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Faculty of Humanities

**ELF Awareness in Chinese Higher Education:
a Focus on Language Policy**

by

Yangyu Wang

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Faculty of Humanities

School of Modern Languages and Linguistics

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

ELF Awareness in Chinese Higher Education: a Focus on Language Policy

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Given the fact that non-native English speakers greatly outnumber native English speakers in the globalization, English has been more and more frequently used as a lingua franca (ELF) in intercultural settings. However, the acceptance and recognition of legitimate status of ELF have not been fully recognized yet. Especially in the Chinese context, the majority of English users are still viewing English as a foreign language (EFL) under the theoretical framework of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) which gives priority to standard native English models. As language education serves as one of the major factors which will impact on the individuals' language attitudes, choices and behaviours, it is necessary to investigate into the representation of English in English language education in the Chinese Higher Education (HE) context.

This study brings together language policy and ELF to explore whether and how far ELF is recognized in China. It is designed to consist of document analysis, interviews, focus groups and classroom observations, evaluating not only how English is represented in policy statements, but also how English is perceived among participants in English education in China. Following Wang (forthcoming), language policy is explored with the focus on grassroots levels in order to establish the legitimacy of ELF in China. The findings suggest inconsistencies among policy statements, the implementation of language policy and classroom participants' perceptions about policy statements. Besides, while Standard English ideology has impacts on classroom practices, the data have revealed orientations towards ELF, more or less, during the research process. The research displays an overall picture of the representation of ELF in China's higher education and offers readers' insights into the interconnections between language ideology and language policy in China. The thesis concludes by discussing possible implications of the ELF approach for ELT in China.

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Yangyu Wang, declare that this thesis entitled

ELF Awareness in Chinese Higher Education: a Focus on Language Policy

and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this university;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this university or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published works of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the works of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission

Signed.....

Date.....

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Abbreviations

CHELF	Chinese speakers' English as a Lingua Franca
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
EFL	English as a foreign language
ELT	English language teaching
ENL	English as a native language
ESP	English for specific purposes
FG	Focus group
FL	Foreign language
HE	Higher education
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
LEP	Language education policy
NE	Native English
NNE	Non-native English
NES	Native English Speaker
NNES	Non-native English Speaker
NSE	Native speakers English
NNES	Non-native speakers English
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
SE	Standard English
WE	World Englishes

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 English in China's Higher Education

With the development of globalization, there are an estimated number of 2 billion English speakers all over the world (Jenkins, 2015; Crystal, 2008; Graddol, 2006). English is by far spread all over the world and used as the most important international language. According to Galloway and Rose (2015) there are around 150 million people receiving and exchanging information with English via English radio programs, and over 75% of the emails are sent in English. Moreover, English is set as one of the official language in over 88 countries, and among all of the international organizations in the area of Asia and the pacific, 90% of them are using English as their working language (see more figures in Galloway and Rose, 2015, p11-12). Thus, 'generated by the desire of the country for modernity and prosperity and of individuals for life opportunities' (Feng, 2012, p.365) in 21st century, it is not surprising to know that English in China has gained an unprecedented development ever in the history while English is set as a key subject in curriculums; as a medium of instructions for bilingual educations; as a gatekeeping practice for universities and as a crucial requirement for better jobs (Adamson, 2004). In fact, English has been taught as the compulsory subject ever since primary school. In some developed regions, English is even taught ever since the kindergarten. Before entering into the university, almost all of the students would have at least 9 years of formal English education at schools (MOE, 2011; Zhang, 2012; Rao, 2002). As for tertiary schools, there are two different types of courses offered to students of general majors and students of English major: *College English*, general English for non-English major students and specialist English for English major students (Hu, 2002; Dai & Zhang, 2005; MOE, 2007). Though each of the courses is designed and implemented under the two separated official documents of language education policy (LEP) issued by the Ministry of Education (MOE), English is still a compulsory course for all undergraduates in China at the HE level (MOE, 2007; Hu, 2005). Generally, in the first two years of university, students are required to complete the compulsory English studies, while in the following years, English-based modules are offered to students as elective ones (MOE, 2007; 2016).

Due to the status of English in China's education, in recent years, the total number of English speakers has reached around 400 million in China (Wei and Su, 2012; Crystal, 2008).

According to Crystal (2012), the number of English speakers has increased to at least two billion worldwide. Among those two million English speakers, as mentioned by Crystal, only around 329,140,800 are native speakers of English. That is to say, one out of four speakers of English is native English speakers (NESs), while three out of four are non-native speakers (NNEss) (Brumfit, 2001; Graddol, 2006; Crystal, 2008). Chinese speakers of English, as NNEss, have apparently outnumbered NESs.

However, despite that fact that the majority of Chinese speakers are frequently using English neither with the speakers with Chinese background nor with native speakers of English, but with the speakers from other non-native speaking countries (Wang, 2013; 2015b), traditional view of English as a foreign language still prevails (Wang, 2015a, 2015b; Wen, 2012; Fang, 2015; Hu, 2015; Liu, 2016). ‘English is massively the principal foreign language taught (and sought after) in the PRC, where it has high status as the global medium of education, travel, entertainment, e-communication, and business’ (McArthur, 2002, p.353). Meanwhile, in order to serve personal demand of searching for information, communication, and entertainments etc. though the features of code-switching between Chinese and English are found frequently adapted by Chinese people (Liu, 2016), the legitimacy of their ways of using English remains unrecognized (Wang, 2015a, 2015b; forthcoming). One of the major issues applies to what Seidlhofer (2011) and Jenkins (2015) observe in other expanding circle countries, English is still taught and learned as a foreign language on the basis of SLA theories, with the purpose of “direct learners towards native-speakers’ competence” (Seidlhofer, 2011, p.201). Although English education has undergone a series of reforms in the past decades ever since China’s open up policy in the years of 1978 (Adamson, 2001; 2004; Zhang, 2012; Feng, 2012), the ELT in China is still predominated by NES norms for formal education in China at all levels (see also Hu, 2004; Wang, 2015b, Wen, 2012, Gong, 2011; Gong and Holliday, 2013). One of the most obvious features refers to the CET tests, the national proficiency tests that evaluates undergraduates’ English proficiency, which is mainly based on British or American English. Though communicative effectiveness is put forward in the evaluation syllabuses, the evaluations are mainly NSE-oriented. Considering the gatekeepers’ role that English plays in Chinese society (Gil & Adamson, 2011; Wang, 2012), the CET test serves as virtual passports for future graduates to enter into the job market in China (Gil & Adamson, 2011). Even if listening, speaking, cultural awareness and functional values of English have been emphasized by the MOE in the policy reforms (MOE, 2007; 2016), it is always in the ‘exclusive reference to NSE’s English’ (Wang, 2015a, p.91).

Zhang (2014) also points “Chinese learners revere the ideal image of a native speaker to the extent that it has almost become a phantom” (p.37).

Thus, Wen (2012) refers in the Chinese context, “almost all the students are still learning English as a foreign language (EFL) in the traditional way based on standardized native speakers’ norm and all the teachers teach this model of EFL, too” (p.371). A Similar discovery is found in Pan (2014), she discovers in the official documents of language policies, English has perceived as English spoken by people from English speaking countries even if the fact that English as an international language has been explicitly or implicitly mentioned in a number of the official documents, curriculum, and textbooks, ‘the underlying discourse of English as a global language has not been noticed and the implications of the change of English status’ have not been addressed (Hu, 2015, p. 25). As shown at the very beginning of *College English Requirements (2007)*, one of the objectives of teaching is:

‘to enhance their ability to study independently and improve their general cultural awareness so as to meet the needs of China’s social development and international exchanges’ (p.18).

As the matter of fact, in the later on descriptions about the *Character of College English*, it says:

‘Under the guidance of theories of foreign language teaching, College English has its main components, knowledge and practical skills of the English language, learning strategies and intercultural communication’ (p.18).

There is clearly a mismatch “between the kinds of English that are taught to NNESs at all educational levels, and the kinds of English they need and use in their life outside the classroom” (Jenkins, 2015, p.156). The “E” in ELT/EFL remains “curiously unaffected by momentous developments” (Seidlhofer, 2011, p.201). Language education, which affects as an interface between linguistic reality and language attitude, maintains such mismatch ‘by accepting the myth of native English or constraining language choices’ (Wang, 2015a, p.100). Thus, it calls for a change in ELT, as the traditional EFL points of view is outdated that cannot cope up with the ever-changing societies anymore (Wang, 2015b). Considering the role that English is played as a lingua franca (ELF) in the outer sociolinguistic reality, it is necessary to reconsider the approaches to language education with ELF perspective.

1.2 English as a Lingua Franca

While NNESs have become the majority of English speakers worldwide, conforming to NS norm does not necessarily suit NNESs' purposes of effective communications in intercultural context (Dewey, 2012). The need of communications has now crossed geographic and political boundaries, the speakers with different first languages in intercultural settings appear to be more frequent (Jenkins, 2007; Baker, 2015; Seidlhofer, 2011). Teaching and learning English as foreign language can no longer be described the pheromones of English used among NNESs, either. Instead, English used among NNESs for communications has become more and more flexible and dynamic, which is highly variable concerned with its functional values (Jenkins, 2015; Baker, 2009; 2015; Seidlhofer, 2011). Thus, it has resulted in variations, and the term 'English' has actually developed from singular to plural (Jenkins, 2015; Baker, 2012; Cogo, 2010; Seidlhofer, 2011; Wang, 2015a). The focus has also shifted to not a specific language or culture, but a process of 'trans-', e.g. translanguaging, transcultural, transmodality, and trantextuality among English and other languages (Garcia, & Wei, 2014; Pennycook, 2007). The speakers from different language groups can come into contact with each other and "function at whatever levels within the latter's linguistic environment" (Wright, 2003, p7). With such facts, English is much more frequently used as "a contact language among speakers from different first languages" (Jenkins, 2009, p.143). To be more specific, English functions as a lingua Franca in intercultural settings (Canagarajah, 2006; Jenkins, 2015; Baker, 2012, 2015; Kirkpatrick, 2006), where 'any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option' (Seidlhofer, 2011, p.7).

The emerging of the study of ELF can be traced back to the early 2000s, when Jenkins (2000) and Seidlhofer (2001) proposed the concept. After years of development, the concept of ELF has gone through a process of interpretation and re-interpretation through its natures of hybrid and fluid (Jenkins, 2006; Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey, 2011; Seidlhofer, 2011). ELF provides us with a new conceptual framework of English. It is different from the traditional view of English as a foreign language that follows the NES/NNES dichotomy (Jenkins, 2015; Seidlhofer, 2011; Galloway and Rose, 2015; Wang, 2013), as the traditional use of NES and NNES suggests a power hierarchy, where native speakers are in the positions to decide language norms (Seidlhofer, 2011; Brutt-Griffler, 2002). With ELF perspective, however, as the majority of English users in intercultural settings, NNESs are considered as

the co-owners of English who have the equal right to claim the legitimacy of using English (Jenkins, 2015; Cogo, 2009; Widdowson, 1994). That is to say, the study of English as a lingua franca has extended its focus from native speakers to a new agenda, focusing on all different Englishes used by non-native speakers¹. It not only focuses on NNESs' use of English in the sociolinguistic contexts; NNESs' ownership of English and attitudes towards NS norms, but also pays attention to NNESs' identifications of being speakers of different kinds of Englishes in the process of intercultural communications etc. (Jenkins, 2007, 2015; Baker, 2011; Wang, 2015b; Seidlhofer, 2011; Graddol, 1997; Widdowson, 1994).

Thus, other than linguistic competence, pragmatic strategies (Cogo & Dewey, 2006; Cogo, 2009) and intercultural awareness (Baker, 2011, 2012) seem to be rather and equally important for speakers coming from different L1 cultural backgrounds from ELF scholars' points of view. In the intercultural settings, English is "a dynamic, locally realised enactment of a global resource, best conceptualised not as a uniform set of norms of practices, but as a highly variable, creative expression of linguistic resources which warrants a distinct analytical framework" (Dewey, 2009, p.76). It is therefore also a process of "borrowing, blending, remaking and returning" (Pennycook, 2007, p.6). In this case, to facilitate successful communications, it requires not only widely strategies of adaption and accommodation to achieve effective communications (Cogo, 2009), but also it is compulsory to be equipped with intercultural awareness in ELF settings (Baker, 2011, 2012). This requires NESs and NNESs to acknowledge the equal rights that NNESs have and the global ownership of English redefines what was mentioned by native and non-native speakers' norms in the ELF settings. And furthermore, it requires NNESs to challenge Standard English Ideology, where native speakers' English are considered as the whole meanings of 'English'. The issues which are related to the ownership of English and Standard English ideology will be explored further *in Chapter 3 Language Ideologies and ELF Awareness*.

Galloway and Rose (2015, p.150) also summarize the following findings from the studies that are related to the features of English that have been used as ELF in practice:

- ELF has a global ownership;
- ELF users exploit the language in different ways to suit their own needs;

¹NESs and NNESs are adopted in this thesis because the traditional distinction of NESs and NNESs is internalised by the majority, it is easier for people to read and comprehend.

- ELF is a very different phenomenon to ENL or EFL;
- ELF usage, and the use of “non-standard” norms, are more than mere “errors” caused by the different first languages of users who are somewhere on a cline towards native English competence. There is a degree of system to ELF usage;
- ELF users in their negotiations orientate towards content as well as their interlocutors, as opposed to “native” English norms, and exploit their linguistic and plurilingual resources to achieve communicative success.

Given these, viewing English as a lingua franca not only challenges the traditional standard native English ideology and emphasizes the global ownership of English for NNESs, but also take into consideration the “issues of language contact, variation and change, linguistic norms and their acceptance” (Seidlhofer, 2009, p.236). and put forward the effective communication in intercultural settings (Jenkins, 2015; Baker, 2012; Cogo & Dewey, 2006; Cogo, 2009).

