certification process is enacted by the association frames the process in a static, non-dynamic way. Building on Bourdieu’s conceptualization of capital as “accumulated labor,” Kubota (2002, p. 299) argues that “an equal distribution of capital produces and reproduces social stratification, domination, and subordination.” Given the standard and centralist ideology of Canadian TESOL certification – as captured in INNESTs’ discourses – the process may be incapable of fully valuing INNESTs’ diverse capitals. The enforcement of compulsory certification can then reproduce existing dominance discourses, which could result in exclusion and generate the kind of antagonism discussed earlier. It is important to note that a specific discourse may achieve hegemonic status as a result of it being used – consciously or unconsciously, intentionally or unintentionally, explicitly or implicitly – on repeated occasions in any given context. Such discourse may then come to be considered to be the reality in the society. Referring to such dominant discourses, Mitchell and Sackney (2000, p. 133) maintain that the assumptions upon which they are based become “so deeply embedded in cognition and practice that they are not seen as assumptions at all but as reality itself.” Such hegemony discredits other possible discourses, in essence rejects other ways of seeing and understanding issues. Consequently, such a limiting view may contribute to the formation of oppositional identities. According to Torfing:

The hegemonic force which is responsible for the negation of individual or collective identity, will tend to construct the excluded identity as one of a series of threatening obstacles to the full realization of the chosen meanings and options … the negation of identity always gives rise to social antagonism. (Torfing, 1999, pp. 120-121)

Moreover, through the one-size-fits-all lens, the process of certification is the basis of a value system that reinforces conformity to centralized standards, instead of celebrating diversity. The counter-discourse, which views certification as a site in which to create homogeneity among those with a non-Canadian professional background, is hard to ignore because it may generate a stereotypical view of INNESTs and the value –
or, better to say, the lack of value – of their non-Canadian credentials. This stereotypical perception and devaluation of assets can be problematic because it can lead to a dogma of homogeneity with respect to individuals’ teaching skills and professional capabilities.

The Top-Down Versus Bottom-Up Approach

The dominance of the discourse that helps shape the antagonism between INNESTs and the certification requirements set by the association is an important issue that is hard to ignore. In the INNESTs’ views in the study, this discourse can be understood as a “top-down” process of certification that fails to take into account the individual INNEST cases in their own right in order to attempt to form a more accurate picture of an individual’s professional background and experience.

A possible consequence of a top-down process of certification is its effect on INNESTs’ view of themselves and role in engendering feelings of difference, divisiveness, and inferiority, which create a negative professional self-image and devaluation of the capitals accumulated prior to immigration. The top-down process of certification is outcome-oriented and contributes to reproduction of hegemonic views on what is worthy and what is not; it may generate divisions among professionals; and may view difference as undesirable, and – inadvertently or intentionally, directly or indirectly – protect the values, norms, and interests of dominant groups, and limit ownership of symbolic power to a small powerful elite in the position to decide who to let in and who to keep out.

Another possible consequence of this view of certification is the discourse of inequality that operates through the certifying institutional structures – the way the certification process is envisioned, designed and, enacted – as well as its ideology – the way various types of capital accumulated in various places are viewed, valued, and received. This leads to the unequal treatment of individuals based on the geopolitics of accumulated capital. Discourses grounded in inequality help to maintain unequal access to and distribution of power, economic advantage, and social position. Indeed, as Astor (2000, p. 19) has rightly argued, “because there is no such thing as an average teacher of English or any other discipline, there can be no professional differentiation among NS
and NNS teachers of English. The only real difference among teachers of English or ESL lies in their qualifications, not in their nativity.” I argue that professional qualifications should be the only criteria used in a gatekeeping process, and there should not be any deficit-oriented perspectives and/or negative assumptions about INNESTs made based on the origin of their professional capital.

A rigid, top-down, one-size-fits-all approach towards certification – as norm and standard – is dangerously simplistic, divisive, and essentialist: it creates binaries, generates “us-them” divisions “in which educators are discriminated against by virtue of nationality, speakerhood, or race” (Holliday, 2005, pp. 168-169). Although such an approach may be seen as the best way to ensure educational quality, it can also be seen as a means to control, preserve, and safeguard “our” system, knowledge, and professional standards against “outsiders” entering the system in the Centre (Pennycook, 1998). Holliday (2005, p. 164) rightly warns us about such control:

The Centre is not more critical of its practices in terms of the service that it needs to offer to English language learners, but more for the control that it seems to be losing with the changing of the ownership of the language and the subsequent loss of authority over ‘how things should be done.’

Furthermore, such an approach may reinforce coercive relations of power. According to Cummins (2001, p. 14):

Coercive relations of power refer to the exercise of power by a dominant group (or individual or country) to the detriment of a subordinated group (or individual or country). … Coercive relations of power are reflected in and shaped through the use of language and discourse and usually involve a definitional process that legitimates the inferior or deviant status accorded to the subordinated group (or individual or country).

Despite the fact that individuals may see certification as obedience to a top-down licensing authority, they may still decide to pursue it because of their understanding that it will provide them with stronger symbolic power – through the agency of certificate-issuing association – with the result that they will enjoy more privilege and prestige.  

95 The question to be asked is whether Canadian certification ensures better teaching skills and better knowledge. Is it possible that somebody who resists going through certification has even better skills or more knowledge? This is an interesting research question for a future study.
Even those who eventually decide to go through this process, and successfully complete it, might think that this authoritative approach is not the most suitable or fair, and consequently form feelings that are unhealthy for both themselves and the association (Clarke, 2006).

The INNESTs seemed to be calling for a “bottom-up” approach to certification, which they see as more fair and inclusive. Such an approach would entail a process of interaction between the association and INNESTs, through a constructive dialogue – similar to the interviews used in this research – where INNESTs can actively engage in communication expressing their inner selves, their thoughts and emotions, and negotiate their professional identities with the “other.” This interaction would involve power relations. Torfing (1999, p. 255) maintains, “all identities are constructed in and through hegemonic power struggles.” Given the ideological aspects inherent in identity construction and the power relations embedded in interactions, and following Britzman’s (1994, p. 72) idea that teacher educators should “engage in dialogue with student teachers about each of our ideological processes of becoming … [to form] critical awareness of the constructedness of knowledge and how these images set the terms for and boundaries of identity,” I argue that it is important for the TESOL certifying association to facilitate such dialogues with INNESTs and keep the negotiation door open so that INNESTs’ voices could be heard in the certification process. Given the plurality of professionals’ forms of capital, in a pluralized setting such as Canada, bottom-up certification, or certification from below – with a focus on the individual – could serve as a suitable alternative to the present system that would foster a bilateral and dialogic relationship between the certifier and the certificate seeker to help foster professionals’ identity, agency, and voice. Such a relationship would sustain an ethical, more inclusive relationship based on dialogue and mutual understanding, and provide a venue for both sides to discuss and negotiate possible disconnections between the government’s immigration policies and requirements and those of the professional certifying organization. In this approach, standard formulaic procedures – in which, regardless of individuals’ background, all are required to take the same courses, and the diverse personal and professional experiences of INNESTs are not fully taken into account – could be avoided. Also, this approach could help promote collaborative relations of
power. According to Cummins (2001, p. 16):

Collaborative relations of power … operate on the assumption that power is not a fixed pre-determined quantity but rather can be generated in interpersonal and intergroup relations. In other words, participants in the relationship are empowered through their collaboration such that each is more affirmed in her or his identity and has a greater sense of efficacy to create change in his or her life or social situations. Thus, power is created in the relationship and shared among participants. The power relationship is additive rather than subtractive. Power is created with others rather than being imposed on or exercised over others.

This collaborative relationship leads to “affirmation of identity,” which establishes the “respect and trust” between the two sides “that is crucial for each to reflect critically” on their professional standards and experiences (Cummins, 2001, p. 4).

What is more, the disjunction between the licensing association’s dominating discourse and the discourses of the INNESTs would be bridged, which would help remove of the perception that one’s prior education and experiences were being devalued and produce a more fair process. A pluralized, dialogic, bottom-up certification model is one in which all those involved have a voice. Professionals feel their voices are heard and do not feel that their qualifications are not taken seriously. As such, certification is not perceived as a downgrading of professional identity. Individuals will not feel that their professionalism is devalued through an imposed discourse of homogeneity practiced and advocated by the powerful, controlling association and other dominant and/or powerful groups, such as those already certified by the system, or administrators in hiring positions who are generally unwilling to hire even qualified, proficient non-native teachers with appropriate pedagogical credentials (Medgyes, 1994; Árva & Medgyes, 2000). Such an approach would also bridge the gap between the long-lasting generally accepted belief in lifelong learning as a value and the imposition of certification as an ideology.

Assumptions that professional differences are deficits will be replaced by a full, serious recognition of prior experience. Such a pluralized certification process would be more democratic because it acknowledges and welcomes different forms of knowledge and capital, and respects and appreciates difference and diversity. In this way, diversity of capitals is looked upon as the norm, which prevents the dichotomizing of professional identities and fragmenting of professional communities and eradicates the ethnocentric
othering of professionals from the periphery (Canagarajah, 2005; Holliday, 2005).

Complicity in the Dominant Ideology

Bourdieu (1986) discusses various forms of capital – economic, social, cultural, linguistic, and symbolic – and their associated symbolic power. These different forms of capital can be converted to one another (Bourdieu, 1991). For example, educational credentials – as a form of cultural capital – can result in higher ranking, more prestigious jobs with better pay and more benefits – that is, material and symbolic capital. Also, Bourdieu’s notion of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) explains how power is reproduced in social settings. The symbolic capital – as the practices of authority – points to the positions of power in the social context, and can determine whether such practices are legitimate. In this model, individuals with little or no access to symbolic capital work to attain it. The outcome for them might be further subjugation, in which they are complicit, through consent or coercion. INNESTs in the certification process – even those who show resistance to the certifying association’s standards – in actuality, are complicit with the dominant certification ideology because they view certification as the tool for achieving better professional, economic, and symbolic lives.

Cooperation Versus Domination

The perceptions of the participating INNESTs in this study that engender hostility towards the certifying association’s mandatory policies might lead to a lose-lose situation, which, in turn, might contribute to a failure of communication and cooperation between the two. Antagonism – when maintained and sustained – is likely to entail a continued dichotomous us/them relationship between the two. This is dangerous as it can completely prevent a mutually respectful, healthy relationship between INNESTs and the professional association that is supposed to represent them. An ongoing, flexible, dynamic, and constructive dialogue would provide opportunities for both sides to share their positions and concerns, which would contribute to a change in the discourse – from dominant to one that is more egalitarian. This dialogue is particularly vital for the certifying association, which is in a powerful position and makes decisions that affect the professionals’ lives. When we create a unified, inflexible set of requirements and
procedures for TESOL certification, we should be able to justify those requirements and be able to show that the requirements are empirically based and well-supported by research, and are not merely arbitrary. A lack of a solid justification may mean that we are unable to evaluate individuals’ professional credentials accurately and objectively. As a result, we may fall into a form of chauvinistic professionalism rooted in biased ideological perspectives that, unfoundedly and unfortunately, prefer one group over another, facilitating unhealthy competitive discourses and reproducing and supporting the already existing power relations in the professional society.

Negotiation of Differences

The certification process can serve as a site for INNESTs to revisit their cultural values and reshape their identities on the basis of cultural conflicts and convergence that they experience in the new country or professional community. The INNESTs who have “crossed the border” both physically and symbolically – be it culturally, linguistically, or academically – (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000, p. 174) enter a space where the sociocultural norms may differ from the cultural values with their different forms of capital accumulated in their countries of origin. Such differences are not only based on historical, linguistic, and social differences but also on political perspectives that influence their perceptions and ideologies, which, in turn, can influence the individual’s willingness to socialize with, and motivation to assimilate into the new professional TESOL community of practice. The negotiation of differences may lead to challenging uncomfortable moments for the INNESTs’ selves and lead to clashes in their professional identities (Pavlenko, 2001) when loyalties to previous professional norms are sustained. Such loyalties can translate into resistance to new forms of professionalism (i.e., certification) and procedures required by the certifying association, which can lead individuals to feel unassociated, “unaccepted or incompatible” (Pavlenko, 2001, p. 319). The result for individuals would be the perception that their professional positions are less desirable or favourable in the professional community. The outcome may be the transformation of the individual – through self-regulation – towards empowerment or disempowerment as they decide if they can fit or want to fit into the given professional community or not.
Professionalism

According to Rosenberg and Sindelar (2005, p. 125), professionalism is “the attitudes and behaviors of those who aspire to, or are considered to be, professionals.” Rosenberg and Sindelar (2005, p. 125) maintain that, in order to be considered a professional, an individual’s professionalism needs to be publicly approved, which is generally based on a number of criteria, such as “receiving relatively high level of compensation,” “possessing a strong collective identity,” and “the requirement of formal credentials or licensing to practice one’s craft.” We have seen in this study how INNESTs’ attitudes toward the certification process are affected by its requirements and structures. The bitterness felt was generally shared among the participants. The certification procedures seem to have forced them into a process that they viewed as unfair. The pluralized dialogic ‘bottom-up’ certification approach described here, however, would provide INNESTs with the opportunity to develop a positive professional attitude and gain the necessary public approval (Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996). In the meantime, there is another advantage to this approach. It would help raise the level of awareness among the general public about professionals’ different forms of capital, and discontinue existing negative discourses that reproduce Center ideologies (Pennycook, 1994). As discussed in Chapter 2, there has been a preference for non-immigrant, local, native-speaking teachers in the field. Sometimes this preference has been expressed in subtle, even politically correct ways. For instance, Derwing and Munro (2005), in their “informal” case study of TESL programs in Vancouver and Edmonton, refer to “out of necessity,” “pragmatic,” “context-specific,” teacher trainers’ initiatives for screening TESL teacher candidates based on “community expectations” and the “needs” of students to be exposed to “Canadian English” (p. 190) and “local varieties of English in order to function successfully in the[ir] communities” (p. 181). They also acknowledge that students in private schools expect to have “ideal” teachers because they pay high fees. Although Derwing and Munro do not specifically define what they mean by “ideal,” one cannot help but think that it is the highly preferred “ideal” native-speaker teacher extensively documented in the literature. If there were a pluralized, dialogic, bottom-up certification approach, such potentially discriminatory expectations could be discussed, and systematic promotion of certain ideologies through professional norms
could be deconstructed. This would help to reveal perspectives that are based on false stereotypes and presuppositions and encouraged and motivated by market ideologies and forces, the ultimate arbiter of professional qualifications and needs. Moreover, it would show that negative ideologies lead to nothing but the reproduction of discourses of divisiveness, difference, and dominance in the professional and the general community.  

As indicated by the data, certification is perceived as a quality indicator or quality control meter. Job opportunities with better, government-funded, financial packages require the possession of Canadian certification. Certification is then assumed to be linked to the quality of teaching skills and/or knowledge associated with certification. The value of the certificate is tied to its prestige value, and so serves as a highly sought after and recognizable branding – so to speak – which is widely specified in job advertisements and mainly looked for in applicants’ resumes. The message is clear: to improve your professional status, you must acquire Canadian certification – promoting the “Made in Canada” brand discourse. This suggests that the ultimate stage in professional status is certification, as opposed to the achievement of professionalism on the basis of lifelong, ongoing development of professional knowledge and language teaching skills. Another implicit message, as manifested in the INNESTs’ discourse, is that mandatory certification is being used as an ideology to persuade teachers, teacher educators, and administrators to follow certain ways – be it teaching skills or materials – that the certifying association considers to be relevant, effective, and appropriate. Such discourse of certification serves to exercise top-down control of professional behaviour. The mixed responses from the INNESTs in the study were examples of the resistance of professional identities against such control through interrogation of and deconstruction of mandatory certification as an essential component of ‘acceptable’ professionals.

