37 Non-Native English-Speaking Teachers in the Profession

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KEY QUESTIONS

- How should the terms native speaker and non-native speaker be defined?
- How has the World Englishes movement contributed to the role and status of non-native English-speaking professionals?
- What are some strategies that non-native English teachers-in-preparation and their teacher educators may use to enhance the professional development of non-native English-speaking professionals?

EXPERIENCE

There was a sharp knock on the door of my university office. A graduate student whom I often see at departmental seminars and parties popped his head inside the door and said, "Do you know any native speakers [of English]?" He had a sheet of paper with approximately 20 sentences and phrases, and he wanted a native speaker to go over them. I offered to look at them. He reluctantly handed me the sheet, and I did not find it difficult to give him the "correct" answers. Indeed, the problems and questions were so simple that most teachers of English as a second language (ESL), particularly at the higher levels where there is emphasis on colloquialisms and where you are supposed to have a "feel" for the language, could easily have answered them. I pointed out a few phrases that I would not use and others that I considered to be acceptable. He thanked me and as he was leaving said, "Would a native speaker agree with you on these suggestions?" (Nuzhat Amin, 2004, a speaker of Pakistani English)

Once at a job interview for an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teaching position in Seoul, Korea, an employer told me he did not know how to categorize me. "You sound like an American, yet you are a Korean. You don't sound like a Korean, but you can't be a Korean-American because you're not an American citizen. And to make matters worse, you don't hold a degree from an American university," he said. (Hee Jin Kim, in Kamhi-Stein, in press)

Are you a native speaker or a nonnative speaker of English? Well, my answer is neither one. How do I perceive myself? I perceive myself as a bilingual or a multicompetent speaker. I learned English and Tagalog at the same time, and I have been code-switching ever since I can remember. My fluency in these two languages has made me flexible, powerful, and skillful in responding to all of life's demands. (Veneza Angel Pablico, in Kamhi-Stein, in press)

The experiences of Nuzhat, Hee Jin, and Veneza Angel are not unique. Instead, they reflect those of many English language teachers working in a variety of settings. In this chapter, I discuss these teachers' experiences and identify factors that contribute to non-native English-speaking (NNES) teachers' success as language teachers.

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WHAT IS A NON-NATIVE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PROFESSIONAL?

Traditionally, the term *native speaker* has been used to refer to "someone who learned a language in a natural setting from childhood as first or sole language" (Kachru & Nelson, 1996, p. 81). The validity of the *native speaker construct* (i.e., the notion that all native speakers share one and the same language and culture) has been challenged on the basis that it is an abstraction based on a person's linguistic and physical characteristics (Kramsch, 1998a). In fact, Amin (2004) argues that the construct of the native speaker "is not only about language competence but is deeply embedded in discourses of racism and colonialism" (p. 62). The term has also been challenged on the basis that it gives the impression—a false one indeed—that there is linguistic unity in the world (Kaplan, 1999) and that native speakers speak only a standard variety of their language (Kramsch, 1998a). The professional literature identifies three different positions on the native English speaker (NES)/NNES dichotomy, as represented in Figures 1, 2, and 3.

The first position, shown in Figure 1, is what J. Liu (1999) calls the "noninterface position" (p. 86). This position is best represented by the pioneering work of Medgyes (1994, 2001), who sees teachers as belonging in either the NES or NNES category. For the purposes of Medgyes's research these two groups are considered to be two completely different, and homogeneous, "species" (Medgyes, 2001, p. 434).

The second position, depicted in Figure 2, draws on the work of A. Davies (2003), who supports the idea that "the native speaker is a fine myth: we need it as a model, a goal, almost an inspiration" (p. 197). Davies (2003) further suggests that a second language (L2) learner "can become a native speaker of a target language" (p. 210), though with difficulty. However, Davies views the fundamental difference between NES and NNES as one of power; native speaker status is therefore an issue

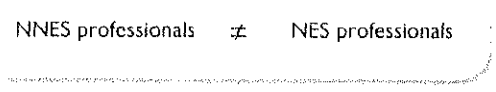

Figure 1. NES professionals and NNES professionals are different.

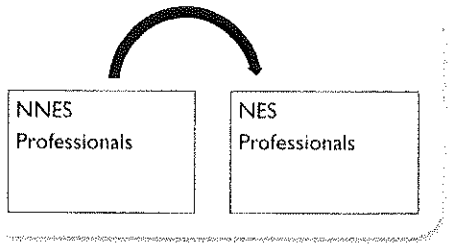

Figure 2. With difficulty, NNES professionals can become NES professionals.

of confidence and identity rather than an issue of which language the speaker learns as a first language (L1).

The final position, shown in Figure 3, draws on the ideas of researchers who argue that the labels native speaker and non-native speaker are in themselves problematic (e.g., Canagarajah, 1999; V. Cook, 1999; Jenkins, 2011, personal communication) since they emphasize the biological rather than the social factors affecting the L2 learning process. Researchers like Amin (2004) further argue that the native speaker construct—and by extension, the *native speaker fallacy* (i.e., the idea that the native speaker is the ideal language teacher)—should be eliminated because this construct "divides the profession according to a caste system" (p. 74). In this respect, researchers like Kramsch (1998b) and Velasco-Martin (2004) point out that the native and non-native speaker labels have no relevance in multilingual or multicultural settings such as the European Community, where teachers of English are perceived to be "intercultural speakers." V. Cook (1999) further proposes the use of the term "multicompetent language users" (p. 185) as a replacement for the terms native and non-native speaker since this term allows L2 users to be viewed in a positive light rather than as "failed native speakers" (p. 185).

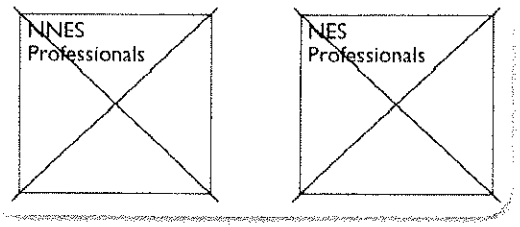

Figure 3. Labels are perceived as problematic.