1.2.1 ELF and WE

The theory of WE emerged and developed rapidly in the 1980s when Kachru’s (1985; 1992) work challenged the traditional codification of English and called for rethinking about the appropriateness of taking Standard English as the norm (Graddol, 2006; Schneider et al., 2004; McArthur, 2002). According to Kachru (1985), the research focus should move beyond native varieties to look into other non-native speakers’ varieties as the legitimate ones within their own speech communities. Language varieties were seen as identity markers, reflecting members’ identity of specific community (Schneider, 2003). Kachru (1985) further proposed a ‘three circles model’ based on the environment of the spread of English as a world language, which had a huge impact on the development of WE studies. In it, the inner circle was considered as norm-provider where English was used as ENL, while the outer circle and the expanding circle were considered as the norm-developer and norm-dependent where English was used as ESL and EFL. Briefly speaking, as Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey (2011) mentioned “World Englishes research has always been, and remains, interested primarily in the study of ‘bounded’ varieties of English” (p.284), and focused on ‘a narrow selection of standardized forms in particular communities’ (Pennycook, 2007, p.21).

The relation between the paradigm of ELF and WE, as mentioned by Jenkins (2017) are more like “complementing” each other. Although they share the common grounds, they are relatively different. For example, both ELF and WE paradigm challenge to Standard English

ideology, native speakers' ownership of English, and both of them 'attempt to reconceptualize different ways of using English in non-inner circle contexts' (Cogo & Dewey, 2012, p. 8). However, as Jenkins (2017) concludes, the development of ELF has undergone the periods of emulating WE; complementing WE; and re-thinking the paradigm. The concept of ELF 'address (es) precisely that gap left by the holes in the WE model' (Pennycook, 2009, p.195), and move a step forward. On the one hand, although all the inner, outer and expanding circle countries' varieties are included in the WE framework, the major focus is laid emphasis on the outer circle countries' varieties. English coming from expanding countries, however, is perceived as 'lesser proficiency' (Jenkins, 2009), as norm-dependent Englishes which is always regarded as interlanguage. While ESL coming from inner circle countries is allowed to develop their own norms that are different from the ENL, EFL coming from the expanding circle does not seem to be accepted as the legitimate use of Englishes (Jenkins, 2009, 2015). On the other hand, WE paradigm believes that developing the separated stable English varieties in the outer circle is to 'define the communal space in which they can invest their identity and in which they can feel socially secure' (Seidlhofer, 2011, p.77). Yet, along with the flexible and dynamic use of English for communications by both native and non-native speakers worldwide, the use of English does not necessarily have to be 'either this or that' pointing to a specific country belonging to the inner, outer or expanding circles. Just as Jenkins (2015) mentions, 'there is often a grey area between the outer and expanding circle' (p.20), which cannot be simply attached to a specific culture or language (Seidlhofer, 2011). The hybrid use English has blurred the lines among each fixed speech communities and national boundaries (Cogo, 2012; Jenkins, 2006, 2007; Kirkpatrick, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2009, 2011). Therefore, Mauranen (2012) argues that, it is inappropriate to describe the sociolinguistic phenomenon of ELF with traditional understandings of speech community. Instead, 'communities of practice' (CoP) is accepted by many ELF linguists (e.g. Mauranen, 2012; Seidlhofer, 2009). Just as Seidlhofer (2009) explains, English is used not only within the communities of inner and outer circles, but also in "local, regional, and global communities of practice" of expanding circles where ELF is used for communication, "and, importantly, across all circles" (p. 239). So the ELF users may "process time for both (for example hesitating, repeating, and pausing), assist in mutual comprehension (for example, explicitness, approximation), and help achieve positive social goals (for example, repetition, co-construction)" (Mauranen, 2012, p. 57). In a word, Instead of codifying and constructing English varieties as WE paradigm, ELF pays more attention to 'the process' of hybrid and fluid use of English which blurs the national boundaries (Cogo, 2012; Jenkins,

2006, 2007; Kirkpatrick, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2009, 2011), providing a better explanation about the ‘real life situation’ (Wang, 2015b).

Based on the understanding of variety and community from both WE and ELF’s perspective, ELF, as an emerging area, has been ‘far removed from its native speakers’ linguacultural norms and identities’ (Seidlhofer, 2001, p.134). Especially within the globalizing world, ELF, as a language ideology, has moved beyond norms and varieties based on geography boundaries, and ‘is simultaneously the consequence and the principal language medium of GLOBALIZING PROCESSES’ (Jenkins et al., 2011, p. 303).

1.2.2 Empirical studies on ELF and WE

Not only some theories, but also a number of empirical studies on ELF and WE have been conducted, both in general settings and in ELT settings at linguistic, culture and pragmatics levels (e.g. Jenkins, 2000; Seidlhofer, 2004; Cogo & Dewey, 2006; Mauranen, 2006; Kirkpatrick, 2011). They are influential in directing the author to carry out this research.

In recent year, there are a number of researches focusing on linguistic features of ELF usage (e.g. Jenkins, 2000; Seidlhofer, 2004; Mauranen, 2003; 2015; Kirkpatrick, 2011). Mentioning ‘linguistic features’, ELF researchers are not identifying English varieties, but explaining the existing ELF phenomenon. In terms of phonology, Jenkins (2000) looked at ELF communication with the focus of phonology. In her study, she demonstrated that that NNESs’ features of pronunciation did not affect their communications in the intercultural settings. Thus, she further concluded, non-conformity to NS accents did not necessarily impact on effective communications. Moreover, such features had positive effect on intelligibility, while NES features sometime failed to achieve intelligibility for ELF communication.

Yet, it has been found in a lot of other empirical studies that, even if NNSE features are intelligibility to the majority participants of the study, it is always the case that NES are preferred. In her later study, Jenkins (2007) focused on different English accents and teacher participants’ attitudes towards various accents with ELF perspective. She discovers ‘the participants’ unanimous placing of NS accents at the top of the English accent hierarchy’

(p.220), and further mentioned that ‘it is by no means the case that NS English accents are universally more intelligible’ (*ibid*). In her study, she also evaluated Chinese respondents’ perceptions about China English, and found that although quite a number of the respondents held positive attitudes towards their own English accents compared with the average ratings, they still insisted in native English. Similar results were discovered in Xu et al (2010). Xu et al.’s (2010) research investigated six pieces of speech including British, American and China English and evaluated university students’ preference of accents. As a result, complex attitudes were demonstrated. While the majority of the students believed that whether their English was acceptable or not, it should depend on the degree of intelligibility, they tended to choose native English instead of non-native ones and expressed the equal favour towards British and American English. Although Xu et al.’s (2010) research adopted WE framework, it still indicated the fact that native speakers’ accent was preferred.

Besides the phonological features, many researchers were interested in studying linguistic features at lexical grammar level (Seidlhofer, 2004; Mauranen, 2003; Mauranen, 2015; Kirkpatrick, 2011). Seidlhofer (2004) and her team conducted a research on Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE), a research project that investigated into lexical and grammatical features of ELF communications. She further suggested, instead of acquiring the linguistic knowledge in advance as pre-given, for ELF users, their linguistic forms were established while negotiating and accommodating in ELF interaction (Seidlhofer, 2011). Mauranen (2003) also conducted a research that was related to ELF copra, the Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA), which specifically focused on linguistic features in the academic settings. More recently, in the year of 2015, the Copus of Written Academic ELF (WrELFA) was also done by her. A similar research was also done by Kirkpatrick (2011), who listed a number of examples of linguistic features based on the corpus collected in ASEAN context among ELF interactions. His study offered insights into ELF communications in Asian context, including China. According to him, the use of English could be different as it was “shared by people with whom they are interacting” (Kirkpatrick, 2011, p.220). Mauranen (2012) also mentioned that “the dominance of the ENL model is likely to diminish, because the determinants of language use lose their connections to a national basis” (Mauranen, 2012, p.68). She then proposed a concept of ‘similect’ offering a theoretical explanation about the way NNESs use English. That is, ELF users produced ‘L2 lects’ due to ‘the parallel L1 influence’ on ‘L2 English speakers’, which contributed to English variations (Mauranen, 2012, p.29). Such linguistic

variations, however, were considered as incorrect ones according to Ren, Chen & Lin (2016), in their study of students' perceptions about ELF in aspects of phonology and lexico-grammar in both mainland China and Taiwan. The researchers found though both groups of students were aware that it was impossible to be native like, and their use of English reflected the features of NNSE at lexico-grammar, such features were still considered as incorrect ones to them.

Other than linguistic features, quite a lot of researches focused on pragmatic strategies for ELF communication (Cogo & Dewey, 2006; Cogo, 2009). In Mauranen (2006), she explored how ELF users used communication strategies to avoid misunderstandings, e.g., repairs and clarification. In her research, she evaluated a number of communication strategies such as raising intonations for questions, using repetitions, and confirmation check to prevent misunderstanding. It turned out that effective communication could be achieved without conforming to NS norms. Similarly in Björkman (2012). She looked into students in the higher education context, in terms of their ways of questioning. As a result, she found that the students tended to be ELF users and were used to using rising intonations as a strategy for effective communication. In her research, she also paid attention to students' way of processing the three types of questions, e.g., the interrogative pronoun and adverb of in 'wh' questions, the rising question intonation and the word order. The finding suggested that communicative effectiveness was ensured while her participants did not conform to NSs' norms.

Cogo (2009) was also interested in accommodation strategies in ELF communication. In particular, the use of code-switching was studied (see also Klimpfinger, 2009). Throughout the empirical research, different from the traditional SLA's point of view, Cogo (2009) identified code-switching as one of the major strategies used by ELF users in communications in many ways. One of the most obvious one was that the users of ELF could easily draw upon the multilingual resources available to them with the use of code-switching so that people from different cultural background could understand each other. She also found that by using code-switching, both users and their interlocutors could develop their innovative ways of using English during the communication activities.

Yet, effective communication cannot be ensured only be equipped with linguistic competence and the use of pragmatic strategies. Cultural factors play an important role in ELF communication as well. Baker (2011) did an empirical study in Thai context, and he identified the importance of intercultural awareness (ICA) and intercultural competence to achieve the effective communication in ELF settings. In his later study, Baker (2011; 2012) further identified the components of ICA at the basic cultural awareness, advanced cultural awareness and intercultural awareness three levels. According to him, ELF communication did not only require the basic cultural knowledge, but also it involved in the understanding of cultural differences. Moreover, it also required the interlocutors to be able to negotiate and accommodate such cultural differences so that they could co-construct the communication, and made it an effective one. In addition, Baker's (2015) discussion of interculturality challenged the connection between English and 'authentic' English culture and added to the argument that English was not tied to native English-speaking communities but relevant to communities where English was used for intercultural communications. According to Baker (2015), ELF users co-created intercultural cultures when they were situated in international communications rather than relying on native English cultures in order to accomplish intercultural exchanges.

Having discussed the empirical studies of ELF and WE, it was acknowledgeable that the intelligibility could be achieved during the communications among ELF users. Yet, even if the fact that non-conformity to NS norms did not impact on the purpose of effective communications, and NNESs' use of English has contributed to English variation, the majority of participants tended to assume native speakers as the major interlocutors that they would come across in reality. Thus, though they were adopting accommodation strategies and using ELF for communication in practice, deeply inside, no efforts had been made by ELT practitioners to recognise or informs its legitimacy. NS norms still predominate in the context of language education (Jenkins, 2014). In the following part, attention will be paid to empirical studies of ELF and ELT in terms of the issues that hinder the development of ELF and the implications for ELT with ELF perspectives.

- **Empirical studies on ELF in ELT in China**

In terms of ELF and ELT, one of the common features concerns with teaching and learning towards native speakers' competence (Seidlhofer, 2011; Jenkins, 2014; Wen, 2012). Jenkins

(2014) looked into English education in international HE context and found that the education was still operated on the basis of NS norms. She further mentioned that international universities “have not even begun to consider the possible linguistic implications of their diverse student and staff make-up” (Jenkins, 2014, p.5). It is the same as Chinese context. As discussed in the background of ELT in China in previous section, the view of English as a foreign language that prioritize standard native English is still the principal for ELT. Zheng (2013) finds learners of English in China tends to ‘construct the ought-to and ideal L2 self around native-speakers’ norms (p.341), mostly because native English model is taught and learned in ELT classroom, and the spread of native English cultural products all over the world. Thus, she calls for a re-consideration of the predominate native-speakers’ norm in the current ELT settings in China, and suggests bringing ELF into language education in China by raising classroom participants’ awareness of ELF.

Teaching and learning towards native speakers’ competence has also been noticed from the increasing number of researches who is interested in finding the most effective classroom teaching approaches in China. Rao (2002) investigated into 30 Chinese university students’ perceptions about CLT with focus on evaluating effectiveness of communicative activities. The finding suggested that students did not care about using code switching during the communicative activities. Moreover, it was necessary to consider the local context when applying CLT in classroom teaching (Rao, 2013). Yet, although the aim of Rao (2002) was to explore the most effective and preferred ways of teaching/learning English based on communicative, it was still centred on communicating native-like English between teachers and students. Jiao (2012) also conducted an empirical study on acquiring vocabulary in China’s ELT context. In it, she specifically mentioned that “once patterns of non-native deviance have been discovered, students can be explicitly made aware of these patterns, and that, given time, motivation and the opportunity to practice, they will eventually be able to modify their linguistic behaviour into a more native-like direction”(Jiao, 2012, p. 133). Obviously, NNSE was considered as errors that should be corrected to Jiao. Both Rao and Jiao’s research was based on the view of English as a foreign language in the reference of NS norms. Such facts are in accordance with what Seidlhofer (2003, 2011) mentions, English is often taken granted as ‘the’ English which is originated among native English speakers, the competence in which corresponds with what Chomsky (1965) describes as native speaker competence (Widdowson, 2003, 37; Jenkins, 2015).