Self-Other Dialogue

The data described in this chapter show that interaction with the researcher provided an opportunity for the participants to express their feelings and views about the

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96 According to Derwing and Munro (2005), Canada’s annual rate of 250,000 immigrants is “relatively high, given the size of the country’s population” – 31 million (p. 181). Given their different countries of origin, one can assume that these immigrants speak many different non-local varieties of English, which is, in fact, in line with the reality of the linguistic diversity of Canadian multiculturalism.
certification process, and to narrate the changes in their professional identity since coming to Canada. Given that the researcher was known to the participants as a PhD candidate with expertise in TESOL and ESL, it seems to me that listening to their perspectives – as an enthusiastic, attentive, and active listener, an other\textsuperscript{97} – created a situation in which they could, with little or no reservation, talk openly about their emotions and situations, and construct their sense of self as an educated and experienced professional. Bakhtin (1986) considers this an important role for the other in social communication. He maintains:

This follows from the nature of the word, which always wants to be heard, always seeks responsive understanding, and does not stop at immediate understanding but presses on further and further (indefinitely). For the word (and consequently, for a human being) there is nothing more terrible than a lack of response. (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 127)

Similarly, it seemed that involvement in the study offered most of the participants – particularly Fariba and Chen – a chance to engage in conversations with a listener exhibiting “responsive understanding,” which helped them to negotiate their identities as highly educated and experienced professionals.

**Expert-Novice Reversion**

Closely related to the previous point is that certification can act as a tool in the reconstruction of professionals' selves because it offers professional conventions and standards that constrain the way various forms of capital are realized and negotiated. These conventions may be “sanctioned” by the INNESTs in the new professional community, or they themselves may be “sanctioned” by their new professional community as a result of declining certification (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000). The negotiation of the standards and conventions can help the newcomer INNESTs to restructure themselves in order to either join the new community as a legitimate member, or remain as a peripheral member by partial participation, or become a non-member by completely and consciously maintaining a previously constructed professional self (Lave

\textsuperscript{97} In fact, during one of the interviews as well as during the focus group session, I told the participants and later noted in my field notes that I became highly interested in exploring the materials used in the TESL programs recognized by TESL Canada Association because of the participants’ perspectives on the materials used in Canada.
& Wenger, 1991; Siegal, 1996). In the latter case, the experienced INNESTs may feel that mandatory TESOL certification is causing the reversion of an expert to novice, which may negatively affect their professional “expert activity by fragmenting cognitive functioning” (Verity, 2000, p. 181). Finding one’s professional self to be irrelevant may lead to the point where one creates an other in him or herself to talk to. It seems that the data collection strategies in this study, especially the interviews, served the INNESTs not only as a mediating opportunity to think aloud about their fears and expectations, but also as safe spaces where they could question authority, and a site where they could negotiate their former and/or future expertise and professional identities. Through the interviews, some of the INNESTs (such as Ahmad and Fariba) exercised agency and imagined the other self in their professional identities that was motivated to succeed rather than remain in a past self constantly comparing an established successful position with a future that they fear is full of insurmountable challenges (such as in the case of Chen) (Holland et al., 1998; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006).

In this section, by applying a variety of theoretical and analytical concepts, I demonstrated how INNESTs construct images of their professional selves within and across the dominant certification discourse. Moreover, the analysis and interpretation of the data shows how identity construction formation processes can be theorized from various perspectives as political, discursive, negotiated, and re-constructed to activate a discourse of equity. INNESTs developed counter-discourses to complete alignment with centralized professional norms through the tool of certification, by interrogating and challenging the power that would constitute them as certification-seeking professionals. The discourse of certification as an essential instrument of control, as a powerful means of recognition, and as an important means for maintaining the professional status quo – by setting and imposing policies that function as gatekeepers – were challenged to transform coercive relations of power.

**Summary and Conclusion**

This chapter examined INNESTs’ thoughts, experiences, emotions, and perspectives on TESOL certification in Ontario, and how these perspectives reflect
certification ideologies as manifested in the official provincial certifying association’s requirements. It documented how provincial certification is realized in the lives of INNESTs’ participating in TESOL programs, and provided a context to evaluate TESOL certification as a site for INNESTs’ negotiation of their professional identities, and how the official discourse of certification is represented, reproduced, or resisted in participants’ discourses. My aim in this chapter was to examine the ways in which provincial professional certification affects INNESTs’ identity (re-)construction, and how it is enacted through INNESTs’ negotiation of various forms of capital and their response to the discourse of gatekeeping requirements and professional norms.

The findings in this chapter demonstrate that institutional certification serves as a symbolic discourse of de-professionalization for INNESTs applying for certification. Also, it was found that INNESTs reacted to such discourse in different ways, accepting and internalizing or questioning and resisting it.

The findings show that the INNESTs’ experiences with certification were influenced by a number of factors. These factors were connected to the ways the requirements have been set by the provincial licensing body as well as the implementation of those standards in the TESOL program. The participants reported that their education and experience were overlooked by the imposed set of standards and that they were viewed according to what they had to become according to the standards, as opposed to what they were. They expressed concern that their legitimacy as professionals in the field had to be verified through the acquisition of a certificate, and how their diverse backgrounds were neither affirmed nor acknowledged. They challenged the idea of conformity to a single set of criteria and the fairness of having to go through teacher re-education and pay high price for professional recognition.

As well, there were objections to the arbitrariness of the program as a whole. Moreover, participants described their belief that Canadian certification and education was favoured at the expense of their non-Canadian education. This is despite the fact that they believed that their strengths and skills were valuable, useful, and transferable.

The findings suggest that resistance to the standards set by the licensing body was
compensated by the way the participants were treated by their program peers and administration. The time spent and attention paid by them helped the INNESTs to freely share their concerns and questions, and integrate into the program more smoothly, despite cross-cultural, academic, and financial challenges.

The participants agreed that the parts of the TESOL program that deal with subject matter specific to the Canadian context were very useful and needed. However, they did not find the year-long program in general either helpful or necessary to meeting their professional needs and goals. Rather, it was, for the most part, irrelevant and repetitive. The certification process did not distinguish the experienced INNESTs from their novice Canadian-born teacher candidates; but it did provide them with recognition, acceptance, and legitimacy in the Canadian professional ESL community. Finally, the challenges faced by INNESTs were multifaceted, crossing several domains of capital. Therefore, a multidisciplinary approach is needed to fully understand these complexities, to understand the major conflicts in and constraints on INNESTs’ professional identity reconstruction, and to understand the effects of harmful ideologies associated with coercive professional discourses in order to facilitate negotiation of professional identities in an additive manner by reinforcing past professional experience and to facilitate construction of positive identities to achieve real, meaningful empowerment.

This chapter focused on the ‘I’ in “INNEST” and the transitional journey within the framework of seeking provincial TESOL certification. The next chapter presents findings related to the ‘T’ in “INNESTs” and the participants’ negotiation of second language teacher expertise and self-image.
CHAPTER 8

RESULTS: SECOND LANGUAGE TEACHING KNOWLEDGE – RESHAPING TEACHER COGNITION AND NEGOTIATING SELF-IMAGE IN A TESOL COMMUNITY

Introduction

In this chapter, I focus on the “T” in INNEST, that is, the “teachers” in immigrant non-native English-speaking teachers and discuss INNESTs’ perceptions of their ESL teaching self-knowledge and awareness from their own viewpoints, in the context of a TESOL community, by exploring the intersection of participants’ self-image and their teaching knowledge in TESOL. In other words, this chapter presents the description, analysis, and interpretation of the findings with respect to the third research question in this study:

Q3. How do INNESTs – as professional ESL teachers – negotiate their teaching self-knowledge and awareness within the framework of a TESOL program in Ontario?

This question is explored through the following two subquestions:

Q3a. What are INNESTs’ views on and image of themselves as teachers?

Q3b. How do INNESTs negotiate their teaching knowledge?

To answer these questions, specific attention is paid to the INNESTs’ self-image and their view of their ESL teaching knowledge. In particular, INNESTs’ negotiation of their teaching knowledge in transition from an EFL to an ESL setting is explored to see if their teacher cognition is affected or undergoes any change.

Description, Analysis, and Interpretation of Data: Chapter Format

The two subquestions listed above are addressed in the first two sections in this
chapter. The first subquestion draws upon the data obtained from both groups of participants: (a) Survey Participants: N= 115; and (b) Core Participants: N= 5. This discussion is divided into three sections: first, a presentation of the findings of the quantitative component involving survey participants; then an overview of the results of the quantitative component involving the core participants; and third, an analysis of the research data at the mixing stage, which brought together the results from both components. The second part is basically focused on the core participants’ teaching practice in the TESOL program. The chapter continues with a discussion and interpretation of the findings and ends with a summary and conclusion.

**Self-Image and Teaching Knowledge: Survey Participants and Core Participants**

**A Quantitative Examination: Survey Participants**

In this section, I first present a description of the findings from the quantitative component. Next, I provide an analysis of these findings.

**Description of the Data**

The data for this section were gathered through a questionnaire administered to survey participants (See Appendix F). There are 20 items on the questionnaire, 10 of which have been discussed in Chapter 7. The remaining 10 items, which relate to the third research question, are dealt with in this chapter. The participants were asked to respond to the items, which took the form of statements, using a 5-point Likert scale in which 1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = No Opinion, 4 = Agree, and 5 = Strongly Agree. Table 22 shows the participants’ responses to each item and provides a detailed analysis of the results according to the ranking for each item, and what percentage of the total each response represents. As well, an overview of the results, through a calculation of mean, mode, and standard deviation, is provided.

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98 These ten items are numbered 1-10 here for the sake of readability. In the original questionnaire (Appendix F), they were numbered as 4, 10 to 12, and 15 to 20, respectively.
Table 2. Survey Participants’ Responses for Each Statement on Expertise and Self-Image

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<th>2 D %</th>
<th>3 NO F.</th>
<th>3 NO %</th>
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<th>5 SA F.</th>
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<td>1.74</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>1.79</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
Total number of respondents: 115
F: Frequency of responses
Response types: SD: Strongly Disagree = 1; D: Disagree = 2; NO: No Opinion = 3; A: Agree = 4; SA: Strongly Agree = 5; M/NA: Missing/No Answer = 0
Item 1 asked the participants to respond to the statement that it is important for them to associate themselves with both Canadian-born teachers and other internationally educated teachers in the TESOL program. Responses revealed that a majority (85%; n = 98) agreed with the statement, with a mean of 4.28 on a scale ranging from 1 to 5.

Item 2 asked participants to respond to the statement that their TESOL teacher educators’ background and personal knowledge affected their teaching and interaction style with INNESTs. Eighty-two respondents (71%) agreed or strongly agreed to Item 2, 16 students were neutral about this, and 16 of them disagreed or strongly disagreed, with a mean of 3.98, mode of 5, and a standard deviation of 1.26.

Item 3 asked participants to respond to a statement about how they felt about their professional expertise while in the TESOL program. A considerable number of them (n=78; about 67%) indicated that they had mixed feelings (mean=3.83; SD=1.46; mode=5).

Responses to Item 4 showed the relative importance of the role of INNESTs’ native-speaking peers in creating their self-image in TESOL. An overwhelming majority, more than 80% (n=93; mean=4.23; SD=0.87), reported this as an important factor. 99

The questionnaire also probed respondents’ assessments of the influence of their feelings toward their teacher educators in the TESOL program. Item 5 probed whether this feeling affected their sense of expertise. A majority (n=82; 71%; mean= 3.83;

99 As mentioned in the discussion of the quantitative data in Chapter 6, acceptance by other native speakers of English was not at the top of the list of ten most important factors in the NS construct identified by the survey participants. A reviewer of this chapter wondered if this was a contradiction – if the participants do not believe that NS perceptions affect their identity as an NS or NNS, then how can they be affected by how NS peers perceive them as teachers? This is difficult to answer as the one-time administration of the questionnaire did not allow for follow-up clarification. A speculation, however, could be offered based on previous research. According to Wenger (1998), identity involves multimebership: “We engage in different practices in each of the communities of practice to which we belong. We often behave rather differently in each of them, construct different aspects of ourselves, and gain different perspectives” (p. 159). Such “multimeberships may involve ongoing tensions that are never resolved” (p. 160), which may create conflicts. From this perspective, individuals may negotiate multiple conflicting identities across different communities. Examples of such multiple conflicting identities can be found in previous research conducted on NNESTs (e.g., Golombek & Jordan, 2005). With that in mind, a possible answer to the above-mentioned query might have to do with how INNESTs define their communities and negotiate their membership in them – on one hand, among the general NS public, and on the other, among NS peers in their specific TESOL community.
SD=1.33) reported that it did, indeed; only 15 INNESTs (about 13%) reported no influence.

Responses to Item 6 revealed that the participants were divided in their views on whether their sense of expertise was influenced by the way they felt about their fellow teacher candidates in the TESOL program. More than 44% did not agree; 45% agreed with the statement, 8.70% did not express any opinion, and 1.74% of responses were coded as missing values as these respondents chose not to answer the question or were unable to do so (mean = 2.91; SD = 1.69).

Responding to Item 7, a high percentage of the participants (70.43%, with an average of 2.17, mode = 1 and SD = 1.43) disagreed that how they felt about the TESOL-offering institution that they had attended actually influenced their sense of expertise.

The participants were divided in their responses to Item 8, which was designed to discover whether their sense of expertise was influenced when they identified themselves as English language teachers in front of Canadian-born native speakers of English. Fifty of them (43.48%) did not agree; 49 (42.6%) agreed with the statement; and 16 (13.91%) did not express any opinion.

Similarly, a division in opinions was found in response to Item 9, on whether their sense of expertise was influenced when they identified themselves as English language teachers in front of their TESOL program peers: 43 (37.39%) disagreed, 54 (46.95%) agreed, and 17 (14.78%) did not express any opinion.

Responses to Item 10 were divided as well. Item 10 asked participants to respond to the statement that their sense of expertise is affected when they identify themselves as English language teachers in front of individuals who share their ethnic background: 43 (37.39%) strongly disagreed or disagreed; 58 (50.43%) strongly agreed or agreed; and 12 (10.43%) did not express an opinion.

**Analysis of the Data**

As noted earlier, descriptive statistics were employed to describe the INNESTs
perceived their self-image and professional expertise during the TESOL certification process. A five-point scale was used to allow respondents to indicate for each of the 10 statements how well it matched their views and perceptions. The 10 items on the questionnaire concerned the importance of associating with others in TESOL programs; the influence of TESOL teacher educators’ backgrounds; role of self-perception on teaching expertise; role of and relationships with Canadian-born peers in the program; effect of TESOL teacher educators on teaching expertise; effect of TESOL peers on teaching expertise; role of TESOL-offering institution on teaching expertise; effect of Canadian native-speakers’ judgment on self-image and teaching expertise; effect of TESOL peers’ judgments on self-image and teaching expertise; and effect of judgments on self-image and teaching expertise by members of the same ethnic background respectively (See Appendix F).