The belief that native and non-native speakers are completely different (as represented in Figure 1) has been criticized in the field, most insightfully by Pasternak and Bailey (2004), who argue that being a native speaker of a language is not the same as being proficient in that language. They suggest that, rather than focusing on the native and non-native speaker constructs, the field of teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL) should place emphasis instead on issues of language proficiency and professionalism and that both constructs should be viewed on a continuum rather than as an either/or proposition. Figure 4 depicts Pasternak and Bailey's (2004) continua of language proficiency and professional preparation, with four possible combinations. As we see in the figure, teachers falling in Quadrant 1 are those who are proficient in the target language and are professionally prepared; conversely, teachers falling in Quadrant 4 are those who are neither proficient nor have professional preparation. Teachers falling in Quadrant 2 are professionally prepared and not proficient in the target language, and finally teachers falling in Quadrant 3 are proficient in the target language but not professionally prepared.

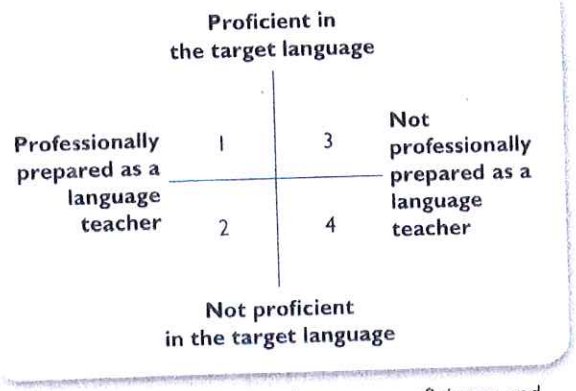

Figure 4. Continua of target-language proficiency and professional preparation.

Regarding the problematic nature of the terms, and more specifically, the term *NNES professional*, three additional points need to be made:

1. In spite of the fact that the terms native and non-native speaker have been challenged by researchers, as argued by Moussu and Llurda (2008), the same researchers still use the terms "in order to start constructing their supporting argumentation" (p. 318).
2. For years, the term *non-native English speaker* was used with negative connotations. In this view, being a non-native speaker is problematic because "it defines a group of people for what they are not" (Matsuda, 2003a, para. 2). Over the last few years, the term *non-native English-speaking professional* has begun to be reclaimed with a positive connotation—an idea that many support.[1] However, in no way does this mean that the term has become widely accepted by all NNES professionals. In fact, it is not uncommon to hear NNES professionals reject the term due to its negative historical connotations.
3. The label *non-native English-speaking teacher* is particularly problematic for novice ESL/EFL teachers who are visible minorities—those who do not resemble the stereotypical blond, blue-eyed American. In fact, it is not uncommon to find second-generation native speakers of English whose nativeness is challenged because they do not look like the idealized native speaker. Hee Jin Kim, whose scenario is presented at the beginning of this chapter, faced challenges to her native speaker status due to her appearance, in spite of the fact that she sounded like a NES. Like many other professionals, Hee Jin faced mistrust when she first started looking for teaching positions in and outside *inner-circle* countries (countries where English is the primary language) by administrators who require that applicants both *look* like native speakers and *be* native speakers of English[2] (Clark & Paran, 2007; Mahboob, Uhrig, Newman, & Hartford, 2004; Selvi, 2010). In this case, a change in how teachers present themselves, from non-native speaking professionals to multicompetent or bilingual professionals will allow them to see themselves in a positive light (Golombek & Jordan, 2005; Pavlenko, 2003).

While Pavlenko (2003) argues that the non-native speaker label is problematic, Medgyes (1994) argued that what is problematic is the "linguistic deficit" (p. 33) that NNES teachers suffer from. According to Medgyes, it is due to this deficit that non-native speakers have an "inferiority complex" (p. 40) and may implement instructional strategies that do not place them in a positive light vis-à-vis their NES counterparts[3] (see Medgyes,

2001, for a list of these strategies). Medgyes's (1983, 1994) view has been referred to as a "language as problem" perspective (Kamhi-Stein, 2005, p. 77).

Seidlhofer (1999) presents an alternative position, one that can be called a "language as resource" position (as cited in Kamhi-Stein, 2005, p. 77). Seidlhofer argues that NNES teachers should be viewed as "double agents" (p. 235) and that the dual role that NNES teachers play adds to their "value" (to use Seidlhofer's term). For Seidlhofer, these teachers perform their role as double agents by sharing their students' first language and culture and by helping to mediate between the two languages and cultures (a point also made by Velasco-Martin, 2004).

CONCEPTUAL UNDERPINNINGS

In this section I present an overview of selected research focusing on NNES professionals in relation to nativist and World Englishes perspectives; the intersection among race, language status, and hiring practices; the relationship among self-perceptions, language proficiency; instructional practices; and issues of teacher preparation. (See also the Celce-Murcia chapter on World Englishes, this volume.)

Nativist and World Englishes perspectives in the language classroom

When I started studying EFL in Argentina in 1965, my teachers, all NNES professionals, sought to provide me with native speaker models with the ultimate goal of having me sound like an idealized native speaker. Nowhere was this expectation more apparent than in the area of pronunciation. However, although my teachers had received professional preparation as EFL teachers and had taken several courses in English phonetics and phonology (with a strong emphasis on British Received Pronunciation), I sincerely doubt that they themselves truly had command of this variety of English.

The belief that a native speaker standard is the only acceptable standard is consistent with Quirk's (1990) "monocentric" view of the English language (as cited in Jenkins, 2006b, p. 171). This monocentric view, typical of nativist perspectives in place in the 1960s, applied to both users of *outer-circle* varieties (spoken in countries where English is widely used for educational, political, and business purposes) and to speakers of *expanding-circle* varieties (spoken in countries where English is a foreign language, like Argentina). In the case of Amin, a speaker of an outer-circle variety of English (Pakistani English), the expectation that she sound like an idealized native speaker would not be relevant since outer-circle varieties have gone through a process of nativization in which these varieties have developed their own norms. In my own case, as a user of an expanding-circle variety of English, the expectation that my Argentinian teachers and I should sound like idealized native speakers was not realistic either. Expanding-circle users do not have their own norms but have instead traditionally relied on inner-circle norms (B. B. Kachru, 1985). In expanding-circle settings, factors like age, language aptitude, motivation, personality, affective variables, the learning setting, the amount of input received (as well as issues of identity) all contribute to the variety of English used and/or the level of proficiency attained.

Today, people who use English in the expanding and outer circles far outnumber those who use English as a native language in inner-circle settings (Kachru & Smith, 2008). English has become an "international commodity" (Burns, 2005, p. 2) and is no longer perceived as being the property of those in inner-circle settings (Widdowson, 1994). At the same time, the field of TESOL has experienced what B. B. Kachru (1992) calls a "paradigm shift" (p. 362), in that language teaching—at least in theory—no longer privileges the inner-circle varieties of English as the only acceptable standard. In contrast to a monocentric framework, in which only one standard is acceptable, what is appreciated from a World Englishes perspective is "the variation and cultural pluralism denoted by the term Englishes" (Kachru & Smith, 2008, p. 4).