The gap between what has been practiced by Chinese speakers in real life communications and what has been promoted by English educators in respect of pedagogy urges some consideration of what can be done to make ‘English’ in education reflecting ‘English’ in real life that is relevant for those who are supposed to benefit from English education. Hu (2015) examined teachers’ orientations and implementation of English as a medium of instruction in the Chinese universities through questionnaires, interviews and classroom observations. She found that, ideologically, English was still considered as important for many teachers to become native-like. But in practice, communicative effectiveness was the premier consideration rather than aiming at native speakers’ norm. She further suggested that, English education policy in China which was based on native speakers’ norm, should take into considerations of students’ real needs so as that to catch up with the global use of English. Similar in Pan (2014), she also believes that English education policy plays an important role in impacting teachers’ and students’ decisions about their language practice which need to be considered for the implications to ELT.

Wang (2015a) further investigated into the university students’ ELF awareness in China, and identified language education was the major resources of language ideologies. She mentioned that the major gap between current ELT and ELF is ‘English lies in the isolation of learning from the world outside the classroom’ (p.101), which impacted on students’ ELF awareness through their language choices, students themselves, and students’ capability in explaining sociolinguistic phenomenon. Thus, it was necessary to raise students’ ELF awareness to offer them informed choices in forming ELF-oriented classroom (Wang, 2015b). What’s more, learners’ needs should be taken into account. She also purposed the term ‘imagined community’ as one of the implication for understanding ELF identities in raising students’ ELF awareness.

Liu (2016) adopted global English perspective to analyse how English was stated in language policy, implemented in classrooms and perceived by classroom participants in China at the secondary level. By evaluating the consistencies and inconsistencies in both top-down and bottom-up process, she found that contradictions on English, English using, teaching/learning. Standard English ideology was the major factor that had a great wash-back effect. Thus, she suggested, it was necessary to offer students a set of “global English-informed” (p.212) textbooks, tests, curricula and classroom activities to bring ELF into ELT

classrooms. More information on implications for ELT is discussed in *3.4.2 Implications for ELF-oriented Classroom*.

1.3 Rational of the Research

My interest in this area comes from various sources. The most influential one is one of my experiences. As a non-native speaker of English, ever since I first started studying English, the NS norms have been the model for me to achieve. This belief has kept dominating my growth and that was the reason why I came to New Zealand, a native speaking country for undergraduate study. During the time overseas, two things became particularly apparent to me. I started to think about the questions that probably the majority of Chinese English learners were also eager to know. Why were a considerable number of English learners in China still unable to communicate in English fluently despite several years of English learning? What was the most appropriate way of learning English? I also started to see even if I was studying in New Zealand, almost all of the teaching materials I was using for ESOL classes had been published from the US and the UK. Occasionally, I had the opportunity to be exposed to the materials published from Australia. This phenomenon was shown more seriously in China. Teaching materials published overseas from inner circles were regarded as the foremost ones, and only the students of the advanced classes were used to teach. Yet, the content neither met my needs of using English in reality nor matched the classroom environments I was exposed to be in China and New Zealand. In short, what we learned from the classrooms was very different from English spoken by people with diverse L1 background in an international university.

Besides, I started to see the gap between my expectation and the reality. As a student of learning linguistics, I came to New Zealand, a native speaking country for its native English environment. But in fact, my interactions with NNESs were more than those with NESs, and the majority of my interactions in English did not get involved with NESs. Accordingly, the question of whether to conform to communicative effectiveness or native speakers' correctness has gradually dawned on me.

Those confusions remained unclear until I continued my postgraduate study at University of Southampton. It was the first time that I had been exposed to the theories of English as a

Lingua Franca. As another new door was opened to me, it offered me understanding English with a different perspective and I started to view English as a Lingua Franca. I came to realize that, as the matter of fact, communications with English were much more made by NNESs than NESs in reality. Communicating in English among the speakers from the outer and expanding circles was far more than that with inner circle in Kachru's three circles model (Kachru, 1985; Crystal, 2008), and NNESs' aims of effective intercultural communications could not be achieved only by conforming to NS norms (Baker, 2011, 2012; Dewey, 2012). Therefore, I began to ask myself. As a non-native speaker of English, why did I bother to concentrate on becoming native-like as close as possible when I could successfully communicate with people from different L1 backgrounds? This ideological shift pursued me to carry out a MA dissertation on evaluating English use and the perceptions of ELF among Chinese teachers and students in university in order to bring ELF into Chinese English language teaching (ELT) classrooms.

In fact, it was noticed by the researcher that English was used as speakers' neither the first nor the second language in China. Instead, it was more used for intercultural communication. Just as Wang (2013) mentioned, 'Native English speakers' (NES) communities are no longer the main communities that Chinese speakers aim to align with" (p. 257). However, the majority of teachers and students seemed to overlook this fact, and still adopted traditional way of English as a foreign language based on standardized NS norms. Though teaching and learning approaches were different in many respects, there were three similar ways that English was usually described. Firstly, English referred to English spoken by native speaking countries, particularly referring to UK and US English. Secondly, English of inner circle was considered as "appropriate" and "good" English. Thirdly, the ultimate aim of such approach was to achieve native-like English as close as possible (Chen & Hu, 2006; Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2002). The concept of ELF was still misinterpreted as deficient EFL (Jenkins, 2007). Even if a number of participants showed their awareness of ELF (Wang, 2015b), they still had a second thought in applying such ideology into classroom teaching.

Followed by what I had found from the previous MA dissertation, I realized that there was a huge conceptual gap between how ELF had been used for many years in communication and the acceptance and recognition of the legitimate status of ELF in ELT in China (Jenkins, 2014; Seidlhofer, 2011; Wang, 2015a; Wen, 2012). While the causes of this situation were diverse and complex, they suggested that my previous research only skimmed the surface. In my MA dissertation, the evaluations of students' perceptions about ELF remained looking

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at classroom participants' attitudes towards 'native speakers' norms' only. Other features of ELF hadn't been addressed. As for the difficulties that had hindered students' willingness of learning ELF, only teachers and students' explicit perceptions about ELF had been noticed, e.g. teachers' attitudes towards NSE, NNSE and standard English ideology. No further explorations had been made about how such perceptions, attitudes, beliefs and ideologies were created from the top; formulated during the process; and impacted on their language practices. This resulted in the research which still remained at the surface level. My confusions with the questions I raised above still drugged my attention to continuing a further PhD study to address language ideologies in ELF research in the Chinese higher education context specifically.

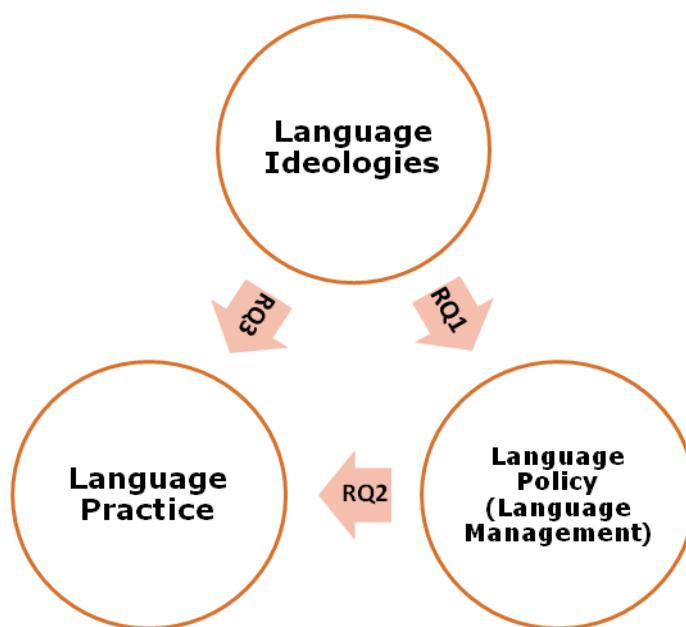
Taking into account how language ideologies were created from the top, formulated during the process, and impacted on individuals' language practices, in this research, I focused on the interrelations among the three components of language policy, e.g., language ideologies, language management and language practices, as mentioned in Spolsky's framework (2012). Particularly, I paid attention to language ideologies in relation to language management and language ideologies in relation to language practices. As discussed in Spolsky's (2009) and Shohamy's (2006), there are battles between language management and language practice, in which they attempt to reproduce language beliefs. Such reproduced language beliefs, on the one hand, are top-down language beliefs which are embraced in policy statements. On the other hand, they are bottom-up language beliefs emerging through practice. The top-down and the bottom-up language beliefs always interplay with each other and eventually impact on the de facto language practice (Spolsky's, 2004; Shohamy, 2006; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997).

What's more, in recent years, a number of researchers have been interested in ELT classrooms in China, only a few of them have been interested in evaluating the role language attitudes, beliefs or ideologies have played in the field (e.g. Chen & Hu, 2006; Pan, 2014; Zheng, 2013; 2014). Chen & Hu (2006) investigated into language awareness and attitudes towards English in China. Pan (2014) paid attention to deconstructing the ideological discourses of English with Global Englishes perspective in the Chinese language education context. Among those studies on language attitudes, beliefs or ideologies, even fewer laid their emphasis on beliefs about English as a lingua franca in relation to language policy studies (e.g. Wen, 2012; Wang, 2015a; 2015b; Fang, 2015).

Thus, looking into the top-down language policies, the embodied language ideologies that were related to ELF will be evaluated in this research. Yet, only paying attention to language management which will impact on participants' beliefs about ELF in top-down manner could not show the whole picture. There is also a need to look into the grassroots' language behaviors, so as to clarify the individuals' language ideologies, which in the meanwhile serves as the bottom-up effect that will impact on language practices and further on the de facto language policies.

1.4 Research Questions

Given what has been discussed, language ideologies with the awareness of ELF in the formal language educational settings in the Chinese higher education context are the central concern of this research. Its relations to language policy, as the representation of language management and language practice, are particularly focused respectively in both top-down and bottom-up manners. As shown in the following picture, focusing on interrelations among the three components, this research has adopted Spolsky's framework (2009, 2012) of language policy.



The first research question considers the relations between the primary language policy statements and explicitly/ implicitly embodied language ideologies, as mentioned in

Spolsky's framework (2009, 2012). It aims to find out how English is represented in language policy explicitly and implicitly.

The second research question is concerned with language policy in relation to language practices. Although RQ2 focuses particularly on the relation between language policy and language practice, the role that the embodied language ideologies in language policy plays in policy implementation will be focused as well. On the one hand, as language beliefs or ideologies are always embodied in the explicitly stated policy statements, classroom participants' language practices are affected through the top-down policy statements. On the other hand, individual language practice is also created by his or her own belief or ideology, which is not necessarily always the same as that of the top-down ones. Thus, the different beliefs or ideologies will further impact on policy implementation. So, there is a need to look into how and to what extent is the effectiveness of implementation of language policy in classroom participants' language practice.

The third research question pays attention to the relationship between language ideologies and language practice. As mentioned, individual language belief also impacts on his or her language practices, and further serves as a bottom-up effect on the implementation of language policy. Thus, different attitudes, beliefs or ideologies that classroom participants hold, for example, EFL vs. ELF which impact on classroom participants' language practices, will be investigated into. In achieving so, Shohamy's (2006) proposition of 'mechanisms' of de facto language policy, which locates between language ideology and language practice as shown in Spolsky's framework, will be addressed to evaluate through what ways that de facto language policy is created and affected.

In the light of this, the research questions are designed as follow:

1. How is English explicitly and/or implicitly represented in language policy? To what extent is the language policy reflecting the role of ELF?
2. How is language policy implemented in classroom participants' language practice?
3. What are the classroom participants' perceptions about English and how do they engage with the implementation of language policy in practice?

1.5 The Structure of the Thesis

There are 10 chapters in this thesis. Both Chapter 2 and 3 will display the overall theoretical framework of the research. To be more specific, Chapter 2 will review the publications about the concept of language policy, particularly focusing on the inter-related relations among language management, language ideology and language practice as debated by Spolsky (2009). Mechanisms of de facto language policy, as stated by Shohamy (2006), will also be addressed. Chapter 3, *Language Ideology and ELF Awareness*, will pay more attention to the theories and literatures, which are related to language ideologies in ELF research. ELF awareness in ELT settings will be particularly addressed in reference of different components of ELF awareness and implications for ELF-oriented classrooms.

Chapter 4 will discuss the methodology, in which I will introduce the research in terms of participants recruiting, piloting, fieldwork, research methods, data analysis approaches and procedures, ethic and risks management and limitations etc. I will particularly explain why and how to choose certain target participants and the reason why I apply different qualitative approaches, and research sites etc.

Following Chapter 4, *Methodology*, Chapter 5, 6, 7 and 8 will present and discuss the research findings retrieved from the qualitative research methods, namely, document analysis, teacher interviews, students' focus groups and classroom observations. In Chapter 9, *Discussion*, on the one hand, I will discuss the issues based on the research findings generated through all of the research methods by refereeing back to the theoretical frameworks that have been explored. On the other hand, I will discuss the unexpected issues emerging throughout the research that haven't been explored. Chapter 10 will be a concluding one. This chapter will answer the three research questions on the basis of the research findings, and give an overall evaluation of the research. All the strengths and limitations, advantages and difficulties of the research will be examined

Chapter 2 Language Policy

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to explore the theoretical framework of the thesis by looking into the conceptualization of language policy, in which it involves in three inter-related components, i.e. language practices, language beliefs or ideologies, and language management. In order to do so, the chapter will be divided into two main sections. Firstly, I will present Spolsky's framework which consists of three components and is interacted with each other. Spolsky's framework, in terms of its limitations in explaining real-world language policy issues, will be evaluated. I will also focus on the appropriateness of Spolsky's framework for the interpretation of language policy issues in China, explaining the key concept in the field of language policy. In particular, attention will be paid to language beliefs or ideologies, in terms of the links between language ideology and language practice and language ideology and language management.