The general shape of response distribution is quite uniform in six areas and the data display general tendencies among the participants in certain areas. For instance, a majority of the respondents (85%) believed that it is important for them to associate themselves with both Canadian-born teachers as well as other internationally educated teachers in the TESOL program. Second, a majority of them (71%) were of the belief that their TESOL teacher educators’ backgrounds and personal knowledge affected their teaching of the participants. This is consistent with the mixed feelings they reported about their professional expertise during the TESOL program (about 67%). Fourth, 80% of the participants attached importance to the role of their native-speaking peers in their self-image in the field. Fifth, a majority (71%) considered the influence of their feelings toward their teacher educators as integral to their sense of expertise. Sixth, it is interesting to note that more than 70% did not believe that their feelings about the institution offering their TESOL program actually played any role in their sense of expertise.

Despite the above general tendencies, there were areas in which INNEST participants’ responses varied. For example, they differed in the degree to which they believed their sense of expertise was affected by how they felt about their fellow teacher candidates in the program – about 45% were of this belief and about 45% were not. A similar pattern of response was noted in whether teachers’ sense of expertise was affected
by their self-identification in front of Canadian-born native speakers of English – 42.6% believed so and 43.48 did not. A third area where respondents were not homogenous was about their sense of expertise and their self-identification in front of their TESOL program peers – 37.39% did not attribute any significance to this but 46.95% did. Fourth, this pattern – to a slightly greater degree – was seen for sense of expertise and self-identification in front of individuals of a similar ethnic background – with 37.39% did not attribute significance to this and 50.43% did. In the latter two items, the mean was slightly stronger than average (>3).

Qualifying the Questionnaire Results: Core Participants

As explained in Chapter 5, the questionnaire that was given to the survey participants was given to the core group of participants twice: once before the first interview (Appendix H) and again after the completion of the TESOL program (Appendix I). This was done to see if the participants’ opinions changed as a result of their experiences in the TESOL program. Table 23 shows the core participants’ responses to each administration of the questionnaire.
Table 23. Core Participants’ Survey Responses for Each Statement on Expertise and Self-Image in a TESOL Program

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questionnaire Item</th>
<th>Ahmad</th>
<th>Chen</th>
<th>Rashmi</th>
<th>Sook</th>
<th>Fariba</th>
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<td>A</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>D</td>
<td>A</td>
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<td>SD</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes
Response types:
SD: Strongly Disagree; D: Disagree; NO: No Opinion; A: Agree; SA: Strongly Agree

Response timing:
(a) Response before the first interview
(b) Response after program completion
From the responses to Item 1 shown in Table 2, it is clear that the core participants, consistently, both before and after the program, believed that associating themselves with both Canadian-born teachers and other internationally educated teachers in the TESOL program was important. As for Item 2, which asked whether TESOL teacher educators’ background knowledge affected their teaching of INNESTs positively, all agreed that it did. The responses to Item 3 show that they all had mixed feelings about themselves and their expertise while attending the TESOL program. All, except Sook, who had no opinion about this at the time of the first questionnaire, agreed that their native peers in the TESOL program could serve as good sources for INNESTs to gain a better image of themselves (Item 4). Item 5 asked if INNESTs’ sense of expertise was influenced by the way they felt about their TESOL teacher educators. Participants were not homogenous in this regard; Ahmad and Fariba did not believe so. Although participants responded differently to Item 6 in the first instance, they all agreed in the second instance that their sense of expertise was influenced by the way they felt about their teacher candidate peers. Responses to Item 7 were not homogenous: Chen, Rashmi and Sook agreed that their sense of expertise was influenced by the way they felt about the institution that organized and ran their TESOL program; this was not the case with Ahmad and Fariba. Participants’ responses to Item 8 showed a similar pattern. It appears that both Ahmad and Fariba strongly believed that their sense of expertise was not influenced by the way they felt about themselves when they identified themselves as English language teachers in front of Canadian-born native speakers of English. Similarly, both Ahmad and Fariba were of the opinion that their sense of expertise was not influenced by the way they felt about themselves when they identified themselves as English language teachers in front of their TESOL program peers (Item 9). In response to Item 10, Ahmad and Fariba disagreed that their sense of expertise was influenced by the way they felt about themselves when they identified themselves as English language teachers in front of people who shared their ethnic background.

Mixing Stage

In the mixing stage of the two sets of data, an overview of the findings is
presented. The quantitative analysis of the two sets of data (from core and survey participants) show that they are consistent. The general shape of response distribution is quite uniform in eight areas and the data display general tendencies among the participants in most areas (Items 1-5 and 8-10). However, there were two areas in which INNEST core and survey participants’ responses varied: Items 6 and 7 – effect of TESOL peers on teaching expertise (Survey participants were divided); and effect of the TESOL program on teaching expertise (Core participants were divided).

In this section, the data on INNESTs’ self-image were presented. Now, I turn to the second part of this chapter which focuses on the core participants’ second language teaching practice in the TESOL program.

Second Language Teaching: Core Participants

The purpose of this section is to present the qualitative data obtained from the core participants during their teaching practice in the TESOL program. The data are based on observations and field notes – for the most part – as well as other data sources, including quotes from interviews and follow-up comments on class activities or practice teaching sessions. This section is organized according to recurring themes that emerged from the data. These recurring themes include second language learning experiences, second language teaching beliefs and experiences, and TESOL context and community. Below, I introduce and discuss these themes.

Second Language Learning Experiences

One major emerging theme was the core participants’ prior language learning experiences and the effect these had on their past and present teaching behaviour. At

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100 It is important to note that there were three phases involved in the observation of the participants’ teaching practice: 1) observation of the real-time teaching practices of the participants; 2) the participants’ responses to their audience’s debriefing and feedback; 3) the follow-up electronic communication with the participants about the teaching session. The information collected was used to understand the participants’ language teaching self-knowledge.

101 Although this theme could have found a place in Chapter 7, the decision to divide some seemingly overlapping data between these two chapters was based on the following: A) Consultation with the thesis committee; B) It allowed the discussion to focus on three separate aspects of the participants’ identity development: 1. Language-related identity (Chapter 6); 2. Disciplinary identity (Chapter 7); 3. Self-image and teaching knowledge (Chapter 8).
various stages of the study, participants talked about their language learning history and how they related those learning experiences to their teaching practices. For instance, Fariba was highly cognizant of this connection, as the following quote shows:

I was a successful learner of language [English] back home, [and] that was an EFL setting. The media, everything, was almost all Farsi, and still I managed to acquire the language. Also, I was a successful teacher there. So if successful there, why not here? I think self-confidence is the magic word.

(Fariba, Second Interview)

By keeping the connection to her own past learning of English, Fariba welcomed the new experiences in the new teaching context. Success had been integral to her image of teaching, and continued to be. She emphasized this connection in other remarks, such as the one below:

During the first minutes of my observed practicum, I was stressed out. I was concerned that I would make silly pronunciation or grammatical mistakes in front of the students. My accent was there also, so my mouth became dry for the first few minutes. I began from my lesson plan. Things were not that bad after a while. I remembered my years of experience back home. This gave me confidence, you know. … Also, I remembered that once I was a language student myself, so who would be better than me teaching these students? We understand each other!

(Fariba, Second Interview)

Fariba trusted her expertise and experience, and her strong sense of herself as a practicing professional. Moreover, she added to the features of an INNEST’s professional self by her recognition that her language learning experience was a valuable asset for teaching a second language.

Ahmad also made explicit connections between his own language learning experience and language teaching. He said:

I was good at English. Even after, when I was a student, because my foundation, especially when it comes to grammar, that’s how we learned English, the grammar way. You learn grammar and then you take over other things after. […] because over there it’s grammar-oriented. So once you have the rules and you know how to use them, then you can easily teach them through many examples […] As long as you have that basic knowledge of grammar, you have really mastered it, and then you’ve heard the native speakers of English use it and apply it to many situations, XXX then you can really help other students learn it.

(Ahmad, Second Interview)
The focus on deductive grammar instruction as an integral part of language learning was apparent in Ahmad’s teaching style, though to a considerably less extent. During his teaching session, Ahmad did not allocate as much time to grammar drills and activities as he did on communicative tasks, such as pair work and group discussions (Ahmad, Post-Observation Field Note).

Other participants were also conscious of the effects of their own language learning experiences on their teaching behaviour. In Chen’s case, although he had to make changes in his teaching approach – such as explaining the material in Chinese – he still spent a considerable amount of time on vocabulary instruction and reading activities and less on speaking tasks. This was mentioned as a main critique by his teacher educator and peers. Chen himself had learnt English through the Grammar-Translation Method with some elements of the Audio-Lingual Method. He replaced rote learning and various drills with more communicative tasks in his teaching, but oral communication was mostly teacher-initiated and teacher-centred. On whether he consciously chose to make the speaking tasks teacher-initiated, he said:

I would characterize my own teacher’s way of teaching as authoritarian, strictly following the guidelines, very much like the Communist Party. I don’t know. Maybe I do that myself. No matter how boring it was, it was effective for me and I liked it. That is how I learned English.
(Chen, Follow-up E-mail)

Second Language Teaching Beliefs and Experiences

Another major emerging theme was the effect of the core participants’ prior language teaching beliefs and experiences on their present teaching behaviour. This theme is presented in the discussion below.

First, how did participants relate their prior language teaching beliefs and experiences to their present teaching behavior? Some connected these to the new context well and some others felt conflicted about it. Here is an example from Fariba on the different teaching approaches in the two contexts:

Teaching for me [in Iran] was mostly to give information and knowledge to students; here [Canada], it is like learning together, and help students. We did a
lot of group work, which was great, you know. I learnt a lot from my peers. I think they learnt from me too.
(Fariba, Second Interview)

So, as part of her new professional self, she participated in partnerships, collaborative endeavors, and co-construction of knowledge in teaching, and considered their benefits, learning, the ultimate goal of teaching. Although Fariba welcomed the new teaching methods, her beliefs did not change completely, as indicated in the following quote:

At the beginning, I was a bit shocked at the Canadian way of teaching. It seemed to me that the teacher is not really doing much in the class. I mean she was more like, a coordinator, not really a teacher […] For me, a teacher was, and still is somehow, a teacher. Well, it seems that they want to make students active this way, which is good, but I think both should be used in their own place.
(Fariba, Second Interview)

An integral part of one’s professional identity is the roles one adopts in the teaching profession. Fariba’s professional self challenged the idea of new roles, and revealed mixed feeling towards them. Her final reconciliation, though, was the combination of both the new style and the one she was familiar with. Although she appreciated the possibilities of the new role for learners: active participants instead of passive recipients, she did not completely let go of her notion of the roles – both teachers’ and learners’ – that she had acquired back home. This was not the case with Ahmad and Rashmi, who were more willing to accept new roles and exhibit them in their practice teaching.

Second, closely related to teaching roles is the style of interaction with ESL students in classroom. This was a major change for some of the participants. For example, in response to colleagues’ feedback after her teaching session, Sook emphasized that she had been taught that the image of an English teacher is influenced by the way she negotiates interactions with students and so, for her, interaction was mainly used to establish order and exert authority in her classes in Korea. However, the lesson she had learnt in the program was that she could use these situations to practice language as well (Sook, Post-Observation Field Note). Similarly, Rashmi talked about her more “traditional” and “conservative” methods of teaching. She was of the belief that overemphasizing the importance of social interaction and cooperative learning would result in a lack of discipline in the classroom (Rashmi, Follow-up E-mail).
This vision of teacher image influenced some of the participants’ teaching approach in that they were more inclined to adopt a more teacher-centred approach than the student-centred lesson design recommended in the program. This led to more “teacher talk” than the “student talk” that was endorsed by teacher educators in the program for the majority of the participants: Chen, Sook, and Rashmi (Post-Observation Field Notes).

Chen also expressed conflict about the new teaching norms. For example, he did not seem happy with the lesson plan template that was prescribed by his TESOL teacher educators for practice teaching sessions. For him, the lesson plan template was designed by the program and the instructors, and left no room for the teacher candidates’ personal voices (Chen, Follow-up E-mail).

In terms of selection and application of language teaching methodologies, the majority of the participants were supportive of and comfortable with the use of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT). A good example is Sook who believed in the effectiveness of CLT for a few reasons: it reinforces the use of authentic or “real” language – as opposed to “artificial” language; teaching materials are relevant to students’ lives; teachers assess students’ needs prior to teaching (Sook, Follow-up E-mail). Ahmad agreed that materials with real life examples within a CLT-oriented teaching approach help students to learn and remember better (Ahmad, Follow-up E-mail). Chen, however, was critical of what he saw as “overendorsing” the CLT approach in the TESOL program and was of the belief that this approach resulted in inadequate grammar instruction (Chen, Post-Observation Field Note).

This was also brought up by Sook, who referred to the importance of grammar teaching in her past teaching experiences in Korea and found it interesting that the same weight was not allocated to teaching grammar in her program in Canada. In terms of grammar teaching approaches, she was used to more direct, explicit, and deductive grammar instruction; in her practice teaching, she intended to apply an inductive approach on Korean dining culture for a CLB 7-8 level classroom. Although she welcomed the inductive approach with excitement, she inadvertently switched to explicit instruction in her lesson during the “activate” stage of her teaching – part of the engage-
study-activate-assess cycle recommended by her teacher educator. During the feedback
time after her teaching practice, she explained that grammar had always been a central
part of her language teaching approach in Korea, not only because of the educational
Demands and expectations of the Korean educational system and language policies, but
also because in her four years studying for her bachelor’s degree, grammar teaching had
always occupied a special place in her TEFL teacher education courses (Sook, Post-
Observation Field Note). The use of previous teaching approaches was observed in other
participants as well. During their teaching sessions, both Rashmi and Chen relied
considerably on more “focus/controlled practice” activities, such as repetition and
Substitution, and pair work tasks during their teaching, instead of more
“communicative/free practice” activities, such as role-play and small group discussions
(Post-Observation Field Notes). For example, Chen’s teaching lesson was prepared for
students at the intermediate English language proficiency level (LINC 4-5) and the
lesson’s main goal was to teach the present perfect Tense. He adopted a warm-up-
presentation-application-follow-up cycle within a CLT-oriented teaching methodology.
In his presentation phase, he used an inductive approach through which students were
given various sentences and were asked to derive the grammatical rule while he reminded
students about tenses and other aspects of English verbs. On a number of occasions, he
commented on students’ responses and introduced and explained a number of new
Grammatical terms. The feedback from the teacher educator included admiration for his
teaching approach and the lesson was praised for being informative and for appropriately
tapping students’ prior grammar knowledge. At the same time, revisions were suggested
because the inductive approach was not very well executed and he was encouraged to
explain new grammar items with more communicative tasks, such as role-plays (Chen,
Post-Observation Field Note).

As part of the TESOL curriculum and within the Teaching Skills component of
the course, emphasis was placed on the role of language teacher as a competent syllabus
designer and material developer. In their preparation for their practice teaching sessions,
all five participants showed that they were cognizant of this skill. Due to the requirement
to use and follow prescribed textbooks in their home countries, some of the participants
(such as Sook and Fariba) had less experience with material development. That is why they welcomed the opportunity to develop materials for their teaching. For example, Fariba shared two video clips followed by a pair-work task and an individual grammar activity which she had developed based on those videos. The videos had been aired on CBC News a few days before her practice teaching and were about a recent incident in Toronto where a young black man was suspected of being involved in a murder. Fariba used the clips to introduce relevant vocabulary and to discuss stereotyping and how individuals might become targets as a result of negative stereotypes (Fariba, Post-Observation Field Note).