In the language classroom, the most evident consequence of the paradigm shift is that, rather than having the emphasis of instruction placed on students acquiring a native-like pronunciation, emphasis is now placed on having them speak intelligibly. Intelligibility has been described by Smith (1992) as being one of three related components:

1. *Intelligibility*, involving the listener's ability to recognize words and utterances
2. *Comprehensibility*, involving the listener's ability to recognize the meaning of words or utterances
3. *Interpretability*, involving the listener's ability to understand the speaker's intentions

This shift in the goal of instruction from an idealized native speaker proficiency to intelligibility removes the burden from teachers and students of trying to sound like someone they are not; more important, it places emphasis on teaching students to communicate for real purposes rather than to imitate native speakers (Burns, 2005).

Research on intelligibility and comprehensibility supports two ideas. First, the more speakers (or students) listen to a particular variety of English, the more they become accustomed to that variety and the easier that variety becomes for them to understand.[4] In fact, a study by Moussu (2010) confirms that longer periods of exposure to NNES teachers positively affected ESL students' perceptions of their teachers' pronunciation (as well as their other skills). As Moussu (2010) notes, it could well be the case that students rate evidence of professionalism higher than issues of nativeness in English.

The second idea supported by the research is that teacher accentedness is independent of teacher intelligibility (Butler, 2007; Kim, 2008). In other words, language learners can in fact understand a teacher who is a non-native speaker. However, what a teacher's accent *has* been found to affect is students' perceptions of comprehensibility; that is, a teacher perceived to have a strong accent is also perceived to be difficult to understand (Kim, 2008). In turn, these perceptions lead students in EFL and ESL settings to have more positive attitudes toward teachers with a native speaker accent (Butler, 2007; Kim, 2008; Liang, 2002). However, it should be noted that, in spite of the EFL and ESL students' preference for NES teachers, ESL students have often been found to have difficulty differentiating between a NES and a NNES accent (Kelch & Santana-Williamson, 2002; Kim, 2008).

As previously suggested, the paradigm shift that changed the teaching goal from producing speakers with native-like accents to producing intelligible speakers has not been widely reflected in actual classrooms but has, instead, remained at the level of scholarship (a point that is discussed by Jenkins, 2006b). In fact, the notions that standard American and British English are the two prestigious varieties of English and that NES teachers are guardians of those varieties are still alive in many language classrooms around the world. In part, the mismatch between theory and practice can be attributed to the fact that the system in which teachers are educated plays an important role in shaping their self-perceptions and beliefs. More specifically, in expanding-circle settings, it is often the case that teacher preparation programs favor British and North American inner-circle language models along with inner-circle pedagogy (i.e., communicative language teaching). For these reasons, it is not unusual to find expanding-circle NNES teachers who measure their proficiency in relation to that of the idealized NES and who favor pedagogies that may not be the ones most appropriate to their setting or the ones most relevant to their students' needs and wants.

The intersection among race, language status, and hiring practices

Unfortunately, TESOL abounds with stories showing that the credibility of professionals who are visible minorities, regardless of whether they are native speakers of English, is challenged because they are perceived to be non-native speakers (Chacon, 2006; Govardhan, 2006; Nero, 2006). In fact, as noted by Nero (2006), the privilege of white teachers is "nowhere more evident than in hiring practices" (p. 29). This was the case for He Jin Kim (related in the Experience at the outset of this chapter), who sounded like a native speaker but did not look like one. As a result, a prospective employer chose not to hire her.

At this time, there is a small body of research focusing on the status of NNES teachers in relation to hiring practices in TESOL. Two such studies investigated hiring practices in: (1) U.S. intensive-English programs (Mahboob et al., 2004); and (2) a variety of institutions (private language schools, universities, and other educational institutions) in the United Kingdom (Clark & Paran, 2007). Taken together, both studies show that NES teachers far outnumbered NNES teachers in the programs investigated. In addition, both studies show that whenever great importance was accorded to native-speaker status by program administrators, there were fewer NES teachers on their staffs. Finally, both studies show that NES status was the most important hiring criterion and accounted for the high number of NES teachers in the programs (Clark & Paran, 2007; Mahboob et al., 2004).

In another study, Selvi (2010) analyzed the job advertisements on the TESOL association's Online Career Center[5] and on Dave's ESL Café,[6] a popular website that carries job advertisements from around the world. In his analysis, Selvi (2010) found that most of the advertisements called for "native or native-like/near-native proficiency" (p. 165). Moreover, in some instances, advertisements narrowed down the definition of *native speaker* to applicants with passports from countries such as Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States. In other instances, advertisers called for applications from American, Australian, South African, and Canadian teachers with European Union passports or from North Americans "whose first language is English (no heavy accents)" (Selvi, 2010, p. 170). The results of this study show that program administrators heavily favor NES over NNES teachers. Furthermore, the study shows that for these administrators, native-speaker status is equated to having been born in or having a passport from an English-dominant country.

Based on the results of these studies, it is clear that there is a need for NNES professionals to engage in advocacy activities to raise awareness about discriminatory hiring practices (Selvi, 2010). In other words, there is a need for advocacy designed to disabuse administrators of the notion that the native speaker is the ideal language teacher. In this respect, the TESOL association has produced two documents: *Statement on Nonnative Speakers of English and Hiring Practices* (1991)[7] and *Position Statement against Discrimination of Nonnative Speakers of English in the Field of TESOL* (2006).[8] The 1991 document stated that hiring decisions that are based solely on the native speaker criterion are discriminatory and are in "contradiction to sound linguistic research and pedagogical practice" (para. 3). The 2006 document also opposes discrimination against NNES teachers; it further argues that English language teachers should be proficient in English, regardless of status (native speaker or non-native speaker) and that hiring decisions should be made based on English language proficiency, teaching skills, teacher experience, and professional preparation. These statements have prompted discussion and raised awareness about discriminatory hiring practices. However, much still needs to be done to change hiring practices in the English language teaching profession.