Secondly, in addition to Spolsky's framework, Shohamy's views of mechanisms as the main factors that impact on de facto language policy will also be explored. Spolsky's triangle framework is intended to explore what is involved in the concept (Richard, Baldauf & Li, 2008). Shohamy's views of de facto language policy, however, provide more practical insights in carrying out the research. Her views about mechanisms that lie between language ideology and de facto language practice will be evaluated in the higher educational setting in the Chinese context. Such mechanisms ranging from language education policy, curriculum, textbooks and learning materials, testing, and classroom teaching practice will be investigated into. The role that teachers play as agents will also be explored. As mentioned by Shohamy (2006), among a wide range of agencies, teachers are the most powerful ones in the implementation of language policy in classroom practices.

2.2 The Understanding of Language Policy

The concept of language policy, mentioned by Kaplan & Baldauf (1997), is a set of laws or regulations or rules launched by an “authoritative body”, and “is a body of ideas, laws,

regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the society, group or system" (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997, xi). Yet, covert and overt, implicit or explicit statements of language policy are all included in the field of language policy research (Shohamy, 2006). Overt language policy refers to the explicitly-published rules or regulations or other forms of documents, such as curricula and school language policies. It regulates about forms, functions, structures, uses, or acquisition of language "in order to influence economic, political, and educational opportunity" (Johnson, 2013, p.25). Covert language policy then is concerned with implicitly-embraced language attitudes, beliefs or ideologies and the actual language practices (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Schiffman, 1996). To be more exact, language policy is carried out through a set of laws regulating individuals' daily language use for their "everyday ideologically saturated language-regulating mechanisms" (McCarty & Hopson, 2011, p.339). Therefore, language policy should be considered beyond its explicitly-declared statements, but in the meanwhile other implicitly ideological issues should be reflected through it. The study of language policy thus involves in "the sum totality of ideas, values, beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, religious strictures" (Schiffman, 1996, p.276).

In the light of this, language policy is very loosely defined nowadays, "almost any sociolinguistic phenomena" are considered, and "all language attitudes, ideologies, and practices are categorized" (Johnson, 2013, p.25). Spolsky (2004, 2009) also mentions that language practices, language beliefs or ideologies and language management should be involved in the whole field of language policy. He further developed a triangle framework to further explain that language choices were made by individuals due to the interplays of the three components, as mentioned in his framework.

2.2.1 Spolsky's Three Components of Language Policy

According to Spolsky (2004, 2009), language policy is made up of three components, namely, language practices, language beliefs or ideologies and language management. It involves in language rules and regulations not only in textual form but also in empirical and practical form, for example, people's language behaviors, language choices, language preferences, and decisions about language learning and use, etc. Besides, the implementation of language policy may represent different interpretations of language policy. While some

language policies are successfully implemented, other language policies are not (Recinto, 2006; Spolsky, 2004; Shohamy, 2006). Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish the three components of the language policy from each other and then to clarify the relations between each of them.

The first component, as mentioned in Spolsky's framework, refers to language practice. Language practice can be considered as the observed behaviors or choices that people actually make in their daily uses about a language or languages. And in most cases, they do not even realize it (Spolsky, 2007, 2009). Such choices that people make may be the same as official language policy, or there is always the case that language policy cannot achieve what was expected at the beginning. Instead, it is always the individuals who make choices about their uses of language rather than those in authorities (Spolsky, 2009). For example, language choices made by individuals can be various depending on conventional or agreed rules of different contexts that people learn as they grow up, which are usually subconsciously accepted by them.

The second component is concerned with language beliefs or ideologies. As mentioned by Spolsky (2012), the components of language beliefs involve in beliefs about certain language varieties and its use. It also includes the beliefs about the values that are attached to certain varieties and beliefs about the importance of maintaining these values. e.g., what languages are, which variety it is, and which kinds of values are assigned to the varieties (Griswold, 2011). Then as Blommaert (2006) and Silverstein (1992) mention, such beliefs will be generated into ideologies as time goes by.

As explained above, the implementation of language policy may be various due to the different interpretations of language policies made by different people. In fact, in the process of implementation, the actors include not only the bodies who respond to making policies but also the entity who respond to putting such policies into practice. The outcome of actual practice of language policies is closely related to how actors perceive the languages that the official policies regulate about and how the actors react to the policies. Thereby, it is no doubt that language choices, preferences, decisions that one makes for their daily use of

Chapter 2

language usually involve in ideological orientations (Tollefson, 1991). Language beliefs or ideologies are no doubt closely related to language practice.

The third component, as mentioned in Spolsky's framework, refers to language management. Simply put, language management involves in all kinds of specific efforts made by those who are in power to adjust the real practice by planning or interventions. The efforts may be explicitly stated in officially-published documents, or they can also be implicitly shared by conventional rules (Spolsky, 2009). As a result, how language should be used and perceived by people in practice will be affected (Spolsky, 2009, 2012). For example, on the one hand, language management can regulate standards for language practice, in terms of through which different language varieties, language standards and norms may be forced or encouraged to use (Spolsky, 2009). It also modifies language beliefs or language ideologies through the policy implementation process from top-down process. On the other hand, language planning and management are not always as powerful as expected (Spolsky, 2009; 2012; Shohamy, 2006). As there are always the contradictions existing between language practice and ideologies, this may result in language planning and management to make changes in bottom-up manners. Considering language practice is closely related to language policy and ideology, a change in each one of the three components may lead to a chain of reactions. Therefore, the explicit policy statement cannot be guaranteed to fulfill in the actual practices.

Spolsky's framework explains the concept of language policy by focusing on the internal relation among the three components: language practice, language beliefs or ideologies and language management. In one way, his framework presents an overall picture and structure of language policy, and explains how language policy may be created or impacted through the interactions among different components. His framework also theoretically guides the researcher to consider not only language policies in textual forms, but in three aspects: 1). Looking into explicitly-stated language policy; 2). Evaluating the embraced language ideologies by investigating into policy statements; 3). Paying attention to language policy implementation in classroom practices.

Yet, there are also limitations. Firstly, while Spolsky emphasizes the interactions among three components, Recinto & Hornberg (1996) suggest that language policy is like unpeeling an onion which involves in multiple layers. The development of language policy is driven by interactions among different layers “of policy creation, interpretation, appropriation, and instantiation” (Johnson, 2013, p.25). Wang (2017b) also makes it clear in her research on Chinese language policy in international higher education that there are layers of language policy in China and the interactions among the three components need to be discussed in terms of different layers—such as, national, institutional, and interpersonal, respectively. Secondly, Spolsky’s attention is more paid to the language choices made on the basis of internal forces while Shohamy’s (2006) mechanisms of *de facto* language policy (see the section of 2.2.3) explores further the interface of external forces between policy and practice by addressing multiple devices used for the implementation of language policy overtly and covertly.

2.2.2 The Process of Language Policy: Top-down vs. Bottom-up

As discussed in Spolsky’s framework of language policy, language rules and regulations encompasses beliefs and ideologies about language as well as language practice. In fact, all kinds of actual language practice are fundamentally ideological since they are socially constituted in the interests and values of human agents (Street, 1993; Irvine & Gal, 2000). Lippy-Green (2004) also mentions that language ideologies are behavioral in that they find reflection in the practices of those who hold them. Considering there are always different language ideologies existing at the same time (Kroskrity, 2004), the belief which is accepted by the majority of people will usually become the main ideology of the context (Spolsky, 2009, 2012). Ideally, the policy statements which have been published in the form of written documents by the official government from the top are supposed to take what people believe about language and language use. Language practice at the same time is implemented according to the same unified ideological consideration that is embraced in language policies (Shohamy, 2006). The three components should be consistent with each other in the top-down manner.

Yet, language policy can not only come from the top, but also emerge from the bottom-up practice (Spolsky, 2004, 2009; Shohamy, 2006; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). There is always

a “battle between ideology and practice” (Shohamy, 2006, p.54), overtly or covertly. Kaplan & Baldauf (1997) also refer that language policies do not need to be official regulations enacted by “an authoritative body”, they can emerge from an authoritative body as well as unofficial principles and cultural constructs that emerge in grassroots level (McCarty, 2011; Schiffman, 2012; Spolsky, 2009). As mentioned by Recinto & Hornberg (1996), language policy is not only decided by who created it, but also affected by the ones who are supposed to appropriate it into practice according to their interpretations as it moves from top-down across different levels (see also Johnson, 2013), e.g., national, local, institutional, and interpersonal levels. How grassroots actors at different layers interpret and transmit the covert implicitly-embraced ideologies will surely impact on the implementation of language policy at each level. Then the final outcome of language policy is affected and developed through the interplays of multi-layers. Spolsky (2009) and Shohamy (2006) also mention that there are battles between language management and language practice in which they attempt to reproduce language beliefs. On the one hand, such reproduced language beliefs are top down language beliefs which are embraced in policy statements. On the other hand, they are bottom up language beliefs emerging through practices. The top-down and the bottom-up language beliefs always interplay with each other and eventually impact on the *de facto* language practice (Spolsky, 2004; Shohamy, 2006; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Thus, language policy is also seen as an “onion” by Recinto & Hornberg (1996), which exists across many different layers or levels, from official governmental laws to the language practices of a family. The development of language policy is driven by interactions among different layers “of policy creation, interpretation, appropriation, and instantiation” (Johnson, 2013, p.25).

2.2.3 Shohamy's Mechanisms of *de facto* Language Policy

Aligning with Spolsky's points of view, Shohamy (2006) accepts that language is not able to be completely planned or managed simply through language policies. Moreover, based on Spolsky's (2004) framework of language policy, Shohamy (2006) explores further the interface between policy and practice by addressing multiple devices used for the implementation of language policy overtly and covertly. She develops her argument of the mechanisms as the most influential factors which contribute to the construction of *de facto* language policies. In the light of this, Shohamy (2006) expands the scope of language policy beyond overt language policy statement and the internal forces that impact on *de facto*

language policies to focus on other mechanisms or devices like language testing, language education policy, language in public places such as signs and visual displays and so on, which also notify us to investigate into language policy in action across multiple sites. Besides, Shohamy's proposal of mechanisms can also remind the researchers in the field of language policy of avoiding overstating choices and actions that individuals may have, as they are associated with institutionalized constraints (Horner, 2009).

The term mechanisms, as proposed by Shohamy (2006), locate between language ideology and language practice, as shown in Spolsky's (2004) framework. The mechanisms range from the explicitly-stated rules and regulations, language education policy, curriculum, textbooks, teachers and language testing etc. At the same time they involve in a number of stakeholders, such as classroom participants, institutional administrators, test makers and agencies, teaching materials publishers. Similarly, Kaplan & Baldauf (1997) also conclude that education policy, curriculum policy, personnel, materials, community and evaluation have to be considered in the process of planning language in education.

The mechanisms usually affect *de facto* language policies, language perceptions, choices, uses and people's behaviors in top-down manner when people are unaware of them (Shohamy, 2006). To be specific, such mechanisms serve as "vehicles for promoting and perpetuating agendas" (Shohamy, 2006, p.55) through curricula, textbooks and teaching materials, teaching practices and tests etc. Through such devices, implicitly-embraced language ideologies are delivered and reflected (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Consequently, the majority of the stakeholders rarely consider whether such reflected ideologies should be accepted by themselves or not. But they follow the instructions and regulations subconsciously without even being aware of its existence (Shohamy, 2006). Such ideologies will then be imposed on and reproduced by students' language learning ever since they start to learn the language (Shohamy, 2004, 2010; Kim, 2015).

Meanwhile, Shohamy (2006) specifically emphasizes that covert mechanisms usually have the equal impact on language policy as overt statements, and overt and covert mechanisms are associated with language policy. So she emphasizes that it is necessary to focus on explicit policy statements and *de facto* language practices in conducting the research. As the

explicitly-stated language policy cannot always be guaranteed to full implementation, it is common that the official documents are contradicted with the actual practices. Mechanisms therefore, can also be used to affect language policy in bottom-up manner (Shohamy, 2006). A wide range of actions will be taken by them to ensure that their language beliefs or ideologies are put into practice to resist to policy that is imposed from the top. Such actions, overt or covert, are often used as tools to affect language practice (Earls, 2016; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997).

Therefore, in comparison, Spolsky's (2004) theory is more effective in identifying and analyzing the internal relation among the three components of language policy. Shohamy's (2006) mechanisms of de facto language policy, firstly, are helpful to explore more complex interactions among the various external forces that the de facto language policy may be created or affected rather than the internal relations between language policy, language ideology, and language practice (Kim, 2015). Secondly, Shohamy's discussions about mechanisms have emphasized language practice in more practical manner. Therefore, combining with Spolsky's (2004) framework, the researcher will particularly address the mechanisms raised by Shohamy (2006) to explore the engagement of each stakeholder in order to gain insight into how de facto language policies are practiced. Several factors and devices, as mentioned by Shohamy (2014), such as language education policy (LEP), curricula, classroom teaching, textbooks, testing and teachers etc. may affect the implementation of language policy from both top-down and bottom-up. These will be discussed one by one in the next following sections.

2.2.3.1. Language Education Policy

As language policy refers to people's decisions made about languages and their language use in the society, the concern with language in education context involves in social, cultural, and political factors (Tollefson, 2014). LEP can be considered as a means that affects these decisions about languages and language use in the educational settings, such as in the context of schools, institutions and universities (Lippy-Green, 2004; Shohamy, 2006; Tollefson, 2014; Pan, 2014).

Lippy-Green (2004) mentions that education is the key of maintaining language ideologies.