The capacity to select, use, and/or produce ESL materials was important for other participants, such as Rashmi, who had welcomed the opportunity and prepared a lesson on culture and clothing for her teaching session. As part of the teaching, teacher candidates had to specify their lesson goals and objectives to the students, the former as the overall picture, and the latter as specific terminal aims of the lesson. During the feedback period, Rashmi wondered if her classmates thought that her selected materials were suitable for her lesson objectives (Rashmi, Post-Observation Field Note). Although Sook showed interest in developing her own materials and worked hard to do so, she was constantly concerned about the authenticity of the produced lessons, which she attributed to her self-image as a non-native speaker of English (Sook, Post-Observation Field Note).

One last point in this section is participants’ use of their mother tongue (L1) in an L2 classroom. Given that in the past they had worked with students who shared their mother tongue, the use of L1 had enabled them to explain language concepts, especially new vocabulary and complex grammatical structures. With the switch from EFL to ESL and given the diverse student population in the Canadian context, they felt that this resource was no longer at their disposal. This was particularly the case with Sook and Chen who were used to using L1 in their previous teaching contexts. Sook felt conflicted about “the pressure to teach English through English” and wondered if discarding her practices from the past and refreshing her teaching “self” would be an easy transition.

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102 For example, in the Korean educational system, achieving a high score in the Korean SAT is a priority for many students and officially published materials are highly recommended. In Iran, language teaching textbooks need to be reviewed and approved by the Ministry of Education.
TESOL Community

The third major emerging theme was the core participants’ experiences in the TESOL community. This is explored in this section.

One aspect of being in the TESOL community is the INNESTs’ experiences with the program staff. Generally, attitudes towards the program faculty and the TESOL institution were an important factor in the INNESTs’ experiences. According to the core participants, the program chair played a particularly important role in creating a positive experience for them. She paid attention to teacher candidates’ needs, opinions, and concerns, and made the certification process go as smoothly as she could. She, for example, helped them by providing up-to-date information on certification and explaining the application process. Participants were pleased that she had an “open door policy” and was always available to talk with teacher candidates about their concerns. She would receive suggestions warmly and act upon them quickly, normally after consulting with the TESOL instructors. Rashmi, for example, talked about being assigned to a practicum site that was too far from where she lived. She asked the program chair if she could be relocated and, despite the paperwork entailed, her request was accommodated.103

Another aspect is the classroom atmosphere and dynamics in the TESOL program. The teaching style was a mixture of lecture, classroom discussion, and activities, which was “a good blend, and easy to follow” (Ahmad, Second Interview) while the TEFL “lecture style very challenging and intense” (Sook, Second Interview). Classes were generally less controlled and more informal than the participants had experienced in their home countries. This “Canadian” style appealed to the participants; Rashmi, for example, believed that this mix of teaching strategies was more appropriate for her and other mature students since they were already capable of independent learning. Based on my

103 The program chair was indeed supportive. A good example of how much she cared about teacher candidates was that at the end of the program she offered two successful graduates opportunities to teach ESL on a part-time basis in the same department.
observation sessions, my sense is that these positive comments were mostly due to the instructors’ collaborative and friendly manner of interaction with teacher candidates. Although some of the participants did not think highly of certain elements – such as the prescribed lesson plan format described by Chen earlier – they agreed that the instructors were not rigid with teacher candidates’ implementations of their lesson plans and were open to their suggestions. In addition, participants believed that generally materials were covered in more breadth and depth in similar courses in their home country.

The core participants commented on their interactions with their faculty throughout the program. As discussed in Chapter 7, when asked how they felt about the length and depth of the whole TESOL program, there were differences among the core INNESTs. Sook, for example, believed that while she was fortunate to have had a relevant degree prior to entering the program, it was not intensive enough for teacher candidates with no background in TESOL. She wondered if the program would prepare such teachers adequately to embark on teaching after graduation:

Is it enough to be qualified as an ESL teacher with this program? I devoted one year for learning phonology and I also devoted one year for transformational grammar, and I devoted half a year for grammar, just English grammar, something like that. […] but well here … for example, pronunciation class, is it enough to have the knowledge to teach it? Well, you can give correct pronunciation of words, but can you explain things like place of articulation or manner of articulation? These were not covered really. […] If I teach them [students] these kind of things, they will learn more easily. And I learned all that in a year, but it’s very short here compared to my former education. (Sook, Second Interview)

Despite this criticism, Sook valued the fact that her teacher educators continuously acknowledged her prior knowledge and were affirmative and supportive of it at various points in the program. She was not alone. Other core participants agreed that their experiences with the faculty and other teacher candidates – both NESTs and INNESTs – were positive.

Ahmad described his program faculty as “understanding, devoted, and nice, and I admire them” (Ahmad, Follow-up E-mail). He recalled a time when a number of teacher candidates had found a chapter in Brown’s Principles of Language Learning and
Teaching to be too theoretical and difficult to read. He spoke with the instructor to see if it was possible to replace it with another reading, and she had agreed to do so. Rashmi liked the fact that instructors always invited teacher candidates to ask questions in their classes. Fariba was pleased that most of her teacher educators were mindful of her educational background and years of language teaching expertise:

Alan and Elena [both pseudonyms] distributed a form at the beginning of the course asking us about our background. They really respected my experiences. (Fariba, Follow-up E-mail)

The sense of professional collaboration was another positive aspect of the program. After his teaching, Ahmad acknowledged this during the feedback. He found his instructor good at constructive collaboration in arranging and designing activities for his teaching session. The PowerPoint presentation Ahmad had designed for the session was initially his teacher’s suggestion, since the ESL lesson was intended for an “ESL for Tourism” course. He had prepared the lesson with pictures from different geographical places and used them to teach vocabulary items, such as destination, connection, etc. (Ahmad, Post-Observation Field Note). Collaboration among the teacher candidates themselves was also highlighted as an effective learning tool. Fariba said:

To reflect on what I have learnt and how I feel about it, I should say that I learnt a lot from reading the textbooks, but honestly, I learnt a lot more from the classes I attended. We had real communications with real people, especially the people who were from different cultures. Really valuable! (Fariba, Follow-up E-mail)

But a preference for collaboration was not shared by all participants. Chen preferred to work on his assignments independently:

[It is] not because I do not like group work, but because a serious assignment requires a serious approach, which is almost impossible to achieve when there is more than one student involved. (Chen, Follow-up E-mail)

Rashmi partially agreed:

I prefer independent work. I read thoughtfully and meditatively, but class discussions teach me much more than simple reading. [...] It is not the same. You read about a theory and share your opinion about it with your peers. So, I guess I
have changed my attitude. Cooperative learning is good for me. It is still new but not unattractive.
(Rashmi, Follow-up E-mail)

Chen was also critical of what he perceived as insufficient interaction between the faculty and teacher candidates. He believed that they were too busy with too little time to meet with students:

I think their workload was huge. One of them did not really care about my progress. He was mostly concerned about his own delivery of the contents and that was it.
(Chen, Follow-up E-mail)

Moreover, Chen critiqued teacher educators’ evaluation of assignments. He had received lower grades – compared with other INNEST peers – and was not sure if two of the instructors in the program were fair. After his teaching session, he told me that he believed he was given a lower grade for his teaching because of his speaking style, accent, and slow rate of speech, and because he was a non-native speaker (Chen, Post-Observation Field Note).

In this section, the qualitative data from the core participants’ experiences during their teaching practice sessions in the TESOL program were discussed under three main themes. In the next part, I turn to discussion and interpretations of results of both the quantitative (from survey and core participants) and qualitative data (from core participants) presented up to this point.

**Discussion and Interpretation**

The research themes underlying INNESTs’ self-image and teaching experiences in the program and their interaction with other members of the community of the TESOL program are covered in the first two sections in this chapter. In this section I explore connections between the teachers’ construction of their professional identities by relating the findings of this study to other, similar studies and revisiting some theoretical standpoints.
Self-Image

The primary aim of the first part of this chapter was to address the INNEST participants’ views on and image of their teaching expertise. Overall, the findings highlight the importance of self-image to INNESTs’ negotiations of their sense of teaching expertise in their community. More specifically, the findings speak to several points made about teacher self-image by other researchers.

First, the findings show that, despite being a mixed group with diverse backgrounds, language proficiency levels, and teaching experience (as documented in Chapter 6), the majority of the participants exhibited a high level of confidence as INNESTs by presenting a generally positive self-image. Given that the survey participants are already successfully employed and established teachers in Canada might attest to this idea. Among the core participants, Ahmad and Fariba reflected the highest level of self-confidence, which, as discussed before, has to do with their sense of agency. These findings verify the arguments by Medgyes (1994), Braine (1999), and Sahib (2005) that having professional self-esteem and a good self-image is not necessarily a linguistic matter. Although there is a relationship between language proficiency and professional expertise among INNESTs (Reves & Medgyes, 1994; Árva & Medgyes, 2000), other factors, such as overall qualification and teaching experience, matter as well. Moreover, the INNESTs’ positive self-image confirms the findings of Long (2003), rejecting a negative stereotypical image for INNESTs.

Sahib (2005) discusses a number of factors that impact INNESTs’ self-image. Among them is working and association with NESTs. Carrier (2003) highlights some benefits of this; for example, NESTs can serve as role models as well as linguistic and cultural resources during class activities. Singh & Richards (2006) argue that the teacher education classroom is a community of practice where teacher learning takes place within a sociocultural context, and identities are negotiated through discourse of power and privilege, e.g., the privilege enjoyed by NS peers. In addition, attitudes towards the teacher educator directly affects teachers’ overall learning and professional image; the teacher education program becomes a site within a community of practice in which to
negotiate norms and values as well as potentially a safe space in which teachers receive professional support from teacher educators, mentors (Zhao, 2012), and other teacher candidates – whether NEST or NNEST – in a collegial manner (Le Cornu & Ewing, 2008). All these factors reinforce the importance of working with NS peers as INNESTs (re-)shape their self-images and their teaching expertise.

Teachers’ professional self-image is important in three ways. First, it speaks to the teachers’ evaluation of their expertise, their level of self-esteem, and their self-efficacy. As Khan et al. (2015) argue, there is a direct relationship between teachers’ self-esteem and self-efficacy. Second, their professional self-image reflects INNESTs’ vision of their value in the TESOL community. Third, it projects teachers’ self-advocacy in the teaching profession in that they create an image of themselves as members of a community (Wenger, 1998) and assert their legitimate membership in their professional community. In Golombek’s (2009) words: “Images originate in a person’s past experiences, and are reconstructed to meet the demands of a particular situation, reordering her/his professional and personal experiences, and pointing to future hopes and experiences” (p. 156).

Teacher Cognition

In this chapter, the INNESTs’ reports about their past language learning histories, language teaching experiences, and the contexts within which they operate, were discussed. INNESTs’ negotiation of different aspects of their teaching expertise included changes in their conception of teacher roles in the classroom, teacher image, teacher-centred teaching approach as opposed to the student-centred lesson, conflicts about the “new” teaching norms, selection and application of language teaching methodologies, approaches to grammar teaching, teaching material development, and the use of their mother tongue (L1) in the classroom. The negotiation of teaching expertise represented itself in different ways. One was conscious resistance when faced with a mismatch between a teacher’s beliefs and and practices. For example, Chen openly resisted incorporating a given lesson plan template in his teaching and questioned if his own voice had any place in the decision-making process. And there was unconscious resistance. For
example, Chen, Sook and Rashmi persisted in deductive grammar teaching. This was a part of their prior teaching practice that they found hard to let go of in their new teaching context. In fact, Borg (2009) states that prior teaching experiences may have a long-lasting influence on teachers’ cognition, making change difficult. Third was acceptance. For example, Ahmad and Fariba consciously embraced materials preparation as part of their teaching practice and used it as an appropriate approach in their new teaching experience. In all of these instances, whether due to a direct connection to past experiences or lack thereof, the participants cognitively resisted, reaffirmed, or reshaped (by ‘letting go of’) their teaching practices.

The resistance, whether conscious or unconscious, observed in a few instances, was the result of conflicts between an INNEST’s previously acquired knowledge in a TEFL context and newly acquired knowledge in a TESL context – such as conflicting roles and images of a teacher or disconnection between past beliefs and present practices. These instances show INNESTs may feel conflicted about how to proceed; that is, whether to take up the new knowledge unreservedly or follow their own previously acquired “personal practical knowledge” (Golombek, 1998, p. 447). Golombek (2009) reinforces the importance of listening to teachers’ voices and their stories about their prior knowledge as they “are expressions of a dynamic and complex kind of knowledge – teachers’ personal practical knowledge” (p. 155).

INNESTs’ voices were discussed earlier in this chapter through three major emerging themes: past second language learning experiences; second language teaching beliefs and experiences; and teaching context. Johnson (2006) argues that they all influence teachers’ cognition – “why teachers do what they do” and “the complexities of teachers’ mental lives” (p. 236). These emergent themes further support the idea that TESOL teacher education is socially mediated (Golombek & Johnson, 2004) in that INNESTs’ teaching expertise is negotiated and further developed at the intersection of experiences – both past and present. Verity (2000) warns that professional identity as socially mediated is “vulnerable to external conditions and influences which may require strategic maintenance” (p. 180). Given that and the findings of the present study, it seems that the TESOL program provides an appropriate space for INNESTs to engage with
courses and peers to make sense of their professional selves and negotiate their teaching expertise. The influence of prior teaching practices on the choice of teaching methodology or lesson plan template described earlier are instances of making sense of teachers’ choices when negotiating expertise and/or defying the novicehood felt as a result of having to go back to teacher certification to re-validate claimed past expertise. Such expertise, once asserted, is not felt to be worthless or aimless.

Another point is the conceptualization of TESOL classroom. When teachers move from one context to another they face different expectations. Within each setting, INNESTs are expected to negotiate values that are exclusive to that setting. For the core participants, the TESOL classroom provides an opportunity to tap into their cognition and reshape it based on the necessities of the new teaching context. This highlights the importance of TESOL classroom as an appropriate space to affirm previously hard-earned expertise and to use support from teacher educators and peers to mend expertise, if “fragmented” (Verity, 2000, p. 188) as a result of the feeling of having reverted to novicehood because of having to go through the whole teacher certification process again.

The findings support previous research in other areas. For example, Sook talked about her focus on preparing learners for national exams. This is in line with the findings of Benke and Medgyes (2005) who say that NNES teachers tend to prepare learners for exams through individual tasks within pre-set syllabi, while NES teachers are interested in learners’ opinions and incorporating group work into their teaching. This is echoed by Borg (2006) who argues that NNES teachers pay more attention to teaching grammar for psychological reasons, such as meeting learners’ expectations about ESL courses and achieving concrete and visible results.

One more point should be mentioned here. According to Borg (2006, p. 275), language teaching is “a process which is defined by dynamic interactions among cognition, context and experience.” As such, the necessities of the new contexts can influence teacher cognition in that they change their teaching practices, for example, in their methodological choices. Given the limited number of conducted observations in this study, it cannot be concluded whether the changes observed were temporary or cognitive.
changes that will last for an extended period of time. Longitudinal research would be needed to determine this.\textsuperscript{104} Regardless, it is essential to note teacher cognition changes of any kind – temporary or long-lasting. Borg (2009) reinforces the importance of incorporating teachers’ prior language learning and language teaching cognitions and warns that disregarding them impedes further teacher learning and development. Teacher learning can happen when INNESTs examine their own language teaching cognition and knowledge, the development of their cognition, the assessment of their knowledge and teaching beliefs, and the relationship between their knowledge and teaching practice and student learning. As Shin (2008) suggests, such learning helps INNESTs “to become ethnographers of their own and others’ interactions and draw on the knowledge about the different ways of learning and using language to grow as teachers and professionals” (p. 57).