While the findings discussed here may paint a somewhat grim picture, the reality is that NNES teachers do get hired. However, as explained by Amin (2004), teachers who are visible minorities (in the case of her research, female teachers) are often at a disadvantage in the hiring process because these teachers may lack confidence and thus not be able to present themselves as effective professionals. In turn, their negative self-perceptions may result in instructional practices that are not as strong as they could have been had the teachers been able to negotiate effective teacher identities. However, this is not to say that these visible minorities are not successful professionals in the field. In fact, the field also abounds with stories of visible minorities who have fought the challenges to their professional credibility and succeeded (Amin, 2004; Braine, 1999; Nero, 2006). Their successes can be attributed to several factors. First, they serve as inspirational role models for their students in that they reflect the local student population (Flynn & Gulikers, 2001). Second, they develop instructional materials that are anti-racist (Amin, 2004) and draw on their own status and experiences (de Oliveira, 2011). Third, they create classroom conditions that contribute to empowering their students (Kamhi-Stein, in press). Finally, with their presence in the classroom, they dispel the notion of the white native speaker as the ideal teacher (Amin, 2004).

The relationship among self-perceptions, language proficiency, and instructional practices

Why **should** we be concerned with teachers' self-perceptions? Self-perceptions are important because they affect how teachers position themselves in the classroom (Kamhi-Stein, in press), contribute (positively or negatively) to instructional practices, and ultimately affect students' motivation and learning (Butler, 2004). For example, Veneza Angel Pablico's quotation (in the Experience section) shows that she views her bilingualism as contributing to her flexibility, power, and skillfulness.

The relationship between self-perceptions and instructional practices is reflected in the experiences of two public school English teachers

in South Korea, as reported by Kamhi-Stein and Mahboob (2005). The two subjects in their study used Korean and English in the classroom, but to different degrees and for different purposes. Specifically, Teacher A used Korean to translate terms that were not easy for the students to access and to joke with the students (as a means of creating a comfortable, relaxed atmosphere). Teacher B used Korean for most of the class time; in her case, classroom instruction was limited to having students listen and repeat sets of sentences in Korean and in English. Teacher B attributed her limited use of English in the classroom to her own lack of comfort in using the language.

The cases of these two teachers support research findings showing that NNES professionals in outer-circle settings such as Hong Kong or expanding-circle contexts (e.g., Japan, Korea, Taiwan, or Greece) may perceive their level of English language proficiency to be lower than that of NESs (Butler, 2004; Tang, 1997) and that, more important, some NNES professionals (in the case of the research reported here, teachers working in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan) may perceive their English language proficiency to be lower than it should be for them to provide effective instruction in English (Butler, 2004).

These findings may give the misleading impression that the relationship between language proficiency and language use in the classroom is a simple one. However, Kamhi-Stein and Mahboob (2005), in their investigation of Korean, Pakistani, and Argentine teachers (in which the two Korean teachers previously described participated) found that the use (or nonuse) of English in the classroom was affected by a complex interplay of factors. Specifically, the extent to which the teachers used their home language or English was affected by their perceived and actual proficiency in English (as measured by a battery of tests) *and* their beliefs about L2 teaching and learning. The researchers also found that the teachers' instructional practices reflected, to a large extent, the beliefs of the educational systems in which they had been brought up and were functioning. Based on this study, it appears inaccurate to say that language proficiency is the sole determining factor contributing to teachers' use of English in the language classroom.

While I have argued that self-perceptions affect how teachers position themselves in the classroom, self-perceptions cannot be considered to be fixed or stable. For example, in the case of NNES professionals, self-perceptions have been found to be negatively affected by changes in the setting in which teachers function, for example, from EFL to ESL (Kamhi-Stein, 1999; Samimy & Brutt-Griffler, 1999). Specifically, it is not uncommon to find that EFL professionals who travel to inner-circle countries to complete advanced degrees shift their self-perceptions, viewing themselves as accented minorities rather than as model professionals (Chacon, 2006). This shift in self-perception can have a debilitating effect on the NNES professionals if not properly addressed through the kinds of actions described in the Classroom Applications section.

Issues of language teacher preparation

Effective teachers have two types of knowledge: declarative and procedural (Pasternak & Bailey, 2004). *Declarative knowledge* consists of "knowledge about facts and things that we know" (O'Malley & Chamot, 1990, p. 229). In the case of an ESL/EFL teacher, this involves a teacher's ability to explain a grammatical rule, for example. *Procedural knowledge* consists of "knowledge of the things that we know how to do" (O'Malley & Chamot, 1990, p. 231). An example of procedural knowledge for the same teacher involves the teacher's ability to use the grammatical rule automatically in connected speech. TESOL teacher-preparation programs in EFL settings have shown great concern about NNES teachers' procedural knowledge as it relates to their ability to use the English language (e.g., Lavender, 2002). NNES teacher educators in inner-circle settings have the same concern about the language proficiency focus in TESOL teacher-preparation programs (J. Liu, 1999; Nemtchinova, Mahboob, Fslami, & Dogancay-Aktuna, 2010). More specifically, Nemtchinova et al. make the case for integrating a focus on teacher language proficiency across the curriculum of TESOL teacher-preparation courses. It could be argued that the rationale for this concern relies on the notion that "a teacher's confidence is most dependent on his or her own degree of language

competence" (Murdoch, 1994, p. 258). Given this idea, a concern for English language proficiency is not surprising. Nevertheless, the idea that teacher educators are responsible for explicitly helping NNES professionals develop their language skills is often disregarded by teacher educators in inner-circle settings. In fact, a study by Frazier and Phillabaum (2011/2012) focusing on teacher educators in California showed that several of the participants argued that language training was not part of their job.

In inner-circle countries in North America, several studies have depicted a complex picture in relation to NNES teachers-in-preparation enrolled in teacher-preparation programs. Specifically, teacher-preparation programs in inner-circle settings have been found to place great cognitive and linguistic demands on the classroom participation of NNES students (especially in the areas of reading, writing, and oral classroom participation). These demands may lead to feelings of high anxiety (Lee & Lew, 2001; Morita, 2000). To deal with such feelings, NNES graduate students have been found to implement a variety of coping strategies, including turning to their NES peers for support; spending a lot of time writing, rewriting, and editing their papers (Lee & Lew, 2001); and extensively rehearsing and preparing for their oral presentations (Lee & Lew, 2001; Morita, 2000). NNES teachers-in-preparation have also reported going through a silent period (Kamhi-Stein, 1999; Thomas, 1999) and challenging themselves to participate in classroom discussions (J. Liu, 2004). While these strategies may give the impression that the burden of meeting the cognitive and linguistic expectations of language teacher-education programs lies solely with the NNES teachers-in-preparation, this is far from the truth. As shown by Morita (2004) in a study of female Japanese graduate students in a Canadian teacher preparation program, classroom participation (or nonparticipation) is co-constructed. This means that the teacher educators play a central role in creating conditions that allow teachers-in-preparation to see themselves as legitimate members of the classroom community—that is, as graduate students who have ideas to contribute and are worth being listened to by their NES peers. Conversely, teacher educators also play a role in creating negative conditions that place NNES teachers-in-preparation in the position of "the other," that is, students who are physically present in the classroom but, at the same time, marginalized in terms of participating in classroom discussions and activities.