LEP, to some extent, can be considered as certain language ideologies that are put into practice in the educational settings through formal education devices by those in authorities (Shohamy, 2006, 2014; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). Especially in centralized education system, LEP is commonly created and decided by authorities (Shohamy, 2006), such as Ministry of Education, parliaments, or local government agencies in a top-down process. Among other devices, LEP is seen as one of the most powerful mechanisms. It affects language ideologies and behaviors not only to “create and impose language behavior in a system which it is compulsory for all children to participate in”, but also to, “determine criteria for language correctness, oblige people to adopt certain ways of speaking and writing, create definitions about language and especially determine the priority of certain languages in society and how these languages should be used, taught and learned” (Shohamy, 2006, p.77). Consequently, while the majority of institutions and classroom participants comply, less resistance exists (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007). Teachers, textbooks, curricula and tests all contribute to reinforcing such policies. Formal educational institutions, such as universities, schools then are played as a role to promote and perpetuate such agendas (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007).

2.2.3.2. Curriculum

Curriculum in the most centralized education countries is usually created and regulated by the central government agencies, which is seen as one of the overtly explicit language education policies (Shohamy, 2006). In brief, it is defined as “the overall rational for the education program of institution” (Kelly, 1989, p.14). Therefore, in a broader sense, curriculum usually contains aims, goals and objectives of education policy which involve in “the educational purposes of the program...the contents, teaching procedures and learning experiences which will be necessary to achieve this purpose...and some means for assessing whether or not the educational ends have been achieved” (Richards, Platt & Platt, 1992, p.24). In the narrowest sense, clearly-stated principles for classroom teaching approaches, textbook contents, evaluation systems, and other special requirements are also described in detail. Curriculum, therefore play an important role in guiding the overt language education policy to be put into practice in a top-down manner (Razfar, 2012).

For example, as discovered in curricula, English is required to learn as an additional language apart from national language in many counties (Nunan, 2003; Pan, 2014; Kim, 2015). In

such countries, especially non-native English speaking countries, English has been taught and learned as a compulsory subject since primary or secondary education (Zhang, 2012; Hu, 2005a; 2005b). It is always the case that as emphasized by the policy statement, English is important in gaining and exchanging information in technology, economy, and academia in the globalizing world (Brown, 2012; MOE, 2007). Obviously, language education policy in most countries has recognized the relations between English and international (Yang, 2003; Ricento, 2006). And English is used as a contact language for information exchange (MOE, 2007). Yet, such features of English are not addressed in curricula and certainly are not usually implemented in practice (Mckay, 2002; Jung & Norton, 2002; Jenkins, 2014). Instead, as Brown (2012) mentions that in most curricula, English that students should acquire refers to “English of native speakers”, which “serves as the model and standard” (p.147). In fact, “successful ELF communication is based on more than proficiency in the language code” (Baker, 2009, p.15). Culturally-based skills, accommodation and negotiation, are also needed to be equipped with (Baker, 2009).

Further up, in most countries belonging to expanding circle, English learning is driven by the purpose of modernization and international competitions in the world system (Ricento, 2000). The intentions of English learning, as stated in curricula, do not depend on the use of English for communication or individuals’ needs, but more political aims. And for individuals, to enter into a better university or gain a better job, they have no choice but to learn English (Mckay, 2012; Yoshihara & Carpenter, 2015). English is seen as an opportunity to enter into a better life for most of them (Wang, 2012; 2013). Therefore, their aims of learning English are neither to communicate with speakers from native speaking countries nor to be native-like. Instead their learning English is more towards practical aims (Liu, 2016).

2.2.3.3. Classroom Teaching

Classroom teaching, as a part of LEPs, should be taken into account when considering the de facto language policy in the educational setting. It can be seen as one of the mechanisms that LEP is implemented (Shohamy, 2006). Auerbach (1993; 2000) draws attention to the role of classrooms in the implementation of LEP and claims that classrooms can be seen as sites of struggle about whole knowledge, experiences, literacy and discourse practices. That is to say, in the classroom, there are no instructional approaches where knowledge language

use and literacy practices are neutral (Auerbach, 1993). It is through classroom that stakeholders make their decisions and choices about language use in order to form the de facto practice by themselves directing their language beliefs or ideologies in a bottom-up manner (Auerbach, 1993; Shohamy, 2006). As a result, classroom is the struggle between top-down policy and bottom-up practice. If there were no differences found between those two process, then the LEP could be carried out successfully and smoothly. If there were contradictions revealed, there would be resistance emerging from the bottom-up practices. Then the implementation of LEP may be difficult. Therefore, there is a need to observe class interactions and activities to evaluate the implementations of LEP, further to find the explanations of certain contradictions with specifically addressing to language ideology.

As what has been discussed about the interrelations of the three components of language policy, language regulations actually are an inherently ideological process (Liddicoat, 2013). When considering the language ideologies, it is no doubt that a number of ideologies have shaped the existing language education policies (Kirkpatrick, 2017). Such existing language ideologies direct the discussions in choosing different classroom teaching approaches. Among them, current language teaching and learning practices in China are still based on the Second Language Acquisition theories. In brief, SLA linguists view learners' mother tongue interferes with learners' target L2 (Ellis, 1997; Mitchell, et al, 2013). Learners' L1 is seen as the error resources to their L2 and has a negative impact if learners' L1 belongs to a different language family. If learners' L1 and L2 belong to the same language family, L1 has positive effect in L2 learning (Ellis, 1997). What's more, L2 learners of English are considered as failures or deficient learners unless they achieve the unattainable Native-like English speakers (Cook, 2002). Thus, even if recent researches on effectiveness of different language teaching approaches have been highly brought into debate, such approaches like Communicative Language Teaching (Rao, 2002; Shu, 2004), Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), Task-based Language Learning (TBLL) etc., are all suggest the same understanding of English. They are "in one way or another, concerned with the same central pedagogic problem" (Seidlhofer, 2011, p.197), which particularly focus on "finding ways of facilitating the acquisition of as near native-like competence as required by the learner, teacher, or system".

However, with perspective of ELF, the focus is beyond remembering vocabularies, accumulating regular collocations or gaining the command of sentence patterns of target languages. The outer social linguistic environment is encouraged to be taken into account in the process of classroom teaching (Wang, 2015a). It requires that teachers should uncover what is really needed by students with learners' perspective, and clarifies students' capabilities "for using the language by exploiting its communicative potential" no matter whatever "the degree of conformity to NS norms" is (Seidlhofer, 2011, p.201).

Such arguments between linguists in the field of SLA and ELF suggest different understandings and conceptualization of English. As a result, different ways of teaching approaches are being discussed and reconsidered as well. Apparently, classroom teaching, as the overt LEP, can be considered as one of the mechanisms that affects de facto language policy. In what ways the embraced language beliefs and ideologies of LEP are put into practice and have a huge impact on their outcomes. Therefore, investigating into classroom practice offers insight into the struggle between language policies from top-down and bottom-up in relate to reflected language ideologies

2.2.3.4. Textbook

Another major element included in the mechanisms that may affect English education policy is textbooks. Textbooks usually play a role of additional or supporting tool which is always accompanied with teaching. Textbooks therefore contain various ideological and political agendas (Shohamy, 2006). Just as what Matsuda (2012) mentions, on the one hand, teaching materials are "a source of input", and on the other hand, they contribute to language teaching to "express, reinforce, and construct a certain view of the world" (p.168). On the surface, political agenda forms as the designed program and curricula through formal education practices, and is delivered by textbooks or a variety of learning materials. In this sense, generally, textbooks can be seen as a "route map for teachers and learners" (ibid, p.168). On the deeper layer, textbooks offer "a sense of security and self-confidence" by offering "structure and predictability" (Mckay, 2012, p.71) to teachers in front of their students in classrooms.

That is to say, textbooks play an important role in shaping and reinforcing teachers and students' language ideology and affect their language choices as well (Shohamy, 2006; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). A number of examples can be found in the textbooks for using language ideological stereotypes. The most obvious one is that English speakers, as described in the textbooks, are usually wealthy and well established (Yang, 2003). They are seen as members of elite group. English and its symbolic power have impact on teachers and students' understanding and choosing English. Another major issue that is concerned with Standard English Ideology and Native English speakers' norms is the two main language beliefs that current textbooks of the market are centered on (Jenkins, 2007, 2014; Seidlhofer, 2011). One of the pedagogical features is teaches' language according to codified grammar of English that comes from the inner circle, and a teacher explains vocabularies in accordance with dictionaries that have been published by native English speaking countries etc. Another feature that has been noticed by Mckay (2012, p.72) is that "well-known holidays, customs and literature of English speaking countries" appear in high frequency in textbooks. Meanwhile, frequency of such relevant cultural information and knowledge of countries from the outer or expanding circle remains low or even none. That is to say, cultures or customs included in textbooks are usually cultures of countries belonging to the inner circle. In most cases, American and British cultures of all the listed ideological stereotypes are imposed and internalized to learners after years of exposure to contents that are delivered by textbooks.

2.2.3.5. Teacher

In the reference of Brown's (2012) idea of the stakeholders of language policy, when doing a research which is related to English education policy, there is a need not only to investigate into curricula, textbooks or institutional administrators, but also to look into teachers. One of the most obvious reasons is that teachers are "the final arbiters of language policy implementation" (Menken & Garcia, 2010, p.1). They are expected to ensure certain language policies to be applied successfully. To be specific, a teacher, on the one hand, is the one in charge of the classroom to transmit political agendas that is imposed from the top through curricula, textbooks and contents of texts or even perceptions of a language (Jenkins, 2007; Dewey, 2009; Matsuda & Friedrich, 2011). However, textual documents that are made by the official government cannot foresee all the outcomes, factors and variations in the process of practices. To what extent it will achieve as expected, how teachers react, interpret, and transmit policies in practices will have a huge impact. Especially when conflicts appear

between policy and practices, it is the teachers who usually make decisions about changes based on their experiences, beliefs and expectations. Thus, the de facto language policy may not reflect the language ideologies directly from the top, but reshaped, mediated by the decisions that are made by the bottom-up stakeholders, and how they exert their agency in certain context. Therefore, teachers' role as an agent appears to be one of the important factors that may impact on policy implementation in classrooms (Shohamy, 2006; Baldauf, 2006; Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008).

- **Teacher's Role as an Agent**

Agency, according to Biesta & Tedder (2006), stands for not actors themselves but the degree of actors who are engaged with the context. It can be seen as the interplay of "individual efforts, available resources and contextual and structural factors" of the context (p.137). Moreover, agencies are varied because of the interplay of actors' experiences from the past; beliefs about the present and expectations for the possibility in the future in different contexts (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). Simply put, agency usually emerges and develops consistently in the process of actors' interaction with the context. In the educational settings, teachers' agencies, then can be considered as to what extent teachers are engaged with the context and how the interplay of their attitudes towards the past, present and future impact on their practice. Pickering (1995) also points that teachers' agencies can be seen as an ability of teachers to implement their choices in daily practices. Hiltferty (2008) also refers to teacher's agency is their ability to direct their own working life actively and purposefully within specific limits.

A number of empirical studies in the field of language education policy have recognized the crucial role that teachers plays as an agent in response to educational change (Haque & Cray, 2007; Hamid, 2010; Li, 2010; Stritikus, 2003). Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester (2000) draw attention on transformative roles that teachers play in both centralized and decentralized policy contexts, which mostly depends on to what extent that teachers will achieve agencies. They believe that the power relations present in literacy teaching environments as being flexible and open to transformation through what teachers do in everyday practices. Yang (2015) investigates into teachers' agencies in ELT classrooms by looking at their teaching practice towards language education reform in China, and draws the conclusion that there is a need to establish teachers' education programs to foster teachers' agencies in order to

transmit policies in response to educational change in China. Thus, teachers' beliefs also have a huge impact on to what extent that teachers' agencies are achieved and language policy is implemented.

- **The Impacts of Teachers' Beliefs**

Teachers' agencies are achieved due to a number of factors, among which teacher's beliefs are one of the major factors (Nespor, 1987, Meirink et al., 2009; Jennings, 1996). Teachers' beliefs, as Heather & Garey (2009) mention, are subjectively based, which are concerned with what they believed to be true. In fact, teachers' beliefs will affect everything that they do in the classroom, implicitly or explicitly (Williams & Burden, 1997), e.g., their consciousness, behaviours, and their interactions with students etc. (Heather & Garey, 2009). In particular, their beliefs will "filter the ways they conceptualize teaching and themselves as teachers, and develop explanations for their own classroom practices" (Xu, 2012, p.1397). Hence, the impact of teachers' beliefs is much stronger than teachers' knowledge, which become the central element to determine teachers' practice in classes, such as the way they plan their lessons, the kinds of decisions they make, and their general classroom practice (Pajares, 1992), even with the fact that sometimes such beliefs may cause teachers' limited views on classroom teaching practices (Johnson, 1999).

Teachers' beliefs are widely recognized in classroom decision-making process in language policy researches as well (Biesta et al, 2015; Meirink, et al. 2009; Nespor, 1987). Choi (2014) conducts an empirical study emphasizing the critical role of teachers' beliefs in enhancing the effectiveness of language policy and planning. The study highlights the fact that language policy "is only adopted by those who consider that it is compatible with their own prime goal of education" (p.216). Hence, it is obvious that the interplay between teachers' beliefs and ideologies, organizational structures and school contexts shapes the attempts of policy statement (Lipman, 1998). More importantly, teachers' beliefs have a huge impact on to what extent that teachers' agencies are achieved and language policy is implemented. In another word, it is the teachers who translate embodied language ideologies into textbooks to their students, and it is the teachers who have the flexibility to decide which language(s) should be taught to their students in what ways and for what purpose (Shohamy, 2006). For example, although a large number of textbooks out there in the market are native English norms based, in what ways teachers interpret textbooks can impact on students' language

ideologies. As Seidlhofer (2011, p.201) refers, “what is crucial is not what teaching materials are used but how they are used”. Stritikus (2003) also proposes the term “policy-to practice connection” (p. 30), suggesting that how teachers implement policy statement in the educational settings is not only varied due to the different textual documents, such as curricula, textbooks or any other materials, but also their attitudes, beliefs and ideologies towards the content, classroom teaching pedagogy, and outer-classroom environment of the context. Jennings (1996) mentions that teachers’ beliefs, attitudes and previous experiences contribute to their integrating knowledge, interpreting and translating educational policy into practices. Darling-Hammond (1990) also points that instructional choices made by teachers are needed to be investigated along with the policy statements and teachers beliefs in order to explain how teachers’ role has impact on the process of de facto language policy.