Community of Practice

The INNESTs in the study were engaged in their TESOL community in various ways and commented on different aspects of their experiences in interaction with the community, that is, the TESOL program, staff, faculty and peers. A key motif was the importance of community support and acceptance, including recognition of previous experience and affirmation of professional identity.

The TESOL community served as a space for INNESTs to negotiate a credible teacher image and teaching expertise, and to reshape their professional selves. Interaction and collaboration with peers and teacher educators proved to be a useful source of support and affirmation of professional identity. The TESOL community helped INNESTs to revisit and validate their self-perceived expertise in order to imagine and achieve expertise within a new community of practice.

As argued by Shin (2008), professional collaboration with their peers – especially NESTs – through sharing of expertise and relating to one another plays a key role in INNESTs’ success and co-construction of teaching expertise in their community. Moreover, it helps them to receive the scaffolding support they need from teacher\textsuperscript{104} This is a limitation in this study that is discussed in Chapter 9.
educators and mentors to actively appropriate their knowledge in the new community (Shin, 2008).

Active engagement in the new community also helps with INNESTs’ sense of agency. According to Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000), second language education involves more than learning language forms; rather, it is about how individuals come to develop their own agency in the context of new ways of mediating themselves and their relationships. From this perspective, an individual’s agency is negotiated through interaction with those around them. In the current context, this interaction is directly influenced by individuals’ language learning histories and ideologies and negotiations of the representation of those ideologies as discourses at different levels – be it individual or institutional. Therefore, identities are renegotiated and new identities are constructed through multilevel interactions, making them relevant and appropriate for the new contexts, and able to provide legitimacy for individuals as members of a new community (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Where participants’ practices differ from their experiences in their home country, the results are dissonances, which create, at times, incommensurable discourses. The renegotiation of these discourses leads to resistance and marginal participation (as in Chen’s case) or acceptance of new community norms and conventions prescribed by the new professional TESOL community (as in the cases of Fariba and Ahmad).

Clarke (2008) suggests that engagement of teachers in learning to teach helps them to form mutual understanding of the journey in the community of practice, but also to construct new systems of knowledge and beliefs. Engagement in the negotiation of these systems helps with the establishment of knowledge that provides access to all members in the community. Based on Clarke’s (2008) position, such a process of negotiation creates opportunities for teachers’ empowerment and self-transformation.

105 Broad et al. (2013) show that dissonances are valuable to learning. They argue that tensions help teachers “to trouble” their “ideas and to gain deeper understanding of the complexity and multiplicity of understandings” that teachers deal with (p. 253).
Summary and Conclusion

This chapter explored the impact of participation in a provincially recognized TESOL program on INNESTs’ self-image, teaching expertise, and teaching cognition. It shows that teaching expertise is negotiated – largely guided by previous EFL language learning and teaching experience and reorganized by the TESOL program and ESL setting in a dynamic fashion. The findings point to the socially constructed nature of professional identities and importance of community acceptance through affirmation of professional identities. It was also suggested that INNESTs’ cognition is influenced by a number of factors, including the conflicts they experience reconciling their new teaching context, their past teaching beliefs, and their instructional decisions in planning lessons and applying teaching methodologies.

This chapter has focused on the “T” in “INNESTs” and the participants’ negotiation of second language teacher expertise and self-image. Chapter 9 concludes this study by summarizing key findings relative to research questions and discussing implications and limitations of the study.
CHAPTER 9
CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND DIRECTIONS

Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the key findings, followed by a discussion of several implications for various stakeholders. The chapter concludes with some limitations of the study, and directions for further research.

Key Findings

This study examined how immigrant non-native English speaking teachers (INNESTs) in the field of TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) negotiate professional identities. Three main aspects of INNESTs’ identities were investigated: their linguistic capital, their professional position, and their teaching self-knowledge and awareness. Below, I revisit the research questions and present the major findings in this study.

Q1. How do INNESTs – as learners, speakers, users, and teachers of English – negotiate their language-related identities in the English-speaking Canada?

Q1a. How do INNESTs perceive the native speaker construct?

Q1b. How do INNESTs identify themselves in regards to the native speaker construct?

Q1c. Are there any changes in INNESTs’ beliefs and self-identification during the TESOL program?

In terms of views of the native speaker construct, survey participants provided feedback on the most important factor(s) to consider in determining who is a native speaker of English. The majority of survey participants (80%) referred to more than one
factor. Also, survey participants identified, among others, English language proficiency, birth in an English-speaking country, early childhood English acquisition, and using English as one’s main language as the most important factors in the NS construct. Nationality and race were reported as the least significant factors.

The experiences of the core participants with the NS construct influenced their beliefs. They were all engaged with the construct, as learners, speakers, users, and teachers of English. Although in their initial conceptualizations of the construct, all five core participants regarded birth in an English-dominant environment as the most important factor determining an NS, the interaction with each of them throughout the research, showed that, despite some similarities of beliefs among them, overall they each viewed the construct differently.

As for self-identification, a considerable number of survey participants did not consider themselves to be native speakers of English. This was similar to the core participants’ responses: three of the five, Chen, Rashmi, and Sook, identified themselves as NNSs. Chen showed indecisiveness about the NS construct; Rashmi tended to accept how others defined her, yet still questioned; Fariba displayed resistance and assertiveness; Ahmad was both determined to pass as an NS and wanted to assimilate as an NS; and Sook, while believing herself to be an NNS, began to challenge the concept. Among the five participants, Rashmi and Sook appeared to accept the NS–NNS dichotomy, Chen was more of an advocate for a continuum, and Ahmad and Fariba were situated in a third space, critical of commonly held views of the concept and practices of the NS construct.

Overall, INNESTs’ views support the contention that the NS construct does not have a single definition; it is complex, perceived in different ways, consisting of multiple dimensions. The findings suggest that the construct is complex, contextual, dialogic, dynamic, ideological, intersecting, multifaceted, negotiable, relational, situated, and shifting as a developmental process as opposed to a fixed unitary state. This is despite the fact that, in terms of the actual practices of nativeness, teachers continue to experience mostly conventional realizations of NS–NNS dichotomization, such as language
proficiency requirements. Thus, while the majority of INNESTs were critical of conventional conceptualizations of the construct, traditional categorizations of nativeness were still predominant. The results show dichotomization is persistent and INNESTs are placed on different sides of the NS–NNS dichotomy regardless of their language proficiency. This categorization is overly simplistic because it ignores not only the multidimensionality of the construct and the continuum it contains, but also speakers’ own choices and self-identification.

**Q2. How do INNESTs – as skilled professionals in Canada – negotiate their disciplinary identities and respond to certification requirements and Canadian professional norms in the course of participating in a provincial licensing association’s TESOL certification program?**

*Q2a. What are the core INNESTs’ experiences with and views on provincial certification within the framework of a TESOL program in Ontario?*

*Q2b. To what extent and in what ways do quantitative data obtained from survey INNESTs, analyzed using an integrative mixed method, contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the certification process?*

With reference to the second research question asking about certification, in addition to the capital accumulated by INNESTS prior to immigration, they continued to negotiate such capital after immigration as well. This was represented in different ways: economic, educational, professional, sociocultural, and symbolic. The findings showed that provincial professional certification affects INNESTs’ identity construction, and how it is enacted through negotiation of various forms of capital and their response to the discourse of gatekeeping requirements and professional norms. Also, it provided a context to evaluate TESOL certification as a site of struggle for INNESTs’ negotiation of identities, and how the official discourse of certification is represented, reproduced, or resisted in participants’ discourses.

Although participants agreed that the parts of the TESOL program that deal with subject matter specific to the Canadian context were very useful and needed, they did not
find the year-long program in general either helpful or necessary. Rather, it was, for the most part, repetitive. Also, the findings demonstrate that institutional certification serves as a symbolic discourse of de-professionalization for INNESTs applying for certification. INNESTs reacted to such discourse in different ways, accepting and internalizing or questioning and resisting it. Resistance to the standards set by the licensing body was compensated by the way INNESTs were treated by their program peers and administration. The time spent and attention paid by them helped the INNESTs to freely share their concerns and questions, and integrate into the program more smoothly, despite cross-cultural, academic, and financial challenges. The findings show that the INNESTs’ experiences with certification were influenced by a number of factors. These factors were connected to the ways the requirements have been set by the provincial licensing body as well as the implementation of those standards in the TESOL program. The participants reported that their education and experience were overlooked by the imposed set of standards and that they were viewed according to what they had to become according to the standards, as opposed to what they were. They challenged the idea of conformity to a single set of criteria and the fairness of having to go through teacher re-education and pay a high price for professional recognition. The certification process did not distinguish the experienced INNESTs from their novice Canadian-born teacher candidates; but it did provide them with recognition, acceptance, and legitimacy in the Canadian professional ESL community.

Overall, the quantitative data obtained from survey participants contributed to a more comprehensive understanding of the certification process as the findings from the survey participants fit fully with those from the qualitative case study strand in a number of ways such that the strands complement each other. The data were generally consistent in major areas, with only a few discrepancies between the quantitative and qualitative data.

Q3. How do INNESTs – as professional ESL teachers – negotiate their teaching self-knowledge and awareness within the framework of a TESOL program in Ontario?

Q3a. What are INNESTs’ views on and image of themselves as teachers?
Q3b. How do INNESTs negotiate their teaching knowledge?

With reference to the third research question asking about teaching knowledge and self-image, despite being a mixed group with diverse backgrounds, fluctuating language proficiency levels and varying teaching experience, the majority of the participants reported a high level of confidence by presenting a generally positive self-image. Their positive self-image projected teachers’ self-advocacy in the teaching profession in that they created their image of themselves as legitimate members of the professional TESOL community. In this community, working with native peers was seen as beneficial as they can serve as role models as well as linguistic and cultural resources during class activities. Moreover, attitudes towards the teacher educator directly affected teachers’ overall learning and professional image in that the TESOL program became a site within a community of practice to negotiate norms and values as well as a safe space to provide and receive professional support from teacher educators, mentors, and other teacher candidates, so as to reinforce positive identities and affirm professional identities.

In terms of core participants’ teaching, the TESOL classroom served as a site for negotiating teaching knowledge, tapping into their cognition and reshaping it based on the necessities of the new teaching context. This process was influenced by the conflicts they experienced reconciling their new teaching context, their language learning histories, their past teaching beliefs, and their instructional decisions in planning lessons and applying teaching methodologies.

Implications of the Study

From this study’s findings arise a number of recommendations. First, in terms of connecting research and practice, the gap between how INNESTs perceive the NS construct and its realization in relation to how it is perceived by gatekeeping institutions and licensing bodies, such as TESL Ontario, should lead us to develop more realistic institutional policies regarding evaluation of INNESTs’ language proficiency.

Second, the challenges faced by INNESTs during the certification process were multifaceted, crossing several domains of capital. Therefore, a multidisciplinary approach
should be adopted by licensing bodies to fully understand these complexities, to understand the major conflicts in and constraints on INNESTs’ professional identity reconstruction and the effects of coercive professional discourses, in order to facilitate negotiation of professional identities in an additive manner and to facilitate construction of positive identities and professional integration and acceptance in the Canadian TESOL community. This will ultimately help bridge the gap between professionals’ perceptions and the expectations and requirements from professional licensing associations. A recommendation is for an increased number of case-specific and case-sensitive TESOL courses and workshops as alternative routes to certification and/or bridging and fast track licensing.

Third, the requirements of TESL Ontario for certification as a whole package is perceived as a particularly difficult challenge by INNESTs. It seems that better screening procedures based on face-to-face interviews are needed so that a more accurate needs assessment and analysis can be done prior to referring INNESTs to TESOL programs. This can help create consistent communication between the individuals and the Association and develop a healthy relationship based on respect and care.

Finally, an implication of the study is for INNESTs to examine and apply resistance strategies to the hegemony of the native speaker discourse in the TESOL teacher education programs and their ESL work spaces. This will help INNESTs to bring their linguistic marginality to a central location and use it as a strong vehicle to advocate for themselves and achieve real and meaningful empowerment.

**Limitations of the Study**

One limitation of this study is the one-time-completion nature of questionnaires for the survey participants, which made it impossible to follow up and ask survey participants if they had difficulty identifying themselves as NNEST or NEST. A follow-up interview or survey would have allowed for a more comprehensive perspective.

The second one was the limited number of conducted observations for the core participants in this study, which made it difficult to conclude whether the changes
observed were temporary or cognitive changes that will last for an extended period of time.

A further potential limitation of this study may be research bias. Although the researcher was partial to the ideas in the interviews, and although being an “insider” may have resulted in participants’ being forthcoming with sharing of their views and stories with the researcher, one might wonder how INNESTs’ responses would have been like if they were interviewed by an “outsider” – a non-INNEST researcher.

**Directions for Further Research**

First, further longitudinal research is needed to explore INNESTs’ experiences with certification and the effect of certification on their employability in the ESL job market in Canada.

Second, further research is necessary at other provinces across Canada to compare their TESOL program specifications and licensing requirements.

In this chapter, key findings, implications, limitations and directions of the study were discussed. An epilogue of the researcher’s update on the professional status of the core participants in this study follows this chapter.
EPILOGUE

UPDATE

A brief update on my core participants’ statuses: Two years after graduation

All of the core participants completed the TESOL program successfully and obtained their teaching certificates from the Teachers of English as a Second Language Association of Ontario. Rashmi spent a considerable amount of time trying to secure a permanent ESL teaching position, but to no avail. Given the high costs of living in Toronto, she decided to go back to India to stay with her family. She now teaches English at a private language school there. Sook stayed in Canada for a few months after graduation but then went back to Korea to get married. She teaches English at her previous school there. Chen is still in Toronto. He is not teaching. He gave up looking for work in the ESL field. He is now the principal of a private high school in Toronto. Fariba was able to find work soon after graduation. She taught LINC classes to new immigrants on a contract basis for a major school board in Ontario. She had to re-apply for the same position every semester. Frustrated by being unable to find a permanent position, she gave up teaching ESL, went back to school, and completed a bachelor of education (BEd) degree at a university in Toronto. She is now an elementary school teacher. Ahmad is the only one who is still in the TESOL field. Unable to secure a full-time position, he is teaching ESL at a couple of community colleges in Ontario on a part-time basis.
At the end of all our explorations, we shall return again from whence we started and know the place for the first time.

T. S. Eliot

In this our round of coming and going 
Beginning and conclusion pass all knowing, 
No night in all the world can tell us truly 
Whence we have come and whither we are going!

Omar Khayyam
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Appendix A. Immigrating to Canada as a Skilled Worker

(Citizenship and Immigration Canada)

Skilled workers have education, work experience, knowledge of English and/or French and other abilities that will help them to establish themselves successfully as permanent residents in Canada.

Will You Qualify as a Skilled Worker?

Skilled workers are people who may become permanent residents because they are able to become economically established in Canada.

To be accepted as a Skilled Worker, applicants must:

- meet the minimum work experience requirements;
- prove that they have the funds required for settlement; and
- earn enough points in the six selection factors to meet the pass mark.