The demands placed on NNES teachers-in-preparation are not minor. Their transition from the expanding-circle setting, where they are typically viewed as outstanding professionals, to graduate study in inner-circle settings, where (in the best-case scenario) they are often perceived as accented speakers (Samimy & Brutt-Griffler, 1999) or (in the worst) simply as language learners (G. Park, 2012), has an overall negative impact on their self-perception. Teacher preparation has been found to be instrumental in helping NNES professionals develop positive self-identities in teacher-preparation coursework, particularly through classroom assignments designed to help them demystify the notion of the native speaker. The work by Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (1999), Golombek and Jordan (2005), Pavlenko (2003), and Reis (2011) provides strong support for creating environments in which teachers-in-preparation engage in discussions about the native and non-native speaker constructs and issues of identity. As a result, NNES teachers-in-preparation who initially may not perceive themselves as legitimate owners of the English language come to recognize the native speaker fallacy and, as a consequence, are able to realign their self-perceptions. Through class discussions and classroom assignments, they can begin to view themselves as multicompetent language users and as members of multilingual communities rather than as disempowered non-native speakers of English.

To reach the goal of empowerment, Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (1999), for example, propose a seminar that focuses on issues related to NNES educators, with the objective of helping students understand the relationship between language and power and recognize the importance of creating a professional community. Another approach to empowerment is described by Kamhi-Stein (1999), who proposes a cross-curricular approach with a threefold purpose: (1) promoting reflection on issues related to NNES educators; (2) ensuring that discussions on issues related to NNES educators are not isolated to an individual course or to one group of teachers-in-preparation (in this case, the NNESs);

and (3) allowing NNES teachers-in-preparation to see themselves and the issues that concern them as an integral part of the teacher-preparation curriculum.

While clearly there are many positive practices in some inner-circle TESOL teacher-preparation programs, another issue is the practicum course, which has been an ongoing topic of concern for NNES teachers-in-preparation (Brinton, 2004; Llurda, 2005; Nemtchinova, 2005). Overall, work on the practicum course has shown that NNES teachers-in-preparation are often affected by concerns anchored in their status as non-native speakers and, at the same time, by concerns that are typical of all novice teachers. Drawing on these findings, Brinton (2004) argues that it is the responsibility of the teacher educator to create opportunities that are pedagogically meaningful and supportive for all teachers-in-preparation.

CLASSROOM APPLICATIONS

What does this discussion mean for NNES professionals? In this section, I describe a variety of strategies that can be implemented to enhance the English language skills, social-affective standing, and professional development/involvement of the NNES teachers-in-preparation. While reading this section, it is important to keep two points in mind. First, assuming that the strategies apply to *all* NNES teachers-in-preparation is problematic. Second, the strategies described in this section may and, in many cases, do apply to many NES teachers-in-preparation as well. In this section I discuss the strategies in terms of NNESs; however, readers should consider extending the ideas to their NES counterparts as well.

Strategies for English language development

The self-directed strategies discussed next are designed to help NNES teachers (both novice and experienced) enhance their English language skills. Central to the strategies is the idea that the teachers need to be motivated to implement them.

Work on sounding intelligible (if concerned about pronunciation). This involves NNES teachers being aware of the sounds or intonation patterns that may contribute to making their speech less intelligible and working to improve these speech features to enhance intelligibility. For example, in a conversation class, a student from Thailand said, "I will go to Las Vegas next mon. . . ." The teacher asked the student if he did not have a class the following Monday. The student replied: "no . . . no . . . next mon." At that point the teacher realized that the student wanted to say *month* and the problem was that he was not able to pronounce the *th* sound. Intelligibility can also be hindered by grammar and prosodic problems. If intelligibility is an issue, then it is important that the NNES teachers identify what is impeding their intelligibility and take steps to address the relevant issues. Some of these steps may involve the NNES teachers' engaging in a cyclical pattern of: (1) working on problematic sounds and intonation patterns in their speech by reading passages containing the features; (2) recording themselves reading the passages; and (3) then listening to their recordings and engaging in a process of self-correction.

Develop (or, as I prefer, enhance) conversational strategies. De Oliveira (2011) explains that NNES teachers may benefit from implementing questioning strategies designed to seek clarification, explanation, or examples. For example, rather than saying, "I don't understand" (i.e., a word or expression), she suggests using expressions like "I'm not sure I know what you mean. Would you mind clarifying that?" "I'm not sure what you're referring to. Would you mind giving me an example of that?" or "Would you mind explaining that again?" (de Oliveira, 2011, p. 233).

Another strategy that can be used to enhance NNES teachers' conversational skills involves learning about turn-taking (how a speaker takes and holds the floor in conversation). As explained by LoCastro (2012), speakers from different languages and cultures function under different assumptions about turn-taking; therefore, learning how and when to take and hold the floor may not be easy for NNESs. For this reason, LoCastro (2012) suggests a variety of cues to assist NNESs in recognizing that the speaker is getting ready to give up the floor. These cues include, but are not limited to, dropping one's pitch or loudness, slowing down the pace of one's speech, making unfilled pauses, inhaling audibly, making eye contact, nodding one's head, and changing one's

body posture.[9] Therefore, it is important for NNES teachers to attend explicitly to how these cues are used in conversation to understand their interlocutors' intentions and expectations.

Prepare in advance to participate in classes and meetings. It is not uncommon to hear NNES teachers say that one of their fears is that their contributions (in a graduate class, in a meeting with an advisor, or as attendees at a professional meeting) may be overlooked. As explained by de Oliveira (2011), if NNES teachers want to be heard, they need to present themselves "in a professional manner" (p. 234). To help my NNES graduate students accomplish this in their graduate classes, I often counsel them to prepare what they are going to say and strategize how they are going to say it. Then, in managing group dynamics, I make eye contact with the students so that they can offer up their contribution. After students hear their voices a couple of times, they begin to see themselves as members of the classroom community and tend to increase their participation levels. Rehearsing what they are going to say and how they are going to say it contributes to decreasing the level of anxiety that some NNES graduate students or teachers may feel initially when they are expected to participate in class, meet with an advisor, or attend and make presentations at professional meetings.