What’s more, teachers’ belief about the nature of language, about learning/teaching, about the learners, and about themselves can be influential in affecting their teaching (Brog, 2006, Willians & Burden, 1997; Seidlhofer, 2011; Shohamy, 2006; Sifakis & Bayyurt, 2018; Dewey, 2012). Simply put, language teachers must be firstly clear about what the language is (Dewey, 2012; Seidlhofer, 2011) and how to learn the language so as to make decisions on classroom practices (Brog, 2006). Just as Williams & Burden (1997) refer “a teacher’s deep-rooted beliefs about how languages are learnt” are extremely important as they “will pervade the classroom actions more than a particular methodology s/he is told to adopt or the coursebook s/he follows”. For example, if a teacher views English as a set of fixed codes, he/she will more emphasize on conforming to the standards. In the same vein, if a teacher believes that conforming to NS norms can ensure the successful learning, then he/she will no double teach English in the reference of standard native norms. At the same time, teachers’ way of teaching can find reflections in their beliefs about learning as well. Other than the importance of teachers’ beliefs about the nature of the language and language learning, how they consider their students also contributes to the decisions that they made in relation to classroom teaching, e.g., teaching approaches, teaching materials, and pedagogical objectives. For instance, instead of considering students as NSE learners, if teachers consider their students as the ELF users, they may pay more attention to introducing communication strategies for effective communication rather than correcting students’ errors. This will make a huge difference in the way they teach.

Besides, it is rather important that how teachers conceive themselves in their classroom practices. It involves in how teachers conceive themselves as a teacher, being able to identify their preferences, advantages, weaknesses, as well as making the judgements and predictions about learning outcomes (Brog, 2006; Sifakis & Bayyurt, 2018). Similarly in Tschanne-Moran and Woolfolk Hoy (2001), they discuss teachers' efficacy as an important issue. According to them, it is teachers' own judgment about teaching/learning outcomes that they could bring about to their students. This has a considerable impact on teachers' decisions. If a teacher has high level of self-efficacy, he/she is more willing to make changes and adaptations. Different levels of self-efficacy can determine to what extent that a teacher is willing to face 'insecure' situations (see Jenkins, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2011). Just as Shohamy (2006) argues, for most of the teachers and institutional administrators, they perceive themselves to be soldiers, and it is their responsibility to carry out policies that are imposed from the top (Auerbach, 1993). So they translate policy agenda that has been given from the top without questioning. More importantly, to some degree, the ideologies or agendas of policy statements that are reflected in textbooks may be internalized by teachers, and reinforced in the practice of local schools and institutional policies (Auerbach, 1993; Shohamy, 2006). As a result, conformity to language policy from the top provides them with sense of security in front of their students (Jenkins, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2011).

In summary, the official documents of language policy are rather served as a guideline or an instrument used by the government for intended policy to practice through a particular rhetoric reflecting a particular set of values and intentions for education (Robinson, 2012). Teachers are more served as the mediators in the policy implementation process as the policy moves down through the administrative levels, either explicitly in new written documents or through interpretation of existing documents (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). More specific, as Ricento & Hornberger (1996) emphasize, it is the grassroots participants who usually bring about changes and transformations in the institutional context. On the one hand, policy statements will be interpreted and reshaped in order to be accepted by the majority of the contexts through adopting and adapting. On the other hand, the actual practices are rather constructed and negotiated so as to fit certain policy requirements (Robinson, 2012) where teachers play their roles as agents in classrooms. Their influences in the educational settings appear to be undeniable. However, most decisions regarding LEP are made at the political level with no teachers involved (Pan, 2014; Hu, 2005a). Quite a number of them are not even aware of the regulations regarding to LEPs until they are required to follow it in their

teaching jobs. Such facts reduce their understanding of LEPs that they are required to follow and reduce their sense of participation as being agents of carrying out government policy (Pan, 2014; Hu, 2005a).

2.2.3.6. Testing

Testing, as another important component of LEP, is the most powerful mechanism for maintaining and affecting language behaviors and the use of students, teachers, parents and the society as a whole (Shohamy, 2006). At the very basic level, Brown (2012) argues that testing is “an essential part of monitoring students” progress and provides feedback. Test scores are often “the sole indicators for placing people” (p.103) and have always been used as a criteria to predicate whether students should be able to be accepted by which types of universities. Therefore, in order to prepare for the test and to gain good results, testing has a huge impact on implementing and adjusting to curricula, teaching and testing methods. As Hogan-Brun (2007) mentions, curricula, content of textbooks and teaching approaches have to be modified to adjust. With such a fact, more test-oriented materials will be produced in the market out of commercial profits (Bailey & Masuhara, 2013). Thus, looking into policies on testing and scoring system can help understand how test-oriented materials are created, and explain certain types of classroom teaching approaches etc.

Yet, on the deeper layer, testing is also used as a tool to define and impact what are going to be taught in which ways. Testing is a “crucial part of determining the degree to which the objectives are appropriately defined” (Brown, 2012, p.161). In educational setting, the test of specific languages and specific content usually can “determine which languages will be studied” and which content should be learned in what ways. So testing has the power in redefining “language knowledge”, motivating teachers “to teach test language”, and “narrowing the linguistic knowledge” (Shohamy, 2014; 2006, p.105). Affected by the testing and scoring system, teachers and students are facing choices that they have to make between what is imposed from the top and their own.

Moreover, testing contains ideological agendas and can be used as a political instrument in its wash back on language education (Messick, 1998; Liu, 2016). The embodied ideologies in testing, such as contents, subconsciously position language learning activities, which are

“determining the prestige and the status of languages”, “standardizing and perpetuating language correctness” and “suppressing language diversity” (Shohamy, 2006, p.95). For instance, in particular contexts, English learning is driven by the development of economy of the country, which is always involved in agendas of modernization and internationalization (Kirkpatrick, 2017). “The act of acquiring knowledge is wholly dependent on the language one knows. The less one knows English, the less one gets access to global knowledge” (Yoshiri & Carpenter 2015, p.4). Thereby, English is seen as a vehicle for disseminating one's own knowledge and to those who prefer a better job, they will have no choice but to have a good command of what is going to be tested (Yang, 2003). To sum up, testing should be considered with the connection to social and political facts that they have effects on curricula, ethicality, social class, bureaucracy, politics and knowledge (Messick, 1998).

2.3 ELF and Language Policy

As discussed in the chapter of Introduction, English is more used as a lingua franca among NNESs for communication which has resulted in the increasing number of variations and diversity while negotiating and accommodating (Jenkins, 2014; 2015; Baker, 2015; Cogo and Dewey, 2012, etc). However, as Jenkins (2014) mentions in her study of English language policies and practices in HE settings, native English ideology has been commonly operated. ‘What it means to use English as a lingua franca’, it seems ‘nowhere in HE, Anglophone or non-Anglophone’ (p.207). It is obvious that, a gap exists existing between the classroom environment and the social practices (see also Jenkins, 2015). She further mentions language policy appears to be one of the major gaps between what ELF has been used for many years in reality, and the lack of knowledge of its legitimate status. Some similar points has been found in Seidlhofer (2011, p.16). In fact, the mainstream ELT continues to be operated on the basis of ‘entrenched attitudes and established traditional views of native-speaker authority’ (Seidlhofer, 2011, p.16), though ELF has been effectively used. She refers ‘we are faced here with a conceptual mismatch between outdated ideas about native-speaker privilege and the overdue acknowledgement of the reality of ELF’ (2011, P.16). As well as Kirkpatrick (2017), he compares language policies between ASEAN (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations) and those in EU contexts and proposes the role of ELF should be reflected in language policy by challenging an exclusive reference to native English norms. In the same vein, Baker & Jarunthawatchai (2017) focus on language

management in Spolsky's three components in Thailand. They found currently, in Thailand, language proficiency is still based on native speakers' model which has negative impact on social equality. Perrin (2017) also focuses on the paradoxical situation existed in transnational education (TNE) where students are not studying in their first language, and are assessed by academics who are mostly English additional language speakers, but with a target language based on English 'native speaker' norms' (p.153). He further suggests there is a need to adopt 'workable language policies in a TNE environment' (p.153), such as the diversity of English in its plural forms among students and staff.

Jenkins & Leung (2014; 2019) further do a research on large-scale standardized English tests, and mention the conceptual background of international English language tests have always been focus on the language that non-native speakers' uses, 'based on native intuition and/or native English corpora, with a focus on some generic version of 'correctness' and abstracted notions of academic English' (p.87). In a word, most of the international English tests fail to cope up with the modern world as they claimed. Instead, native English model has always been set as the benchmark and an idealized model that the international language tests prefer. Moreover, international English language tests, such as IELTS and TESOL, 'have tended to be built on a stable portrayal of the English language', which is 'concerned with the idealized and typified ways in which English is represented as a medium of communication in real-life contexts, with particular reference to the use of English in academic settings within English-medium institutions' (p.88). Such issues have also suggested conceptual background that English has been conceptualized as a 'stable and enduring phenomenon' (Jenkins & Leung, 2019, p. 88).

With regard to bringing together ELF and language policy, 'the question we need to ask at this point comes down to what we actually mean by 'English' (Jenkins & Leung, 2019, p. 97), which English (es)? And what kind(s) of English (es) are applicable to ELF communication in the educational settings? Seidlhofer (2011) also refers it is necessary to consider 'what English' or 'which English' in discussing language policy in the EU context before she drew the conclusion that English was the problem for multilingualism. That is to say, 'the English language policy-ideology interface' that has been mentioned in Jenkins (2014, p.74) should be taken into account when integrating ELF into language policy. Just as what emphasized by Shohamy (2006), it is the key to clarify what is language in

deconstructing language policy. Thus, while Jenkins (2014) investigated into language policies in international universities, she focused more on ideologies that were attached to the policies, as well as how the various stakeholders were reflected from the policies and how they acted. In particular, she paid attention to the stakeholders' views about what were counted as legitimate language in the context of university. As it is on the basis of Spolsky's three components of language policy, whether the language management was successful or not, it can be reflected through the evaluating of language practice. In the meanwhile, whether the language management and language practices match or not, it is related to the attached language ideologies.

Based on the above, Wang (2015a) conducts a research with the focus on Chinese university students' ELF awareness. She finds that language education is the major source for participants' perceptions of English. It impacts on students' language choices, and 'serves as an interface between linguistic realities and language attitudes' (p.94). She further concludes that it is the language education that maintains such mismatch which has caused the belief about native speakers' authority in English. Thereby, in her later studies, Wang (2017a) proposes a changes of recognition of English in educational settings, mentions the attention should also be paid to ELF users with different cultural backgrounds rather than just native English backgrounds. She also proposes 'the discussion of language policy based on an ELF perspective engages choices of and attitudes towards different Englishes' (p.5). Further in Wang (forthcoming), she places emphasis on the need to focus on grassroots language users' contribution / interaction with language policy. Although language management is not a one way straight process to deliver language rules and regulation, there are interactions between the grassroots level and authorities from the top. So there is a space between the top-down moderation and the bottom up resistances. In regard to focus on bottom-up language users, we can seek possibilities for changes by looking into how language teachers and language learners are engaging with language policy (Wang, forthcoming).

2.4 Conclusion

To conclude, in this chapter, the researcher presents an overall theoretical explanation of the conceptualization of language policy by adopting and evaluating spolaky's (2004)

framework and Shohamy's (2006) views of mechanisms of de facto language policy. Through Spolsky's (2004) triangle framework which place emphasis on indicating the interrelations among different components, a general consideration for carrying out researches in the field of language policy has been provided. In the light of this, firstly, in conducting the research, language policies, rules and regulations have been analyzed, as they are constrained by ideological orientations towards language. Secondly, language practices have also been paid attention to, as they refer to the patterns of language choices and preferences that classroom participants may make in the classrooms. Thirdly, it is also important for the researcher to understand stakeholders' beliefs or ideologies about the language in the ELT settings.

However, ideological orientations behind rules, regulations, objectives, aims or requirements may not eventually turn into practices in implicit and explicit ways. Beside internal forces that Spolsky's (2004) mentions, various external devices of the de facto policy may create and affect (Shohamy, 2006). Such devices range from language education policy, curriculum, textbooks or learning materials, testing, and classroom teaching practice and the teachers. Curricula, as an overall overt language education policy, are usually regulated by the central authority of the government and seen as the main guidance of educational activities. Classrooms are seen as a site of struggle about whole knowledge, experiences, literacy and discourse practices, and ways of using language. Commonalities and contradictions of top-down and bottom-up language policy are going to emerge through the classroom activities. Textbooks contain implicit language ideology, which are used as the main teaching material in ELT classes. Policy agendas are translated into textbooks and other types of materials in order to ensure that the policy is implemented. Besides, teachers, as one of the most important agents, play an important role in implementing the curricula, interpreting the textbooks, deciding teaching approaches, and impacting on students' language attitudes. Their language preferences have a huge impact on their students. Last but not least, testing is seen as the most powerful mechanism for affecting and manipulating language behaviors and the use of students, teachers, parents and the society as a whole (Shohamy, 2014). The content of teaching materials, teaching approaches, language varieties are all affected by testing and scoring systems. Therefore, it is necessary for the researcher to look into testing for this research as well.