The following categories will help you determine if you can apply as Skilled Worker. You can assess your chances of being accepted. Consult each of the following areas for the current regulations regarding:

Minimum Work Experience Requirements
Proof of Funds
Language Skills
Six Selection Factors and Pass Mark
Appendix B. TESL Ontario Certificate Requirements

(TESL Ontario)

1. Original or authorized copies of (a) degree(s) or (b) transcript(s) of completed university degree(s). If applicant’s university degree was granted from an institution outside Canada, it must be equivalent to a minimum of a three-year degree in Ontario;

2. An original or authorized copy of applicant’s certificate or transcript(s) showing successful completion of 250 hours of required TESL course work;

3. Documentation from the Program Practicum Supervisor or mentoring instructors which describes in detail the nature of the teaching practicum and its duration. The teaching practicum must be a minimum of 50 hours.

4. If applicant’s mother tongue is NOT English, s/he must meet the English language proficiency requirements outlined below:

   a) TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) 250 (Computer Score)
      TWE (Test of Written English) 5.5
      TSE (Test of Spoken English) 50

      or

   b) IELTS (International English Testing system) 8 Overall
      Academic Module with an oral score of 7
      with a writing score of 8

      or

   c) MELAB (Michigan English Language assessment Battery) 85 Overall
      with a completion score 87
      Test of Spoken English 4 or
      with a TOEFL TSE score of 50

      or

   d) Can Test
      listening, reading, writing 5 Overall
      speaking 4.5

      or

   e) YELT
      Band 1 (80-100)
      for each of Part I/written and Part II/oral
or

f) COPE minimum total of 6, with no zero in any skills area, and no less than 2 in writing TOP (Test of Oral Proficiency) 7

or

g) CAELS Band 80 overall, with a minimum of 70 in each of the writing and speaking subtests.
Appendix C. TESL Ontario Certificate Program Minimum Requirements

(TESL Ontario)

I Theory (minimum of 70 hours of instruction)

A. Foundations (minimum of 25 hours)

1. History and nature of language variation and change
2. Competence and performance
3. Major models of linguistic description
4. Formal language instruction versus unconscious language learning
5. First and second language acquisition
6. Models of second language acquisition
7. Learning strategies and styles
8. Factors affecting language learning
9. The adult learner
10. The sociolinguistic dimension of TESL and second language acquisition

B. Linguistic Systems (minimum of 25 hours)

1. The sound system
   a. Segmentals and suprasegmentals (stress, rhythm, intonation)
   b. Phonetic transcription
2. The influence of the first language on the acquisition of English
3. Morphology
4. Pedagogical grammar

C. Sociocultural and sociopolitical issues (minimum 15 hours)

1. Cultural pluralism in Canadian society
2. Institutional and individual barriers to participation in Canadian society
3. Culturally-determined life styles and learning styles and their effect on second language learning
4. Acculturation
5. Anti-racism
II. Methodology (minimum of 120 hours)

A. Foundations (minimum of 30 hours)

1. A survey of second language teaching methods, including new technologies in TESL
2. Lesson planning
3. ESL literacy
4. Classroom management
5. Materials development; textbook evaluation
6. Adult ESL in Canada:
   a. LINC curricular guidelines
   b. English for Academic Purposes
   c. TEFL / English for International Students
7. Canadian Language Benchmarks
8. Professional resources and organizations

B. Teaching the skills (minimum 60 hours)

The theory and practice of teaching:

1. Listening
2. Speaking
3. Reading
4. Writing
5. Pronunciation
6. Grammar

C. Assessment (minimum of 20 hours)

1. Principles of second language testing
2. Techniques and interpretation of second language assessment of student progress and proficiency, including portfolios
3. Consideration of standardized tests
4. Classroom test development

III Practicum (required: 50 hours)

A. 30 hours of observation in an Adult ESL classroom
B. 20 hours of supervised practice teaching in an Adult ESL classroom
Appendix D. Course Books Used in the TESL Program

- An A-Z of English Grammar and Usage
  Harlow, UK: Pearson Education.

- Canadian Language Benchmarks 2000: English as a Second Language – for Adults
  Ottawa, ON: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada.

- Grammar for English Language Teachers
  M. Parrott. 2000.
  Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- How Languages Are Learned (2nd Edition)

- Language and Culture

- LINC Curriculum Guidelines: Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada
  Group pf Authors. 2002.
  Toronto, ON: Toronto Catholic District School Board.

- Principles of Language Learning and Teaching (4th Edition)
  White Plains, NY: Pearson Education.

- Teaching American English Pronunciation

- Teaching by Principles: An Interactive Approach to Language Pedagogy (2nd Edition)
  White Plains, NY: Pearson Education.

- Techniques and Principles in Language Teaching (2nd Edition)
■ The Practice of English Language Teaching (3rd Edition)
  Essex, UK: Pearson Education.

■ Topics in Language and Culture for Teachers
  Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.
Appendix E. Background Profile for Survey Participants

(Placed on OISE/UT letterhead)

**Background Profile [Demographic Data Sheet]**

Thank you for your participation. The purpose of this study is to help us understand the immigrant teachers’ reconstruction of their professional identity during the TESL program. Your name and other personal identification will be completely obscured immediately after you return it to me.

Please answer the following questions. Provide as much detail as possible. Your input is appreciated.

1. Country of origin: .........................

2. Gender: Male Female

3. Age: 20-24 25-29 30-34 35-40 40-44 45-49 50+

4. Number of dependants: .........................

5. Mother tongue(s) (i.e., the first language that you learnt): .........................

6. Home country official language (i.e., the language spoken in your home country; if different from your mother tongue): .........................

7. Status of English in your home country:

   a foreign language (i.e., just a school subject) : .........................

   a second language (i.e., used in the media): .........................

   other (please specify): .........................

8. Your English language proficiency level on a scale of 1-5 (1: Lowest level; 5: Highest level): ........
9. Academic background

Post-secondary degrees conferred:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Completion Year</th>
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</table>

10. Professional background:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Duties</th>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. Total number of years teaching English: .....................

12. Length of residence in Canada: ..... Years ..... Months

13. Do you consider yourself a native or non-native speaker of English? Why? What is/are the most important factor(s) in being a native speaker of English?

.................................................................................................................................
14. Prior experience in a country where English is considered a second, rather than a foreign, language:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Traveling</th>
<th>Studying</th>
<th>Working</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Other (please specify): ......................

15. Why did you decide to register in the TESL program?

................................................................................................................................................
................................................................................................................................................
................................................................................................................................................
................................................................................................................................................
................................................................................................................................................

Thank you for your participation!
Appendix F. Questionnaire for Survey Participants

(Placed on OISE/UT letterhead)

Questionnaire

Part I

The purpose of this study is to explore the reconstruction of the professional identity of immigrant non-native English speaking teachers (INNESTs) during the TESL program. Your name and other personal identification will be completely obscured immediately after you return it to me.

Directions: Circle the number that corresponds to your degree of agreement with the statement listed on the left [Strongly Disagree (SD) = 1, Disagree (D) = 2, No Opinion (NO) = 3, Agree (A) = 4, Strongly Agree (SA) = 5]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I experienced cross-cultural communication difficulties in Canada.</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>The TESL program I attended was culturally responsive to me – as a new INNEST, and to my cultural/professional background.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>I found that the TESL teacher educator’s own background influenced how he/she taught and interacted with INNESTs to a great extent.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>I came to have mixed feelings about myself as a teacher as well as my expertise while attending the TESL program.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>My peers whose mother tongue was English in the TESL program were supportive of me and helped me increase my confidence as an ESL teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>I felt that there was space for me to voice my own opinions about teaching while attending the TESL program.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>I think INNESTs can be empowered during the TESL programs if their educational and professional experiences are acknowledged.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>My sense of expertise was influenced by the way I felt about my TESL teacher educators.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>My sense of expertise was influenced by the way I felt about my peers in the TESL program.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>My sense of expertise was influenced by the way I felt about the institution that organized and ran the TESL Program.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>My sense of expertise was influenced by the way I felt when I identified myself as an English language teacher in front of Canadian-born native speakers of English.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>My sense of expertise was influenced by the way I felt when I identified myself as an English language teacher in front of my TESL program peers.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>My sense of expertise was influenced by the way I felt when I identified myself as an English language teacher in front of people who shared the same ethnic background as me.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Part II

Which of the following three statements most reflect your views? Please rank the statements from 1 to 3, starting with the one that most reflects your views. Please explain the reason of your rank ordering in the space provided below.

Statement A. Immigrant non-native English speaking teachers who would like to teach ESL in Canada should be able to do so without first completing a TESL program and obtaining a TESL Certificate in Ontario.

Statement B. Immigrant non-native English speaking teachers who would like to teach ESL in Canada should only be able to do so after completing a TESL course, and obtaining a TESL Certificate in Ontario.

Statement C. Immigrant non-native English speaking teachers who would like to teach ESL in Canada should be able to do so after their credentials have been assessed, and they have completed any missing required courses in a TESL program.

- Ranking:
  1. Statement .......
  2. Statement .......
  3. Statement .......

- Please explain why you ranked the 3 statements the way you did.

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............................................................................................................................
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Thank you for your participation!
Appendix G. Background Profile for Core Participants

(Placed on OISE/UT letterhead)

**Background Profile [Demographic Data Sheet]**

Thank you for your participation. The purpose of this study is to help us understand the immigrant teachers’ reconstruction of their professional identity during the TESL program. Your name and other personal identification will be completely obscured immediately after you return it to me.

Please answer the following questions. Provide as much detail as possible. Your input is appreciated.

1. Name:  First ................................  Last ................................

2. Pseudonym to be used (i.e., the name which you would like to be used instead of your real name in this study): ..............................

3. Country of origin: ..............................

4. Gender:  Male  Female

5. Age:  20-24  25-29  30-34  35-40  40-44  45-49  50+

6. Number of dependants: ..............................

7. Mother tongue(s) (i.e., the first language that you learnt): ..............................

8. Home country official language (i.e., the language spoken in your home country; if different from your mother tongue): ..............................
9. Status of English in your home country:
   a foreign language (i.e., just a school subject): .........................
   a second language (i.e., used in the media): .............................
   other (please specify): .............................................

10. Your English language proficiency level on a scale of 1-5 (1: Lowest level; 5: Highest level): ............

11. Academic background
    Post-secondary degrees conferred:
    | Degree | Institution | Duration | Completion Year |
    |--------|-------------|----------|-----------------|
    | ................................................................. |
    | ................................................................. |
    | ................................................................. |
    | ................................................................. |
    | ................................................................. |

12. Professional background:
    | Job    | Location | Duration | Duties |
    |--------|----------|----------|--------|
    | ................................................................. |
    | ................................................................. |
    | ................................................................. |
    | ................................................................. |
    | ................................................................. |

13. Total number of years teaching English: ......................

14. Length of residence in Canada: ..... Years ..... Months
15. Do you consider yourself a native or non-native speaker of English? Why? What is/are the most important factor(s) in being a native speaker of English?

...........................................................................................................................................................................
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...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................

16. Prior experience in a country where English is considered a second, rather than a foreign, language:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traveling</th>
<th>Studying</th>
<th>Working</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other (please specify): .........................</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17. Why did you decide to register in the TESL program?

...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................
...........................................................................................................................................................................

Thank you for your participation!
Appendix H. Questionnaire I for Core Participants

(Placed on OISE/UT letterhead)

Questionnaire

Part I

The purpose of this study is to explore the reconstruction of the professional identity of immigrant non-native English speaking teachers (INNESTs) during the TESL program. Your name and other personal identification will be completely obscured immediately after you return it to me.

Directions: Circle the number that corresponds to your degree of agreement with the statement listed on the left [Strongly Disagree (SD) = 1, Disagree (D) = 2, No Opinion (NO) = 3, Agree (A) = 4, Strongly Agree (SA) = 5]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>I t e m</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>SA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Having experience teaching English as a Foreign Language (EFL) can be an advantage for me when teaching English as a Second Language (ESL) in the Canadian context.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>My decision to continue my TESL education in Canada (after having studied outside Canada) will result in positive changes in the way I teach English.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>I will feel more like an expert in teaching English as a result of taking a TESL program in Canada.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>As an INNEST, it is important that I associate myself with both Canadian-born teachers and other internationally educated teachers in the TESL program.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>I think INNESTs should only be allowed to teach in Canada after undertaking a Canadian TESL program.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>As an INNEST, I think I will encounter many challenges/difficulties while going through the TESL Certification process in Canada.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Canadian academic/professional expectations are very different from those in my country of origin.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I expect to experience cross-cultural communication difficulties in Canada.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>I expect that the TESL program I attend will be culturally responsive to me – as a new INN Est, and to my cultural/professional background.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>I think that the TESL teacher educator’s own background influences how he/she teaches and interacts with INN Ests to a great extent.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>I have mixed feelings about myself as a teacher as well as my expertise while attending the TESL program.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>My peers whose mother tongue is English in the TESL program can be supportive of me and help me increase my confidence as an ESL teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>I feel that there will be space for me to voice my own opinions about teaching while attending the TESL program.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>I think I can be empowered during the TESL program if my educational and professional experiences are acknowledged.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>My sense of expertise will be influenced by the way I feel about my TESL teacher educators.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>My sense of expertise will be influenced by the way I feel about my peers in the TESL program.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>My sense of expertise will be influenced by the way I feel about the institution that organizes and runs the TESL program.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>My sense of expertise will be influenced by the way I feel when I identify myself as an English language teacher in front of Canadian-born native speakers of English.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>My sense of expertise will be influenced by the way I feel when I identify myself as an English language teacher in front of my TESL program peers.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>My sense of expertise will be influenced by the way I feel when I identify myself as an English language teacher in front of people who share the same ethnic background as me.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Part II
Which of the following three statements most reflect your views? Please rank the statements from 1 to 3, starting with the one that most reflects your views. Please explain the reason of your rank ordering in the space provided below.

Statement A. Immigrant non-native English speaking teachers who would like to teach ESL in Canada should be able to do so without first completing a TESL program and obtaining a TESL Certificate in Ontario.

Statement B. Immigrant non-native English speaking teachers who would like to teach ESL in Canada should only be able to do so after completing a TESL course, and obtaining a TESL Certificate in Ontario.

Statement C. Immigrant non-native English speaking teachers who would like to teach ESL in Canada should be able to do so after their credentials have been assessed, and they have completed any missing required courses in a TESL program.

- Ranking:
  1. Statement ........
  2. Statement ........
  3. Statement ........

- Please explain why you ranked the 3 statements the way you did.

Thank you for your participation!
Appendix I. Questionnaire 2 for Core Participants

(Placed on OISE/UT letterhead)

Questionnaire

Part I

The purpose of this study is to explore the reconstruction of the professional identity of immigrant non-native English speaking teachers (INNESTs) during the TESL program. Your name and other personal identification will be completely obscured immediately after you return it to me.

Directions: Circle the number that corresponds to your degree of agreement with the statement listed on the left [Strongly Disagree (SD) = 1, Disagree (D) = 2, No Opinion (NO) = 3, Agree (A) = 4, Strongly Agree (SA) = 5]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>SA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Having experience teaching English as a Foreign Language (EFL) was an advantage for me when teaching English as a Second Language (ESL) in the Canadian context.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>My decision to continue my TESL education in Canada (after having studied outside Canada) resulted in positive changes in the way I teach English.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>I felt more like an expert in teaching English as a result of taking a TESL program in Canada.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>As an INNEST, it was important that I associated myself with both Canadian-born teachers and other internationally educated teachers in the TESL program.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>I think INNESTs should only be allowed to teach in Canada after undertaking a Canadian TESL program.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>As an INNEST, I encountered many challenges/difficulties while going through the TESL Certification process in Canada.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Canadian academic/professional expectations were very different from those in my country of origin.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I experienced cross-cultural communication difficulties in Canada.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>The TESL program I attended was culturally responsive to me – as a new INNEST, and to my cultural/professional background.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>I found that the TESL teacher educator’s own background influenced how he/she taught and interacted with INNESTs to a great extent.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>I came to have mixed feelings about myself as a teacher as well as my expertise while attending the TESL program.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>My peers whose mother tongue was English in the TESL program were supportive of me and helped me increase my confidence as an ESL teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Part II
Which of the following three statements most reflect your views? Please rank the statements from 1 to 3, starting with the one that most reflects your views. Please explain the reason of your rank ordering in the space provided below.