Implement macro- and micro-text deconstruction strategies to understand how different text types are organized. *Macro-text deconstruction strategies* involve identifying the overall structure of a text (written or oral) as well the language features associated with that particular text. *Micro-text deconstruction strategies*, on the other hand, involve identifying vocabulary items, phrases, and clauses that authors use. Both strategies are helpful to NNESs as they seek to identify text structures, vocabulary, and phrases, and clauses that they can incorporate into their own written or spoken discourse. In my own case, I have found the use of these text deconstruction strategies particularly helpful both as a language user and a teacher. Specifically, as a graduate student, I used macro-text deconstruction strategies: (1) to understand how research articles in journals such as *TESOL Quarterly* were organized; and (2) to model my writing after more experienced authors. For example, as I read the introduction to a research study, I paid attention to how the section was organized (e.g., by understanding how the authors established what the field had to say about their topic, how they gave a brief summary of prior research, how they showed gaps in the literature, and how they made a statement or asked questions designed to show how they intended to fill the gap). I also used micro-text deconstruction strategies, paying attention to the academic vocabulary that authors used (e.g., *analysis, benefit, conclude, data*) and interesting expressions the authors used to accomplish various discourse moves (e.g., *The results of prior research show that . . .*; *X argues that . . .*; *Central to this idea . . .*; *However, X research suggests that . . .*). Then, in writing my own papers, I modeled my texts after the texts I had deconstructed—though I was, of course, careful not to plagiarize.

Use corpora to access authentic language usage. Corpora are large collections of authentic texts that are compiled and stored electronically and are processed by a search engine (D. Liu, 2010). Three examples of corpora are: (1) the Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English (MICASE),[10] a collection of data from a wide variety of speech events (e.g., lectures, classroom discussions, and lab sections) at the University of Michigan; (2) the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA),[11] which can be accessed through Brigham Young University and contains data for texts like fiction, popular magazines, newspapers, and academic texts; and (3) the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE),[12] a corpus that contains naturally occurring data from non-native speakers communicating with other non-native speakers. By conducting searches in the various corpora and analyzing the results, teachers can become more aware of issues such as how English is used by non-native speakers interacting with other non-native speakers (in the case of VOICE), how American English is used in different genres (in the case of COCA), and how English is used in an academic settings (in the case of MICASE). (See also the McCarthy & O'Keeffe and Zimmerman chapters, this volume.)

Social-affective strategies

The strategies discussed next are designed to help NNES professionals enhance their self-perceptions (as and if needed). Employing these strategies will ultimately contribute to NNES teachers' positioning themselves as professionals.

Engage in a process of reimagining self-identity. For many professionals, calling themselves nonnative English speakers is problematic since it relegates them to the position of "less competent" teacher (Pavlenko, 2003, p. 259). Reading the work of various authors (e.g., Braine, 2010; Pavlenko, 2003; Samimy & Brutt-Griffler, 1999) and reflecting on the native speaker fallacy will help NNES professionals understand how labels affect their self-perceptions. Using terms like *bilingual* or *multicompetent* to describe themselves may contribute to their view of self as being twice as competent. In practical terms, reimagining (using Pavlenko's 2003 term) themselves as bilingual professionals could, for example, result in job applications that highlight the professionals' *bilingual* skills (rather than *non-native* skills). This reimagination can also result in the identification of instructional practices that draw on the notion of bilingualism as a strength rather than NNES status as a weakness. One such instructional practice, in the case where the teacher knows the students' L1, is his or her ability to use the L1 to explain a term that students have difficulty understanding.

Buy into the notion that a teacher's accent does not necessarily imply a lack of intelligibility. Sometimes, NNES teachers' self-perceptions are negatively affected because they have a non-native accent. As noted throughout this chapter, self-perceptions affect how teachers present themselves in the classroom and vis-à-vis other professionals in the field. Therefore, developing an understanding of what the field has to say about accentedness and how accentedness differs from intelligibility can contribute to disabusing teachers of the notion that they need to sound like a native speaker to be accepted into the TESOL professional community.

Identify areas of professional strength. Rather than looking at what they are *not* (i.e., native speakers of English), it is important for NNES professionals to develop a strong understanding of the strengths they bring to the language classroom. I contend that teachers, regardless of their language status, can be effective professionals only if they have a sense of self-worth. To put it in simple terms, will students trust teachers who do not believe in themselves? The answer is *no*. One strategy that NNES teachers can use to develop awareness about their professional assets is to make a list of their professional strengths (as well as weaknesses) and to reflect on how these strengths contribute to their instructional practices. At the same time, teachers should consider developing a plan of action to work on their weaknesses.

Find NNES professionals who can serve as mentors. This is particularly important for NNES teachers working in inner-circle settings, where their professionalism can be challenged. While getting initiated into the profession in such settings is not easy for any teacher, it is usually more difficult for NNES professionals. For this reason, it is important for them to find mentors who can help them deconstruct the educational system of the inner circle. The model of mentoring I propose is one of "mentoring as transformational leadership" (Kamhi-Stein & de Oliveira, 2008, p. 40). In this model, mentoring involves: (1) engaging in a dyadic (two-way) relationship in which both mentor and mentee benefit from the relationship; (2) creating opportunities for professional and personal growth; and (3) engaging in a spiral process in which, as initial goals are met, new goals are established. Working with a mentor will help prepare NNES teachers to be successful professionals. In turn, based on the assumption that mentees may be newly graduated teachers, mentors will also benefit because they will be exposed to the latest developments in the field. How can NNES teachers find a mentor? Sometimes, NNES teachers (or NES professionals) are assigned to mentors through formal channels in professional associations such as TESOL. Other times, finding a mentor with whom a teacher would like to work requires initiative on the part of the potential mentee. However, in identifying a mentor, teachers should not attend solely to the professional qualifications of the potential mentor since, for the mentoring relationship to work, it is important that there be some level of personal comfort between the mentor and the mentee.