After discussing the concept of language policy and indicating links among each underlying component with the combination of Spolsky's (2009, 2012) triangulation framework and Shohamy's (2006) view of mechanisms in this chapter, in the next chapter, the researcher will mainly focus on the concept of language ideology and classroom participants' beliefs about English as a Lingua Franca

Chapter 3 Language Ideologies and ELF Awareness

3.1 Introduction

After exploring the concept of language policy, the researcher attempts to present a theoretical picture of language ideology in this chapter. In order to do so, the chapter will be divided into three parts. Firstly, it will begin with the discussion of language ideologies. The dimensions of understanding the concept of language ideology on different layers will be explored. Secondly, it will particularly focus on language ideologies in ELF research, in terms of native and non-native dichotomy; the ownership of English; Standard English and Standard English ideology, etc. Finally, it will pay attention to ELF awareness in ELT settings. On the one hand, the major components of ELF awareness will be discussed. On the other hand, the difficulties which will hinder stakeholders' awareness of ELF will be clarified so as to discuss the implications for ELF-oriented classrooms.

3.2 Language Ideologies

Language ideology, as discussed in Chapter 2, is not only concerned with the language itself, but also reflects issues of social and cultural factors. As Weber and Horner (2012, p.16) conclude, language ideology is a “cultural system of ideas and feelings, norms and values, which inform the way people think about language”. In a word, we not only use a language as a medium of communication, but also communicate in the way that we feel, believe and form of a language (Sargeant, 2009; Weber & Horner 2012). Thus, language ideology, in its broad sense, can be defined as the ways in which we think about the language (Sargeant, 2009; Blommaert & Veschueren, 1998; Weber & Horner, 2012; Spolsky, 2012).

Moreover, language ideologies are usually embodied in speakers' behavioural conducts and reflected in actual linguistic practices – e.g. how people talk, what they say about languages, etc. Just as what Lippy-Green (2004) points, language ideologies usually exist in behavioural conducts, while the reflection can be found in the process of social practices. Different ideologies about a language can be considered as 'mediating forces' (Sargeant, 2009; Irvine

& Gal, 2000) between language form and function, and place ‘linguistic behaviour firmly within an animating cultural context’ (Sargeant, 2009, p.24). Language use will then be reflected through ideological constructs. As time accumulates, individual speaker’s social practice becomes one of the major factors that contribute to deepening certain language ideologies accepted by its speakers. Certain language ideologies are tacit and intuitive and are reinforced subconsciously in the process of social process as well. They are impacted on speakers’ language practices and social activities without even being realized by its speakers (Blommaert & Veschueren, 1998; Kroskrity, 2004). Thus, the central focus of language ideologies, as mentioned by Sargeant (2009, p.24), is the ‘interface between language beliefs and language use’.

Yet, language ideology impacts not only on activities of communication at micro-level, but in its broad concerns, also on the role that language plays in both social and cultural constructs through the use of linguistic forms and functions (Sargeant, 2009). Tollefson (1991) points to the fact that language actions and choices are always constrained by ideological or structural (class) means, having to do with power, hegemony, and dominance. Similar to Irvine & Gal (2000), they believe that all language behaviours and attitudes are always ideological and enmeshed in social systems of domination and subordination of groups, having to do not only with ethnicity, but also with class, gender, power and race. Just as Woolard (1998, p.3) refers, ‘whether explicit or implicit’, language ideologies ‘construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world’.

It is also similar to what Bourdieu (1991) explains, linguistic features are usually connected with power relations of society in many ways, especially the features of variations. i.e., social hierarchy can be reflected through the variation use of vocabularies, sentences patterns, phonological intonations and even accents. He further proposes the term “habitus” in explaining the concept of language ideology. He sees “habitus” as a “system of dispositions common to all products of the same conditionings” (p.59) by which the material form of life is “embodied and turned into second nature” (p. 63). As hegemonic practices come to be built into the institutions of society, they tend to reinforce privilege and grant it legitimacy as a “natural” condition (Fairclough, 1989). It is ideology that refers to unconscious beliefs or assumptions that they are “naturalized” and thus contribute to hegemony. For example, instead of telling what one must be done directly, it gives one’s instructions by suggesting

“which is exerted through things and persons”, and makes one believe that “what he has to be is the condition for the effectiveness of all kinds of symbolic power which will subsequently be able to operate on a habitus predisposed to respond to them” (Bourdieu, 1991, p52). In the light of this, the attitudes and beliefs towards a language do not merely depend on what the language is, but much more on its symbolic power. This explains why standard language is considered to be more credible. That is to say, language ideologies, to some extent, do reproduce social hierarchies, and are determined by power relations; and privileged a certain groups of people within the society. These ‘habitual’ behaviors, namely, ideologies, as mentioned by Bourdieu (1991), plays a role that reproduce those power relations, which is also politically effected.

Acknowledging its political feature, Irvine & Gal (2000) summarize that iconization, fractal recursivity and erasure are the three patterns of language ideological process. Firstly, it concerns with the links between linguistic features and the social signs that make sense to particular groups of people. Secondly, it involves in the consideration of shifting identities, beliefs and ideologies among different levels of contrast within the society. And the third process refers to the ‘totalizing vision’ of linguistic ideology. That is, anything that cannot fit into, ‘must be either ignored or transformed’ in order to achieve social homogenous (p.38). To be simplified, the whole ideological process are ‘suffused with the political and moral issues pervading the particular sociolinguistic field and are subject to the interest of their bearers’ social position’ (p.35).

Given what has been displayed above, Kroskrity’s (2000, p.8-21) proposes four dimensions of understanding language ideologies:

- 1) “...language ideologies represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group”;
- 2) “...language ideologies are profitably conceived as multiple because of the multiplicity of meaningful social divisions (class, gender, clan, elites, generations, and so on) within sociocultural groups that have the potential to produce divergent perspectives expressed as indices of group membership”;
- 3) “...members may display varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies”;
- 4) “...members’ language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk”.

It is obvious that on the very basic layer, according to Kroskrity (2000), language ideology refers to the beliefs about a language. It “is made up of the values assigned by members of a speech community to each variety and variant and their beliefs about the importance of these values” (Spolsky, 2009, p.5). Then, as time accumulates, certain beliefs may be organized into ideologies (Blommaert 2006; Silverstein 1998), and “shared by certain members of the community”. (Spolsky, 2004, p5). In the light of this, language ideology also concerns with values and beliefs about certain language and its use in the society (Kroskrity, 2004; Lippi-Green, 2004). However, within the groups, due to the individual differences, divergent perspectives may create according to gender differences, social positions, and clans and so on. Regarding to them, usually a number of different language ideologies exist in the same communities. And even if there is the same language ideology, to what extent, the awareness of members of the community is always different. More importantly, language ideologies not only refer to those which have been accepted through the top down process, but also to those which have emerged through the bottom up language practices. The actual language practices are mediating between the top down and bottom up ideologies.

Woolard (1998) also identifies language ideologies with four perspectives, firstly, ideas, beliefs and consciousness; secondly, responsive to the experience or interests of a particular social position; thirdly, distortion, mystification, or rationalisation; lastly, connecting to social power and legitimization. In her later work, Woolard (1998) also stresses that the major concerns in the field of language ideology should be symbiosis of linguistic and other social factors, e.g. gender, class, social rankings. As this research mainly focuses on the interrelations among the three components of language policy with ELF perspectives, language ideologies in ELF research, e.g., native and non-native dichotomy related social bias, prejudice, advantages and disadvantages; the ownership of English; the legitimacy of Englishes and Standard English ideology, will be explored further in the following sections of this chapter.

3.2.1. Language ideology vs. Language belief

One of the major differences between ideology and belief is that ideology usually concerns with larger social and political constructs that are related to language whereas belief serves as cognitive process of human beings (Edwards, 2009; McKenzie, 2010). As discussed in the previous section, language ideology is a system of beliefs, ideas and views about social

constructs (Weber & Horner, 2012; Seargeant, 2009). It can be considered as the realities that are related to the language, which is socially constructed over time (Tollefson, 1991). Thus, it more concerns with explicit relations to the social constructs (Irvine & Gal, 2000; Woolard, 1998; Bourdieu, 1991). Belief, on the other hand, as discussed by McKenzie (2010), is as 'cognitive in nature', and 'can trigger and be triggered by affective reactions' (p. 19-20). Borg (2001, p.186) also defines that "a belief is a proposition which may be consciously or unconsciously held, is evaluative in that it is accepted as true by the individual, and is therefore imbued with emotive commitment; further, it serves as a guide to thought and behaviour". In another word, belief can be considered as a 'filter' that colours and frames individual judgement and decision. It can be explained as individuals' understanding of events, making sense of the world. As Richardson (1996) mentions, belief is 'psychologically held understandings, premises and propositions about the world that are felt to be true' (p.103). Thus, beliefs play an important role in directing individual behaviour, and explaining how certain decisions are made by individuals.

Moreover, language ideologies are usually used to display common and collective beliefs and behaviours that people think about a language. To be more exact, they refer to a set of commonly shared beliefs by socio-cultural groups of people as time accumulates, no matter how big or small these groups are (Irvine & Gal, 2000; Kroskrity, 2000). In the meanwhile, the individuals who hold the same ideologies can behave collectively and commonly believe in particular forms or functions about the language (Kroskrity, 2000). Language beliefs, however, as Spolsky (2012) explains, are made up of values assigned to certain language varieties, beliefs about its use and beliefs about the importance of maintaining these values. They are involved in the beliefs about what language is, which languages are important and what values can be attributed to a particular language etc. (Griswold, 2011). Then as time accumulates, the beliefs may be organized into ideologies gradually (Blommaert, 2006; Silverstein, 1992). Hence, as Laihonen (2008) mentions, '...beliefs are subjective, stable experiences located in the individual'.

To sum up, the term language ideology and language belief have many overlaps. Both of them are used to describe opinions, perceptions, views and ideas. However, language ideologies research tends to focus on social structures, social and power relations. Researching into language beliefs tends to focus on individuals' cognition and experience.

Certainly, individuals' cognition and experience can be understood within certain social and power relations. In addition, language ideologies and language beliefs mutually construct each other. In this research, I will use belief and ideology interchangeable. Attention will be heavily paid to both teachers and students' awareness.

3.3 Language Ideologies in ELF research

3.3.1. NS/NNS Dichotomy

With the spread of English as a global Lingua Franca, ELF has provided us with a new conceptual framework of English which is different from the traditional view of English as a foreign language. Traditional use of native/non-native dichotomy thus is seen as problematic and challenged by a number of researchers in the field of ELF, as it is simplistic and overlooks many complexity in defining a speaker (Seidlhofer, 2011; Jenkins, 2015; Galloway & Rose, 2015; Davies, 2013; House, 2007 etc.). According to Seidlhofer (2011), the term "native" and "non-native" speakers are "the connotations that they have come to carry, and with the considerable ideological baggage they have accumulated over a long time" (Seidlhofer, 2011, p.5). To be specific, the simplistic term native/non-native dichotomy does not only stand for native or non-native speakers of a language, but also it carries an "ideological baggage" which indicates the distinctions between 'native' and 'non-native' speakers (Seidlhofer, 2011, p.5). Such distinctions suggested a power hierarchy, where native speakers are considered as norm-developer, and other groups of speakers who are 'non-' native speakers are considered as norm-follower (Jenkins, 2015; Brutt-Griffler, 2002). . In the meantime, with the use of prefix "non-" to describe other groups of speakers also indicate some sort of deficit (Galloway & Rose, 2015).

Such distinctions between "native" and "non-native" have been criticised by many linguists (e.g., Seidlhofer, 2011; Galloway & Rose, 2015; Jenkins, 2015; Wang, 2012). Some of them argue that it is necessary to avoid using the simplistic term. Davies (2013) suggests that no such versions of English can be called as standardised version among native English speakers. In this way, there is no need to make the distinctions between the two terms (see also Galloway & Rose, 2015). House (2007) then argues it is necessary to go beyond the notion of 'non-native' speakers, referring to them as 'multilingual speakers' instead.

Derivry-Plard (2016) mentions that Holliday (2006) calling for “nativespeakerism” should be challenged as the traditional native/non-native dichotomy “serves to design language policies in which actors-teachers of foreign and second languages confront one another” (p.431).

Thereby, some linguists suggest that it is necessary to re-conceptualize the native/non-native dichotomy with different perspectives. Faez (2011) thus suggests that it is necessary to re-conceptualize the native/non-native dichotomy indicating that that individuals’ linguistic identities are negotiable and various. More specifically, he suggests that the dynamic, dialogic, multiple, and situated nature of identity should be emphasized with sociocultural perspective. Derivry-Plard (2016) focuses on the native/non-native dichotomy in the field of ELT. He mentions that Holliday (2006) calls for “nativespeakerism” should be challenged. As the traditional native/non-native dichotomy “serves to design language policies in which actors-teachers of foreign and second languages confront one another” (p.431). Yet, with the development of globalization, whether the language teachers are native or non-native, they are all struggling to be recognized. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the power struggle and symbolic power of the traditional native/non-native dichotomy, in terms of “whose goals and values are paradoxically aimed at mutual understanding through language teaching and cultural mediation” (p.431).

Simply put, the power that “native English speaker” has in deciding and designing language norms is problematic to ELF researchers (Brutt-Griffler, 2002) as speakers of English are not merely coming from native speaking countries to communicate with native speakers. Instead with the increasing number of NNESs as ELF users all over the world, they are much more using English among interlocutors in the intercultural settings. Thus, they are co-owners of English as well. It is certainly unequal for them to conform to NS norms and to be evaluated by the NS norms, when their ways of using their own Englishes are effective and accepted by their interlocutors in intercultural communications (Widdowson, 1994; Seidlhofer, 2011). They should also have the right to make changes (Jenkins, 2015; Cogo, 2009; Widdowson, 1994). This is related to the issue of the ownership of English that belongs to NNESs, which will be explored more in *Section 3.3.3*.