- Statement A. Immigrant non-native English speaking teachers who would like to teach ESL in Canada should be able to do so without first completing a TESL program and obtaining a TESL Certificate in Ontario.

- Statement B. Immigrant non-native English speaking teachers who would like to teach ESL in Canada should only be able to do so after completing a TESL course, and obtaining a TESL Certificate in Ontario.

- Statement C. Immigrant non-native English speaking teachers who would like to teach ESL in Canada should be able to do so after their credentials have been assessed, and they have completed any missing required courses in a TESL program.

- Ranking:
  1. Statement ……….
  2. Statement ……….
  3. Statement ……….

- Please explain why you ranked the 3 statements the way you did.

Thank you for your participation!
Appendix J. Interview 1 Protocol for Core Participants

First Interview Questions

Thank you in advance for your participation. Please be advised that you do not have to answer all the questions. You may decline answering any specific question.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Background Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>❖ Can you tell me a little bit about yourself?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>❖ Can you tell me about your educational background?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>❖ Can you tell me about your English learning experience?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>❖ How long have you been teaching English/in English?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>❖ What courses have you taught up to now? At what levels? To what age groups? And what proficiency levels?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>❖ Why do the students/learners in your native country learn English?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>❖ How much English did you hear in your country of origin?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>❖ Can you tell me about a traditional language classroom in your country (e.g. the roles of the teacher and the students)?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life in Canada</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>❖ How long have you been in Canada?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>❖ Is this the first time you have lived in a foreign country? (If no, go to the next question.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>❖ How would you compare life in Canada to your previous experiences in other countries?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>❖ Name a few of the similarities and differences between your home culture and Canadian culture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>❖ How did you feel when you first got here? Do you feel any differently now?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When you think about your own cultural adjustment, would the word “adapt” or the word “adopt” better describe your situation?

What cultural issues have you encountered since your arrival in Canada? Which, if any, of these issues have you found difficult to deal with?

Has your integration into Canadian society been smooth? If so, can you explain your answer by providing more details or examples?

Are there aspects of your cultural background or of your personality that you think have made the process of adapting to Canada easier?

How have different aspects of your personality helped you to survive and adapt to life in Canada?

Does the word ‘survival’ capture some aspects of your experiences since arriving in Canada? If so, how?

Do you think you have changed as a result of coming to Canada? Do you think you are still the same person as you were in your country of origin?

Which, if any, of your personal, cultural or professional values have changed as a result of living in Canada?

When you make new friends, do you have any preference in terms of particular nationalities?

Have you made new friends since your arrival? To what degree do you socialize here? Is this similar to the degree that you socialized in your country of origin?

Do you think it would be helpful for immigrants to receive support during the adaptation period? If yes, what kind of support have you had, and what more do you feel you would benefit from?

The TESL Program

Why did you choose to become an ESL teacher in Canada?

Do you think there are advantages in teaching ESL when you have EFL experience?

Can you compare the Canadian TESL education system to the TEFL system in your country?
What are the challenges/difficulties (if any) you would expect to have while going through this TESL program in Canada?

Do you think that your involvement in a TESL program in Canada will result in some changes in the way you teach English?

Do you think you will experience any difficulties/challenges, like culture shock, during your TESL program?

Do you think you will feel more like an expert or less of an expert in teaching English as a result of taking a TESL program in Canada?

Do you spend more time with Canadian-born teachers or other internationally educated teachers?

Are there any people helping you with your adjustment to life in Canada and with the TESL program?

Do you think you will be prepared to be an ESL teacher after undertaking the TESL program? Or do you think you would be fine without it?

What are your expectations for your career in Canada?
Appendix K. Interview 2 Protocol for Core Participants

Second Interview Questions

Thank you in advance for your participation. Please be advised that you do not have to answer all the questions. You may decline answering any specific question.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The TESL Program</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>✤ Can you compare the Canadian TESL program you are enrolled in to the TEFL program you took in your country?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✤ What are the challenges/difficulties (if any) you have encountered while going through this TESL program in Canada?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✤ To what extent has your background in EFL helped you to be successful in the TESL program in which you are now enrolled?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✤ Do you think that the TESL program has resulted in changes in the way you teach English?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✤ Can you describe the stages you have gone through while taking the TESL program?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✤ Did you experience any difficulties, like culture shock, during your TESL program?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✤ How were you affected by returning to being a student after having been a teacher for several years in your country of origin? How did you feel during the practicum when you returned to your role as a teacher in an entirely different context?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✤ Do you feel more or less of an expert in teaching English as a result of attending the TESL program in Canada?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✤ Name a few of the positive and negative professional changes, if any, you experienced as a result of attending the TESL program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✤ Would you recommend the TESL program you were enrolled in to other EFL teachers who are new to Canada?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During the TESL program, who did you spend more time with: Canadian teachers or other internationally educated teachers?

Can you describe the type of behavior that was expected of you in the TESL program? (For example, I was expected to arrive on time and attend all classes no matter what ...).

Did you receive help in adjusting to the TESL program?

How different do you find the expectations of the Canadian TESL program from what you were accustomed to in similar settings in your country of origin?

Do you feel prepared to teach ESL having now completed the TESL program? Did you feel ready to teach ESL in Canada before taking the TESL program?

Did you find the TESL instructors, the other students and the type of activities and assignments respectful of your cultural background? Was your prior experience as an EFL teacher acknowledged/celebrated in the TESL program?

Did you find that the background and personality of the TESL instructors affected the way they taught and interacted with you and other INNESTs?

What are your expectations for your career in Canada now that you have completed the TESL program?

Can you describe how you felt at various stages of the TESL program? Did you feel any different at the beginning, middle and end of the program? Did your sense of yourself as an expert in teaching English shift at all from the beginning of the program to the end?

How many INNESTs were there in your program?

How would you define a non-native speaker of English?

Can you remember and describe a particular class situation in your TESL program that made you feel good about yourself?

Can you remember and describe a particular class situation that you found challenging?

How do you feel about your TESL teacher educators?

How do you feel about the other students in the TESL program?

How do you feel about the institution that organized and ran your TESL program?

How do you feel when you say you are an English language teacher in front of
people who share the same ethnic background as you?

❖ How do you feel when you say you are an English language teacher in front of Canadian-born native speakers of English?

❖ If you feel differently in each of these situations, what do you think is causing this?

❖ How do you think your peers in the TESL program would describe you if asked?

❖ Did you feel comfortable in the TESL program and during the practicum? Please explain your answer.

❖ Did you feel you stood out in any way? If yes, why?

❖ Have you experienced any cross-cultural difficulties in Canada since you began the TESL program? If so, what kind of difficulties?
Appendix L. Classroom Observation Template

Classroom Observation Template

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TESL Institution:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Educator:</td>
<td>Subject:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Size and Number of INNESTs:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observer:</td>
<td>Date:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Brief Description of Classroom Activities/Lessons/Tasks/Routines/Rituals:

Teacher Candidates Groupings (single, small, large, etc.) and Interactions:

Instructional Materials In Use:

Other Notes/Interpretations:
Appendix M. Recruitment Flyer for Survey Participants

(Placed on OISE/UT letterhead)

VOLUNTEERS REQUESTED

Would you be willing to complete a questionnaire about your experiences in a TESL program in Toronto?

I am Amir H. Soheili-Mehr from the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto (OISE/UT). I am looking for 100 volunteers to participate in my study The Professional Identity of Immigrant Non-Native English Speaking Teachers. The purpose of the study is to explore issues related to immigrant non-native English speaking teachers (INNESTs) in TESL programs in Ontario from the perspectives of INNESTs themselves.

If you

√ are currently teaching as an ESL teacher,
√ have completed a TESL program,
√ have a first language (= mother tongue), which is NOT English,
√ are an immigrant,

and you are interested in participating in this study, please fill in the questionnaire and background profile sheet, put them in the attached self-addressed, self-stamped envelopes, and mail them to me. You do not need to identify yourself.

Feel free to contact me at xxxxxxxxxxxxxx@oise.utoronto.ca or XXX-XXX-XXXX if you need further information.
Appendix N. Recruitment Flyer for Core Participants

(Placed on OISE/UT letterhead)

VOLUNTEERS REQUESTED

Would you be willing to be interviewed about your experiences in your TESL program in Toronto?

I am Amir H. Soheili-Mehr from the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto (OISE/UT). I am looking for volunteers to participate in my study The Professional Identity of Immigrant Non-Native English Speaking Teachers. The purpose of the study is to explore issues related to immigrant non-native English speaking teachers (INNESTs) in TESL programs in Ontario from the perspectives of INNESTs themselves.

If you

√ are currently registered in a TESL program,
√ have a first language (=mother tongue), which is NOT English,
√ are an immigrant teacher,
√ have had English language teaching experience in your home country,

and you are interested in participating in this study, please contact me at xxxxxxxxxxxxx@oise.utoronto.ca or XXX-XXX-XXXX. All information you provide in the study will be fully confidential.
Appendix O. Information Letter for Survey Participants

(Placed on OISE/UT letterhead)

Information Letter for First Group of Participants

Dear TESL graduate,

Would you be willing to participate in a study exploring the professional identity of immigrant non-native English speaking teachers (INNESTs) in the context of your teaching English as a second language (TESL) program?

Background Information

I am a Ph.D. candidate working under the supervision of Dr. Antoinette Gagné. I am conducting a qualitative research study on the professional identity of immigrant non-native English speaking teachers (INNESTs) in the context of your teaching English as a second language (TESL) program as part of the requirements of my doctoral dissertation. This study is entitled: Immigrant Non-Native English Speaking Teachers: The Development of Professional Identity.

I am requesting your cooperation as a voluntary participant in this study, which I hope will lead to the reconceptualization of TESL programs and help shape policy initiatives in the curriculum of teacher education programs in Ontario.

Your Involvement

I am seeking INNESTs to participate in my study. As part of the data for my study I would like you to consider responding to a questionnaire and filling in a background profile information sheet, which will take about 20 minutes.

Confidentiality

All the information that you provide will be fully confidential and will be kept in a locked filing cabinet. Also, all the electronic files will be stored in a password protected computer. You are not required to provide your name, so people reading my report will not be able to identify you. Moreover, I will conceal any personal information that might identify you. I will write up the results of this research for a thesis, and later perhaps consider publication as an article in a refereed journal or book for INNESTs. No one beyond myself and my supervisor will know that you are a participant.

Benefits

If you wish, you will be provided with a summary of the research findings upon
completion of the study. In addition, you may benefit from sharing your experiences in the TESL program and consequently contribute to a better understanding of TESL teacher education programs.

I am inviting you to assist me by agreeing to participate in the study. If you are interested and willing to volunteer, please contact me at either the phone number or the e-mail address listed below. My supervisor and I will gladly explain the research in more details and respond to any related concern.

In closing, allow me to reiterate that you are under no obligation to agree to participate in this study. However, if you choose to do so, you will be free to raise questions and concerns with me at any time throughout the study and you may withdraw at any time if you choose.

Thank you in advance for your consideration. Please feel free to contact me with any questions/concerns you may have.

Student Investigator: Amir H. Soheili-Mehr
Phone: (XXX) XXX-XXXX
E-mail: xxxxxxxxxxx@oise.utoronto.ca

Thesis Supervisor: Professor Antoinette Gagné
E-mail: xxxxx@oise.utoronto.ca

⇒ Should you want to receive a summary of the findings upon completion of this research study, please send me an e-mail or provide your mailing address below. Your information will be fully confidential.

Name: __________________________________________

Mailing Address:
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
Appendix P. Information Letter for Core Participants

Information Letter for TESL Teacher Candidates

Dear TESL teacher candidate,

Would you be willing to participate in a study exploring the professional identity of immigrant non-native English speaking teachers (INNESTs) in the context of your teaching English as a second language (TESL) program?

Background Information

I am a Ph.D. candidate working under the supervision of Dr. Antoinette Gagné. I am conducting a qualitative research study on the professional identity of immigrant non-native English speaking teachers (INNESTs) in the context of your teaching English as a second language (TESL) program as part of the requirements of my doctoral dissertation. This study is entitled: Immigrant Non-Native English Speaking Teachers: The Development of Professional Identity.

I am requesting your cooperation as a voluntary participant in this study, which I hope will lead to the reconceptualization of TESL programs and help shape policy initiatives in the curriculum of teacher education programs in Ontario.

Your Involvement

I am seeking INNEST teacher candidates to participate in my study. As part of the data for my study I will need to conduct two individual interviews with each participant. The interviews will be conducted at a convenient time and place for you, will last approximately 1.5 hours and will be audio-taped. The interviews will focus on your views and experiences as an INNEST candidate within the TESL program in Toronto. In addition, I will ask you to respond to a questionnaire, which will take about 10 minutes to complete. I will also ask you to fill a background profile sheet together with a 2-page autobiography. I would also like to visit you twice during your TESL program and spend time in your class with the permission of your instructor. After I get consent from your TESL teacher educator, I will sit at the back of the classroom and will not intervene in any classroom activities. The observation will be neither audio-taped nor video-recorded. Finally, I would like to organize a one-hour focus group interview with all the five participants. That will take one hour.

Confidentiality

All the information that you provide will be fully confidential and will be kept in a locked
filing cabinet. Also, all the electronic files will be stored in a password protected computer. I will ask you to provide a pseudonym instead of your real name, which I will use in writing up the results of the research, so people reading my report will not be able to identify you. Moreover, I will conceal any personal information that might identify you. I will write up the results of this research for a thesis, and later perhaps consider publication as an article in a refereed journal or book for INNESTs. No one beyond myself and my supervisor will know that you are a participant and that, to help protect your anonymity, you will be given the option to read and revise all written materials generated by the project that contain information related to you. This will allow you the opportunity to edit out any information that you feel would be too sensitive or that you feel would serve to identify you. As a participant in the focus group, you are asked to keep personal information about other participants confidential.

Benefits

You will be given an honorarium for your participation. You will receive the equivalent of a $50.00 CDN gift certificate to a local bookstore. You will also be provided with a summary of the research findings upon completion of the study. In addition, participants may benefit from sharing their experiences in the TESL program and consequently contribute to a better understanding of TESL teacher education programs.

I am inviting you to assist me by agreeing to participate in the study. If you are interested and willing to volunteer, please contact me or my supervisor at either the phone number or the e-mail address listed below. We will gladly explain the research in more details and respond to any related concern.

In closing, allow me to reiterate that you are under no obligation to agree to participate in this study. However, if you choose to do so, you will be free to raise questions and concerns with me at any time throughout the study and you may withdraw at any time if you choose.

Thank you in advance for your consideration. Please feel free to contact me with any questions/concerns you may have.