Develop strong support networks. Before the NNEST TESOL Interest Section (formerly a caucus) was founded, it was not uncommon for NNES professionals to feel marginalized and to be unable to find their experiences in TESOL reflected in those of NES teachers. At that time, finding support networks to exchange ideas and discuss issues related to their NNES status was

difficult, if not impossible. Currently, access to professional groups like the TESOL association's NNEST Interest Section,[13] and interest sections that are part of TESOL's affiliates (e.g., the California affiliate [CATESOL][14] or the Washington area affiliate [WATESOL])[15] can help NNES professionals develop a sense of community and can provide contacts that they may not otherwise be able to make.

Professional-preparation programs in inner-circle settings

The strategies discussed next are classroom accommodation strategies that TESOL programs can implement to avoid the marginalization of NNES graduate students. The rationale for implementing these strategies is that (rather than lowering program standards) they will contribute to strengthening program quality by raising the visibility and contributions of the programs' NNES graduate students.

Provide an orientation for NNES graduate students from international backgrounds. International students who enroll in TESOL MA programs in inner-circle contexts may lack an understanding of how graduate classrooms function, what instructors' expectations are, and so on. In addition, as previously explained, the change in setting from EFL to ESL may affect the NNES professionals' self-perceptions. Therefore, it is important to provide NNES students with an orientation session so that their adjustment process is less traumatic. This orientation session can be followed up with individual meetings in which the NNES student and his or her advisor provide each other with an update on the former's process of adaptation. As a teacher educator, I hold individual meetings with all incoming students to learn about their professional goals and expectations. In addition, I meet with NNES students (as needed) to help them strategize their classroom participation.

Implement strategies designed to balance student participation in the classroom. One of the areas of greatest concern for NNES graduate students enrolled in teacher-preparation programs is oral classroom participation (Barratt, 2010; Kamhi-Stein, 1999). It is not uncommon to hear NNES graduate students complain that class discussions move too fast and that they encounter difficulties entering conversations given their lack of familiarity with turn-taking conventions. Therefore, teacher educators need to implement balanced participation strategies (i.e., strategies that create an environment conducive to the participation of all students) as a solution, at least in part, to the problem described. Examples of balanced participation strategies include implementing a wait-time period so that all students have an opportunity to think about their answers before responding; inviting students to volunteer to respond, and calling on different volunteer students to hear different voices; making arrangements with individual students so that they conduct the warm-up/review at the beginning of class or the summary/closure activity at the end of class; and having students work in groups in which every person has to make a contribution. These strategies have two goals. First, they give all students an equal opportunity to be heard. Second, because they mirror strategies that are typically used in language classrooms, faculty can have students engage in reflection activities to create student awareness about classroom participation. In my own case, doing this usually contributes to my students' enhanced understanding of the important role that the teacher plays in creating classroom environments in which either all students feel accepted or some are put in the position of the "other."

Implement online asynchronous forum discussions. Forum discussions that exist as part of a course's website or course management system allow students to participate at their own pace. While these features may benefit all students, they have been found to be particularly helpful for NNES students since they promote active participation without putting students under pressure to perform. They also allow students "to hear multiple voices and perspectives" (Kamhi-Stein, 2000, p. 448), voices that for linguistic, cultural, or personality reasons may not surface in face-to-face discussions.

Integrate discussions and activities designed to raise awareness about NNES teachers' issues across the curriculum of the TESOL program. Topics such as the native speaker fallacy, the relationship (or lack thereof) between accentedness and intelligibility, the reality of World Englishes, and

the relevance of various teaching methodologies to different types of societies (e.g., Western, Asian, and African) are central to the preparation of English language teachers. An approach to instruction on NNES issues implemented across a variety of courses in TESOL programs will provide all future teachers, NES and NNES alike, with multiple opportunities to systematically examine these topics. In addition, implementing a cross-curricular approach to issues of interest to NNES professionals promotes meaningful dialogues between NESs and NNESs and prevents the latter from being marginalized. Some of the activities that raise awareness of NNES issues include writing linguistic autobiographies; researching hiring practices in various geographical areas, along with the beliefs supporting such practices; and analyzing exemplary practices implemented by NNES professionals.

Put NNESs in the position of consultants and experts. NNES graduate students bring to TESOL programs a wealth of knowledge and experience. Drawing on this knowledge and experience will benefit the graduate programs in which these students are enrolled. Therefore, it is important to view them as sources of knowledge rather than as individuals who bring deficiencies or gaps to the programs in which they are enrolled.

Work on issues of English language proficiency (both perceived and real). Sometimes, NNES teachers *believe* that their English language proficiency is not good enough to teach in an instructional setting. However, in many of these cases, the problem is one of self-perception. In this case, doing self-studies or getting hands-on experience teaching language learners will give teachers the security and confidence they need to succeed. On the other hand, in those cases where language proficiency really is a problem, it may be necessary to provide language support. The type of support provided will depend on the prospective teachers' needs. For example, such support could involve assigning conversation partners to those students who need to enhance their language fluency or integrating a language-development component into the classes that graduate students take (D. Liu, 1999). For example, in grammar or linguistics courses, students could work on their own use of structures, idioms, or word collocations; in phonetics classes, they could investigate th articulations of speech sounds (D. Liu, 19 or focus on their performance in planned a unplanned speech.

Professional development and/or involvement

The strategies discussed next are designed to ra the status of NNES professionals in the field whi at the same time, providing novice NNES teach with models they can emulate. (See also Grand & Finn-Miller, this volume.)

Serve as mentors for novice NNES teache Serving as mentors for new teachers is an impo tant form of professional service. In addition, I have already explained, the mentoring relatic ship brings benefits not only to the mentee but the mentor too.

Participate in professional associations. Profe sional associations are always in need of new leade Given that NNES professionals have been langua learners, they have an enhanced understanding the language learning process as well as of the nee and wants of English language learners. Therefo they can make excellent contributions to local, stat and international associations.

Monitor hiring practices, take action, and brir discriminatory practices to the attention of profe sional associations. This important advoca activity has two goals: (1) to educate administrato about the myth that the native speaker is the ide teacher; and (2) to work with professional associ tions to develop anti-discriminatory position stat ments and job-advertising practices.

FUTURE TRENDS

Just as language learners cannot be considere to be a monolithic group, neither can NNE professionals. Given the diversity among NNE professionals, there is a need to expand the researcl in four directions. First, it is important to continu presenting nuanced descriptions of NNES profes sionals. Such descriptions should not be limited t professionals in expanding-circle settings; instead they should include professionals in inner-circl

countries like the United States, where there are growing numbers of NNES language teachers who are long-term immigrants. Second, it is important to address the issue of hiring practices in inner- and expanding-circle countries related to NNES professionals. In this area, there is a need to identify hiring practices in various geographical areas and work within professional associations to develop advocacy action plans addressing discriminatory hiring practices. Third, in expanding-circle countries there is a need to look at teachers' and students' perceptions about the ownership of the English language as well the relationship between such perceptions and teachers' instructional practices. Finally, it is important to understand whether the English language is becoming nativized in specific expanding-circle settings and, where this is the case, to identify the features of these varieties of English (Seidlhofer, 2004).

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have argued that English is no longer perceived as the property of inner-circle speakers; however, the term non-native English-speaking teacher has continued to be used in TESOL. While some professionals argue for the need to find a new term, others have begun to reclaim the term. What is a fact in relation to the term non-native English-speaking teacher is that it continues to be problematic, particularly for novice teachers who find their credibility challenged because they may not sound or look like an idealized native English speaker. In this respect, there is an urgent need for advocacy activities designed to address discriminatory hiring practices and to educate administrators about the native speaker fallacy.

I have also argued that being a native speaker of English is different from being proficient in English. Teachers do not need to be native speakers of English to teach the language. Instead, what is needed is a high level of proficiency in English, although how high this level needs to be depends on a variety of factors, including but not limited to the setting in which the teachers function, the skill areas being taught, the purposes for which students are studying English, and the students' own level of proficiency in English.

SUMMARY

- Being a native speaker of English is not the same thing as being proficient in English.
- Issues of language proficiency and professional preparation need to be viewed as a continuum rather than as an either-or proposition.
- English is an international commodity and cannot be perceived as the property of inner-circle speakers. Language teaching can no longer privilege inner-circle varieties of English as the only acceptable standard.
- Often imbued with negative connotations in the past, the term non-native English speaker has begun to be reclaimed as having a positive connotation.
- Teachers who are members of visible minorities may find their professional credibility challenged simply because they do not look like an idealized native English speaker.
- There is a need for advocacy and action to educate administrators concerning the value that NNES professionals bring to the profession.
- The extent to which teachers use English in the classroom (when teachers and students share a L1) is affected by many factors, including teachers' actual and perceived proficiency in English, their beliefs about L2 teaching and learning, and the beliefs of the educational system in which they have been educated and function.
- Effective language teacher-preparation programs have been found to be instrumental in helping NNES teachers view themselves as multicompetent language users and as members of multilingual communities rather than as disempowered non-native speakers of English.
- Language teacher preparation programs in inner-circle settings need to more effectively integrate topics of relevance to NNES teachers into their courses.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Are you convinced that the native speaker fallacy exists? If so, what are the arguments that have convinced you? Are there any additional arguments that should have been considered?

2. How do you perceive yourself (as a native speaker, a non-native speaker, a multilingual speaker, or some other category)? Does the label affect how you position yourself in the field of TESOL?
3. Have you ever experienced discriminatory hiring practices, or do you know someone who has? What were the circumstances? Do you agree with the idea that there have been some small, though positive, changes in hiring practices? What do you think needs to be done to change administrators' views about hiring highly qualified NNES teachers?

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. Identify the setting in which you teach (or are planning to teach). Then, make a list of the strengths you bring to the language classroom. In making the list, consider issues of teacher preparation, language proficiency, and sociocultural knowledge. Then, identify the areas of concern to you; that is, make a list of your weaknesses. Finally, design an action plan. What strategies are you planning to implement to improve your skills?
2. Reflect on the strategies you have implemented to enhance your English or foreign language skills, social-affective standing in the field, and professional preparation. Are there other strategies you can add to the list? Share them with your colleagues or professional networks.
3. Find an exemplary teacher who has an accent that distinguishes him or her from the idealized native speaker. Interview the teacher, some of his or her students, and an administrator. What factors contribute to the teacher's success in the classroom from the points of view of the teacher, the students, and the administrator?

FURTHER READING

Braine, G. (2010). *Nonnative speaker English teachers: Research, pedagogy and professional growth.* New York, NY: Routledge.

This book, written by a founding member of TESOL's NNEST Caucus (now NNEST Interest Section), describes the roots of the NNES teachers' movement and provides a summary of the research focusing on NNES professionals.

Kubota, R., & Sun, Y. (Eds.) (2012). *Demystifying career paths after graduate school: A guide for second language professionals in higher education.* Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

This collection of articles provides a variety of practical suggestions on how to develop a successful academic career.

Morita, N. (2004). Negotiating participation and identity in second language academic communities. *TESOL Quarterly, 38*(4), 573–604.

This research study describes how six female graduate students from Japan negotiated their participation in the classes they took.

ENDNOTES

[1] See, for example, Matsuda's (2003a) article, in which he expresses his pride in being called a non-native speaker.
[2] I should note that oftentimes employers' idea of who is a native speaker is problematic since it is sometimes dependent on the applicant's last name, the country issuing the passport, or the applicant's place of birth (Selvi, 2010).
[3] One limitation of research on self-perceptions is that, as Medgyes (1994) explains, conclusions are made based on teachers' self-reported data. A review of the list of the perceived differences in teaching behavior between NES and NNES professionals suggests that the NNES professionals implement instructional practices that are not "valued" in the context of modern pedagogical practices. Therefore, a question that should be asked is: "What counts as good pedagogy *in specific sociocultural contexts?*" (Lin, Wang, Akamatsu, & Riazi, 2005, p. 210).
[4] See the summary of research findings in Pickering (2006).
[5] See http://careers.tesol.org/
[6] See http://www.eslcafe.com
[7] See http://nnest.asu.edu/articles/TESOL_Statement%5B1%5D.pdf
[8] See http://www.tesol.org/s_tesol/bin.asp?CID=32&DID=5889&DOC=FILE.PDF
[9] These cues are not universal. For example, as explained by LoCastro (2012), in multicultural settings, misunderstandings may occur when participants in a conversation make eye contact to cue that they are ready to give up the floor, and because their interlocutors avoid making eye contact (due to cultural beliefs and practices), they may assume that their interlocutors are not ready to contribute to the conversation.
[10] Available at http://micase.elicorpora.info/
[11] Available at http://corpus.byu.edu/coca
[12] Available at http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/
[13] Available at http://nnest.asu.edu/
[14] Available at http://nnlei.wordpress.com/
[15] Available at https://sites.google.com/site/watesolnnestcaucus/home