Student Investigator: Amir H. Soheili-Mehr
Phone: (XXX) XXX-XXXX
E-mail: xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx@oise.utoronto.ca

Thesis Supervisor: Professor Antoinette Gagné
E-mail: xxxxx@oise.utoronto.ca
Appendix Q. Information Letter for TESL Teacher Educators

(Placed on OISE/UT letterhead)

Information Letter for TESL Teacher Educators

Dear TESL teacher educator,

Would you be willing to assist me in a study exploring the professional identity of immigrant non-native English speaking teachers (INNESTs) in the context of your teaching English as a second language (TESL) program?

Background Information

I am a Ph.D. candidate working under the supervision of Dr. Antoinette Gagné. I am conducting a qualitative research study on the professional identity of immigrant non-native English speaking teachers (INNESTs) in the context of your teaching English as a second language (TESL) program as part of the requirements of my doctoral dissertation. This study is entitled: Immigrant Non-Native English Speaking Teachers: The Development of Professional Identity.

I am requesting your cooperation in this study, which I hope will lead to the reconceptualization of TESL programs and help shape policy initiatives in the curriculum of teacher education programs in Ontario.

Your Involvement

I hope to find five INNEST teacher candidates enrolled in your TESL program who are willing to participate in my study. As part of the data for my study I will need to visit your INNEST teacher candidates twice during your TESL program and spend time in your class with your permission. If I receive your consent, I would like to observe each participant in class twice. On each visit I would sit at the back of the classroom and would not intervene in any classroom activities. The observation will be neither audio-taped nor video-recorded. I would simply take field notes to record the research participant’s experiences during class.

Confidentiality

All the information from the observation sessions and your teacher candidates will be fully confidential and will be kept in a locked filing cabinet. Also, all the electronic files will be stored in a password protected computer. I will ask your teacher candidates to provide a pseudonym instead of their real name, which I will use in writing up the results of the research, so people reading my report will not be able to identify them and/or you. Moreover, I will conceal any personal information that might identify you. I will write up
the results of this research for a thesis, and later perhaps consider publication as an article in a refereed journal or book for INNESTs. No one beyond myself and my supervisor will know that your teacher candidates are participants and that, to help protect their anonymity, they will be given the option to read and revise all written materials generated by the project that contain information related to them and/or you. This will allow them the opportunity to edit out any information that they feel would be too sensitive or that they feel would serve to identify them and/or you.

**Benefits**

You will be provided with a summary of the research findings upon completion of the study.

I am inviting you to assist me by agreeing to allow me to observe each participant twice during the course of the study. If you are interested and willing to volunteer, please contact me or my supervisor at either the phone number or the e-mail address listed below. My supervisor and I will gladly explain the research in more details and respond to any related concern.

In closing, allow me to reiterate that you are under no obligation to assist me with this study. However, if you choose to do so, you will be free to raise questions and concerns with me at any time throughout the study and you may withdraw your support at any time if you choose.

Thank you in advance for your consideration. Please feel free to contact me with any questions/concerns you may have.

**Student Investigator: Amir H. Soheili-Mehr**
Phone: (XXX) XXX-XXXX
E-mail: xxxxxxxxxxxx@oise.utoronto.ca

**Thesis Supervisor: Professor Antoinette Gagné**
E-mail: xxxxxx@oise.utoronto.ca
Appendix R. Information Letter for TESL Administrators

(Placed on OISE/UT letterhead)

Information Letter for TESL Teacher Administrators

Dear TESL administrator,

Would you be willing to assist me in a study exploring the professional identity of immigrant non-native English speaking teachers (INNESTs) in the context of your teaching English as a second language (TESL) program?

Background Information

I am a Ph.D. candidate working under the supervision of Dr. Antoinette Gagné. I am conducting a qualitative research study on the professional identity of immigrant non-native English speaking teachers (INNESTs) in the context of your teaching English as a second language (TESL) program as part of the requirements of my doctoral dissertation. This study is entitled: Immigrant Non-Native English Speaking Teachers: The Development of Professional Identity.

I am requesting your cooperation in this study, which I hope will lead to the reconceptualization of TESL programs and help shape policy initiatives in the curriculum of teacher education programs in Ontario.

Your Involvement

I hope to find five INNEST teacher candidates enrolled in your TESL program who are willing to participate in my study. As part of the data for my study I will need to visit your INNEST teacher candidates twice during your TESL program and spend time in their class with your permission. If I receive your consent, I would like to contact your teacher educators and send them the information letter about the study. When I have their consent, I will observe each participant in their class twice. On each visit I would sit at the back of the classroom and would not intervene in any classroom activities. The observation will be neither audio-taped nor video-recorded. I would simply take field notes to record the research participant’s experiences during class.

Confidentiality

All the information from the observation sessions and your teacher candidates will be fully confidential and will be kept in a locked filing cabinet. Also, all the electronic files will be stored in a password protected computer. I will ask your teacher candidates to provide a pseudonym instead of their real name, which I will use in writing up the results of the research, so people reading my report will not be able to identify them and/or you,
or your institution. Moreover, I will conceal any personal information that might identify you or your institution. I will write up the results of this research for a thesis, and later perhaps consider publication as an article in a refereed journal or book for INNESTs. No one beyond myself and my supervisor will know that your teacher candidates are participants and that, to help protect their anonymity, they will be given the option to read and revise all written materials generated by the project that contain information related to them and/or you, or your institution. This will allow them the opportunity to edit out any information that they feel would be too sensitive or that they feel would serve to identify them and/or you, or your institution.

**Benefits**

You will be provided with a summary of the research findings upon completion of the study.

I am inviting you to assist me by agreeing to allow me to observe each participant twice during the course of the study. If you are interested and willing to volunteer, please contact me at either the phone number or the e-mail address listed below. My supervisor and I will gladly explain the research in more details and respond to any related concern.

In closing, allow me to reiterate that you are under no obligation to assist me with this study. However, if you choose to do so, you will be free to raise questions and concerns with me at any time throughout the study and you may withdraw your support at any time if you choose.

Thank you in advance for your consideration. Please feel free to contact me with any questions/concerns you may have.

**Student Investigator: Amir H. Soheili-Mehr**
Phone: (XXX) XXX-XXXX
E-mail: xxxxxxxxxxxx@oise.utoronto.ca

**Thesis Supervisor: Professor Antoinette Gagné**
E-mail: xxxxx@oise.utoronto.ca
Appendix S. Informed Consent Letter for TESL Teacher Candidates

(Placed on OISE/UT letterhead)

Informed Consent Letter for TESL Teacher Candidates

Thank you for responding to my letter asking for 5 immigrant non-native English speaking teachers (INNESTs) who are currently enrolled at the TESL program to volunteer to participate in a research study, Immigrant Non-Native English Speaking Teachers: The Development of Professional Identity.

Your participation in this research would involve 2 individual semi-structured interviews scheduled at your convenience. The interviews will last about 1.5 hours and will be audio-taped if you agree. I may follow up with you via telephone or e-mail to clarify issues discussed during the interviews. In addition, I will ask you to respond to a questionnaire, which will take about 10 minutes to complete. I will also ask you to fill a background profile sheet together with a 2-page autobiography. I would also like to visit you twice during your TESL program and spend time in your class with the permission of your instructor. After I get consent from your TESL teacher educator, I will sit at the back of the classroom and will not intervene in any classroom activities. The observation will be neither audio-taped nor video-recorded. Finally, I would like to organize a one-hour focus group interview with all the five participants.

Confidentiality

All the information that you provide will be fully confidential and will be kept in a locked filing cabinet. Also, all the electronic files will be stored in a password protected computer. I will ask you to provide a pseudonym instead of your real name, which I will use in writing up the results of the research, so people reading my report will not be able to identify you. Moreover, I will conceal any personal information that might identify you. I will write up the results of this research for a thesis, and later perhaps consider publication as an article in a refereed journal or book for INNESTs. No one beyond myself and my supervisor will know that you are a participant and that, to help protect your anonymity, you will be given the option to read and revise all written materials generated by the project that contain information related to you. This will allow you the opportunity to edit out any information that you feel would be too sensitive or that you feel would serve to identify you. As a participant in the focus group, you are asked to keep personal information about other participants confidential.

Benefits

You will be given an honorarium for your participation. You will receive the equivalent of a $50.00 CDN gift certificate to a local bookstore. You will also be provided with a summary of the research findings upon completion of the study. In addition, participants
may benefit from sharing their experiences in the TESL program and consequently contribute to a better understanding of TESL teacher education programs.

In closing, allow me to reiterate that you are under no obligation to agree to participate in this study. However, if you choose to do so, you will be free to raise questions and concerns with me at any time throughout the study and you may withdraw at any time if you choose. If you agree to participate in the research as described above, please keep this letter for your future reference, sign and date two copies of the consent form, and return one copy to me.

Thank you again for your participation.

Sincerely,

Amir H. Soheili-Mehr
Modern Language Centre, Room 10-257
OISE/University of Toronto
252 Bloor Street West
Toronto, Ontario
M5S 1V6 Canada
Phone: (XXX) XXX-XXXX
E-mail: xxxxxxxxxxxxx@oise.utoronto.ca

You may also contact my supervisor, Professor Antoinette Gagné, at the address below, should you have further enquiries about the research I am proposing:

Professor Antoinette Gagné
Modern Language Centre
OISE/University of Toronto
252 Bloor Street West
Toronto, Ontario
M5S 1V6 Canada
E-mail: xxxxx@oise.utoronto.ca
I have read Amir H. Soheili-Mehr’s information letter and agree to participate in his research study: *Immigrant Non-Native English Speaking Teachers: The Development of Professional Identity.*

Name: __________________________________________

Signature: _______________________________________

Date: ___________________________________________

Please contact me at (indicate e-mail and/or phone):
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________

Please provide your mailing address if you would like to receive a summary of the findings upon completion of this research:
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
Appendix T. Informed Consent Letter for TESL Teacher Educators

(Placed on OISE/UT letterhead)

Informed Consent Letter for TESL Teacher Educators

Thank you for responding to my letter asking for TESL teacher educators at the TESL program to volunteer to participate in a research study, *Immigrant Non-Native English Speaking Teachers: The Development of Professional Identity*.

I hope to find five INNEST teacher candidates enrolled in your TESL program who are willing to participate in my study. As part of the data for my study I will need to visit your INNEST teacher candidates twice during your TESL program and spend time in your class with your permission. If I receive your consent, I would like to observe each participant in class twice. On each visit I would sit at the back of the classroom and will not intervene in any classroom activities. The observation will be neither audio-taped nor video-recorded. I would simply take field notes to record the research participant’s experiences during class.

Confidentiality

All the information from the observation sessions and your teacher candidates will be fully confidential and will be kept in a locked filing cabinet. Also, all the electronic files will be stored in a password protected computer. I will ask your teacher candidates to provide a pseudonym instead of their real name, which I will use in writing up the results of the research, so people reading my report will not be able to identify them and/or you. Moreover, I will conceal any personal information that might identify you. I will write up the results of this research for a thesis, and later perhaps consider publication as an article in a refereed journal or book for INNESTs. No one beyond myself and my supervisor will know that your teacher candidates are participants and that, to help protect their anonymity, they will be given the option to read and revise all written materials generated by the project that contain information related to them and/or you. This will allow them the opportunity to edit out any information that they feel would be too sensitive or that they feel would serve to identify them and/or you.

Benefits

You will be provided with a summary of the research findings upon completion of the study.

In closing, allow me to reiterate that you are under no obligation to assist me with this study. However, if you choose to do so, you will be free to raise questions and concerns with me at any time throughout the study and you may withdraw your support at any time if you choose. If you agree to participate in the research as described above, please keep
this letter for your future reference, sign and date two copies of the consent form, and return one copy to me.

Thank you again for your participation.

Sincerely,

Amir H. Soheili-Mehr
Modern Language Centre, Room 10-257
OISE/University of Toronto
252 Bloor Street West
Toronto, Ontario
M5S 1V6 Canada
Phone: (XXX) XXX-XXXX
E-mail: xxxxxxxxxxxx@oise.utoronto.ca

You may also contact my supervisor, Professor Antoinette Gagné, at the address below, should you have further enquiries about the research I am proposing:

Professor Antoinette Gagné
Modern Language Centre
OISE/University of Toronto
252 Bloor Street West
Toronto, Ontario
M5S 1V6 Canada
E-mail: xxxxx@oise.utoronto.ca
I have read Amir H. Soheili-Mehr’s information letter and agree to participate in his research study: *Immigrant Non-Native English Speaking Teachers: The Development of Professional Identity.*

Name: ________________________________

Signature: ________________________________

Date: ________________________________

Please contact me at (indicate e-mail and/or phone):

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

Please provide your mailing address if you would like to receive a summary of the findings upon completion of this research:

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Appendix U. Informed Consent Letter for TESL Administrators

(Placed on OISE/UT letterhead)

Informed Consent Letter for TESL Teacher Administrators

Thank you for responding to my letter asking for TESL administrators to volunteer to participate in a research study, Immigrant Non-Native English Speaking Teachers: The Development of Professional Identity.

I hope to find five INNEST teacher candidates enrolled in your TESL program who are willing to participate in my study. As part of the data for my study I will need to visit your 5 INNEST teacher candidates twice during your TESL program and spend time in their class with your permission. If I receive your consent, I would like to observe each participant in class twice. On each visit I would sit at the back of the classroom and would not intervene in any classroom activities. The observation will be neither audio-taped nor video-recorded. I would simply take field notes to record the research participant’s experiences during class.

Confidentiality

All the information from the observation sessions and your teacher candidates will be fully confidential and will be kept in a locked filing cabinet. Also, all the electronic files will be stored in a password protected computer. I will ask your teacher candidates to provide a pseudonym instead of their real name, which I will use in writing up the results of the research, so people reading my report will not be able to identify them and/or you, or your institution. Moreover, I will conceal any personal information that might identify you or your institution. I will write up the results of this research for a thesis, and later perhaps consider publication as an article in a refereed journal or book for INNESTs. No one beyond myself and my supervisor will know that your teacher candidates are participants and that, to help protect their anonymity, they will be given the option to read and revise all written materials generated by the project that contain information related to them and/or you, or your institution. This will allow them the opportunity to edit out any information that they feel would be too sensitive or that they feel would serve to identify them and/or you, or your institution.

Benefits

You will be provided with a summary of the research findings upon completion of the study.

In closing, allow me to reiterate that you are under no obligation to assist me with this study. However, if you choose to do so, you will be free to raise questions and concerns with me at any time throughout the study and you may withdraw your support at any time.
if you choose. If you agree to participate in the research as described above, please keep this letter for your future reference, sign and date two copies of the consent form, and return one copy to me.

Thank you again for your participation.

Sincerely,

Amir H. Soheili-Mehr
Modern Language Centre, Room 10-257
OISE/University of Toronto
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Toronto, Ontario
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Phone: (XXX) XXX-XXXX
E-mail: xxxxxxxxxxxxx@oise.utoronto.ca

You may also contact my supervisor, Professor Antoinette Gagné, at the address below, should you have further enquiries about the research I am proposing:

Professor Antoinette Gagné
Modern Language Centre
OISE/University of Toronto
252 Bloor Street West
Toronto, Ontario
M5S 1V6 Canada
E-mail: xxxxxx@oise.utoronto.ca
I have read Amir H. Soheili-Mehr’s information letter and agree to participate in his research study: Immigrant Non-Native English Speaking Teachers: The Development of Professional Identity.

Name: __________________________________________

Signature: _______________________________________

Date: ___________________________________________

Please contact me at (indicate e-mail and/or phone):
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________

Please provide your mailing address if you would like to receive a summary of the findings upon completion of this research:
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
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