After being aware of the inappropriateness of the issues above, linguistics in the field of ELF has developed a number of ways to re-define English speakers. Seidlhofer (2011) believes that it is necessary to use the distinction to discuss the bias over non-native English speakers, and further re-defines NESs as speakers whose first language is English, while NNESs are those whose mother tongue is not English. Jenkins (2015) also makes her points redefining NES and NNES. According to her, NESs firstly are monolingual speakers, as “speakers of English who speak no other language”. Secondly, they are “proficient speakers of English and at least one other language, regardless of the order in which they learned the languages” as bi- or multi-lingual English speakers (p.98).

I, as a researcher, also take Jenkins's (2015) definition as the primary explanation about native and non-native speakerism. On the one hand, it avoids the possible negative implications for NNESs groups. And on the other hand, it makes clear the more advantages in linguistic competence of being bilingual and multilingual English speakers than monolingual native English speakers. However, a simplistic distinction is often used in language policy and some journal publications. Participants tended to adopt native/non-native distinction while they were communicating with the researcher as well. The traditional use of native/non-native dichotomy has been widely recognized by the majority of the participants. Therefore, I use the simplistic term native/non-native distinction mainly to report how the participants talked about or reflected on language issues, in the meanwhile, bearing in mind that it was a simplistic and not ideal notion.

3.3.2. Standard Language and Standard English Ideology

In the field of ELF research, ‘the theoretical and practical issue of how the conceptualization of ELF is related to Standard English, and to standard language ideology more generally’ has been much concerned (Seidlhofer 2018, p.85). Generally speaking, standard language ideology refers to a process of self-internalizing what was believed as correct and appropriate at subconscious level. In Section 3.3.2.1, firstly, the concept of standard language will be discussed; secondly, in Section 3.3.2.2, Standard English and Standard English Ideology will be explored in relation to ELF perspective.

3.3.2.1. Standard Language

The concept of Standard languages, according to Milroy & Milroy (1999, p.18), refers to ‘fixed and uniform-state idealizations--not empirically verifiable realities’. Milroy & Milroy (2012, p.19) further in the 4th editions of the book argues that standard language is ‘an idea in the mind rather than a reality-a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent’. In a word, Standard language is an “idealized” and “hypothesized” (Lippi-Green 1997, p.57) form of linguistic variety, which is on the basis of viewing English as stable and fixed code.

Standard language is usually recognized by its written forms. According to Milroy and Milroy (1999), “it seems appropriate to speak more abstractly of (...) Standard language as an idea in the mind rather than a reality” (p.19). In another word, it is ‘a variety that is never perfectly and consistently realized in spoken use (Milroy, 2001, p.543)’. That is to say, it is generally defined by its lexis and grammar (Widdowson, 2003). Similarly in Trudgill and Hannah (2017, p.2), “although Standard English is the kind of English in which all native speakers learn to read and write, most people do not actually speak it”. In short, Standard language is an idealized and prescribed entity which is recognized and learned only by its written forms by native speakers, where they do not use it for oral communication in reality.

Standard language is always connected closely with education. As Jenkins (2015) refers, Standard language is “used for the variety of a language that is considered to be the norm, the variety held up as the optimum for educational purposes and used as a yardstick against which other varieties of the language are measured” (p.21). Seidhofer (2018) also mentions that the motivation for establishing a standard language is, on the one hand, to provide “sense of common, often national, identity and security” for effective communications by stabilizing the language; and on the other hand, it is to offer norms for institutions to rely on and to measure against individual linguistic behaviors. Thus, “the standard language is equated with standards of linguistic behaviors and educational achievements” (p.87). Thereby, one of the major purposes of creating Standard language is to set up a scoring system, a model or a standard norm in order to measure against all other English language varieties (Jenkins, 2007; 2014, Seidhofer, 2011; 2018). That is to say, standard language also plays a role as gatekeeping for the achievement of education.

However, while native speakers are not required to necessarily speak Standard English in communication within their communities, the variation use of English that is different from Standard English by NNESs is usually considered as defective. As the matter of fact, non-native Englishes are considered as “interlanguages with a range of proficiencies from beginners to the advanced, and the lower the proficiency, the lower the evaluation of the English by both NS and NNS judged” (Jenkins, 2007, p 109). The speakers of Standard English are then regarded as excellent English speakers who speak correct and better English than others. The variations that are different from standard are then taken as signs of failure. Non-native users of English are then perceived as intellectual deficiency because they have failed to meet the “standard” that has been encouraged through formal education. It is obvious that, Standard English is not only a means of communication, or an “idealized” form of English which is superior to all other Englishes, but also “the symbolic possession of a particular community (Widdowson, 2003, p.39)”, which is always combined with social mobility and symbolic value in many people’s perspectives.

Trudgill (1995) demonstrates that Standard English is not a language, an accent, a style, or a register. It is not a style as it can be read both in formal and informal. What’s more, as a register refers to the register of vocabularies for subject matter, Standard English is clearly not a register, either. Therefore, he believes that Standard English is more like an unusual dialect that is different from other English dialects, because it is rather considered as a privileged superior variety, which represents a prestige linguistic norm and more or less, enjoys high social status in each aspect of people’s daily life (Williams 2007). Furthermore, it is even recognized as “unmarked, ‘normal’ languages”...which in turn has fed into and perpetuated the standard language ideology that sees imposed language uniformity via one and only one legitimate standard variety as desirable and beneficial for society” (Seidlhofer, 2018, p.88). In the light of these, Standard English is just an English variety which contains its norms and values shared by members of its own communities, it is unnecessary for speakers of other different communities with different values, norms to believe and conform to.

3.3.2.2. Standard English Ideology

Standard English ideology, as its name implies, not only contains the language itself, but also is ideologically constructed with the notion of standards. It is the assumptions that have gradually been formed internalized in people's mind at the subconscious level on the basis of "things should be done in the 'right' way", and in the case of language, language should be used in the 'correct' way (Milroy & Milroy, 2012, p.1). Similarly, as pointed by Seidholfer (2018, p. 89), "the advocacy of Standard English ideology imposes a set of conditions on correct or proper behavior. These conditions are essentially fixed rules for social conduct established by institutional authority". She further proposes two relevant assumptions that they have been widely believed in Standard English ideology. One refers to "Standard English constitutes English in its entirety, the English language" (p.89). One obvious example, as mentioned by her, was that in most of the English reference books, the norms of the language have usually been on the basis of Standard English. None of the publishers has cared to specify that Standard English could not stand for the general meaning of English. Such facts indicate that the assumption has been deeply accepted and taken for granted. Just as Milroy & Milroy (1999) explain, "what is believed to be the standard language-with the language as a whole and with 'correct' usage in that language, and this notion of correctness has a powerful role in the maintenance of the standard ideology through prescription" (Milroy & Milroy, 1999, p.18).

The other is that Standard English equals to native speaker English (see also Lippi-Green, 1994; Milroy, 1999; Brutt-Griffler, 2002). To be exact, with Standard English ideology, it is assumed that to be able to communicate successfully, it is necessary to conform to native speakers' norm. And it is important to achieve native speakers' competence. Non-conforming to Standard English, then is seen as "incorrect" and "inappropriate", which will lead to failure in communication with English (Jenkins, 2007; Milory, 1999; Bex & Watts, 1999; Labov, 1969). Briefly speaking, Standard English ideology suggests the 'correct' and 'proper' use of Standard native speakers' English. These assumptions are problematic, as SEI suggests that English is perceived as a fixed entity instead of being dynamic and fluid (Milory, 1999; Seidholfer, 2018). By adopting SEI, it is believed that the existence of a fixed standard can be understood by all of its speakers. In fact, in order to catch up with the ever-changing society, languages are always changing to adapt. Although in some circumstances, it is reasonable that certain degrees of stability and fixity are needed, yet, the questions are: who have the right to decide what is referred to as "standard", and whose purposes and

interests does the “standard” should reflect? Why do always the native speakers disregard non-native speakers as their co-owners? (Widdowson, 1994; Lippi-Green, 1994; Jenkins, 2015; Seidhofer, 2011, 2018; etc.) Lippi-Green (1994) further points that “Standard English ideology is part of a greater power construct, a set of social practices on which people depend without close analysis of underlying assumption” (p.166). In the light of this, just as what Widdowson (1994) refers that, an international language is an independent language. It is not the privilege of the native English speaker to make decisions about language standards. Instead, it should belong to any English users, who can adapt and change English in accordance with their communication purpose (Jenkins, 2007, 2015; Seidhofer, 2011; Galloway & Rose, 2015; Cogo & Dewey, 2006).

With the two assumptions discussed above, it is easy to draw the conclusion that the central problem is still the belief in native English. And the belief about native English stands for the proper and correct English. ELF, which has been used by Non-native speakers, on the contrary, is not recognized. As the matter of fact, the varieties of non-native Englishes are still classified under the category of “EFL” (Jenkins, 2006; 2007). ELF phenomenon is still taken as “linguistic phenomenon distinct from EFL” (Jenkins, 2007, p 109). Wang (2012) also mentions that the use of ELF is perceived as interlanguage, which is far away from native English. Cogo & Dewey (2012, p. 38) also suggest the view that ELF speakers are “deficient learners engaging in interlanguage conversation” should be replaced by legitimate ELF users.

3.3.3. The Ownership of English

After discussing Standard English and Standard English Ideology above, the researcher will focus on the ownership of English in this section. As Galloway & Rose (2014) refer that Standard English Ideology is always attached to the issues of the ownership of English belonging to NS of English. Standard English Ideology is formulated on the basis of an assumption that things should be done in the “right” and “correct” way, and linguistic behaviors should be “proper”. Yet, further issues should be considered, e.g. who has the right to decide which is “correct” or “wrong”? Can those “correct” and “proper” English ensure effective communication? And failing to behave “properly” will result in failure in communication? Just as Graddol (1997) says, the vast majority of interactions in English do not get involved with NSs. The majority of communications with English happen among

non-native speakers worldwide. Then why are they still judged according to the native speakers' norms? The legitimacy of their use of Englishes as a lingua franca still remains an issue open to discussions (Widdowson, 1994; Prodromou, 1997; Seidlhofer, 2011; Jenkins, 2014;).

Seidlhofer (2011) argues that the main barrier to the official recognition and to most educational circles is that English is seen as the property of native speakers. The assumption that "English" stands for Native English, and the speakers of native English is the only "sole owners" of English, which is the main factor that hinders the legitimacy recognitions of NNSE. Such an assumption arouses non-native speakers' feeling of "succumbing to the owners" (p55) and tends to rely "on the imposition of arbitrary norms of usage by authority" (Voloshinov 1929 in Wright 2003) in the top-down process of a 'highly political and ideological' language standardization (Voloshinov 1929 in Wright 2003, p.53). Honey (1997, p.42) also believes that it is "an act of empowerment" to arouse people to conform to NS norms. The sort of empowerment provides its people with full access to knowledge and "an assurance of greater authority in their dealings with the world outside their homes in a way which is genuinely liberating". For example, while the language policy makers emphasize that English is a property of all users of different language varieties, they re-conceptualize English with the perspective of English as a Lingua Franca. Thereby, the speakers of standard native English would no doubt gradually lose their privilege in ELF settings. Obviously, the ownership of English is highly related to the legitimate status of all kinds of Englishes that are used by its speakers.

With the development of English as a lingua franca, the ownership of English language does not belong to a specific country any more (Widdowson, 1994; Seidlhofer, 2011). The term "English" does not just stand for native English, or native cultures, such as UK or US cultures, which comes from an inner circle, either (Matsuda, 2003; Baker, 2012). Besides UK and US cultures or any other native cultures, non-native cultures, as the matter of fact, are reflected by it as well. As the development of a language is a never-ending process, it involves in a process of adaptation to capture the ever-changing society. Speakers from non-native speaking countries also have the right to change, adjust and develop it in dealing with the ever-changing world. The notion of standard in Standard English, however, implies that English is perceived as a stable and fixed linguistic entity, which is certainly problematic.

Widdowson (1994) also refers, it is contradictory that while native English speakers, on the one hand, insist that the ownership of English should belong to their countries. And on the other hand, they enjoy the status of English as an international language. According to Widdowson, it is logically unreasonable and impossible for NESs to own all the benefits at the same time. If they tend to insist on their ownership of the language, they should be ready to admit that they are actually disadvantaged monolingual speakers in the intercultural settings, just like any other speakers whose L1 is not English. They should no longer enjoy the conveniences that the current status of English has brought to them. If they want to enjoy the conveniences, they should admit that English is no longer the property of a specific nation, it has developed as a Lingua franca that has been used by non-native speakers all over the world. Therefore, NESs should not only show their understanding and respecting to NNESs and treat them equally, but also acknowledge NNESs' equal rights to adapt to English while using. Besides, as the co-owners of English, they are also in the place to question the dominating status of native speakers' of English. With such a fact, the need of an effective communication that has been perceived by non-native speakers of English also subconsciously accelerates the development of English as a Lingua Franca.

3.4 ELF Awareness in ELT Settings

After discussing language ideologies in ELF research, this section mainly explores what the meaning of ELF awareness is. Generally, language awareness can be explained as “the development in learners of an enhanced consciousness of and sensitivity to the forms and functions of language” (Carter, 2003, p.64). It is traditionally viewed as “a sensitivity to grammatical, lexical or phonological features, and the effect on meaning brought about by the use of different forms” (Hales, 1997, p217). Richards & Rodgers (2001) also mention that researches on language awareness usually focus on its focus-on-form orientation rather than other dimensions.

Even if the fact that recent researches on language awareness have moved from small stretches of discourse to the integrated and literary level, covering beyond the context itself (Carter, 2003), they still have overlooked how English functions in sociolinguist context in

reality by connecting English language with native speakers only. In another word, on the one hand, traditional view about language awareness is still concentrated on the NESs and the use of NS norms with communications by NNESs, despite the fact that English is learned to use in intercultural settings rather than in just English-speaking countries (Jenkins, 2015; Seidlhofer, 2011; Wen, 2012; Wang, 2015b). With such facts, the study of language awareness with the perspective of English as lingua franca, on the other hand, has extended the range of language awareness to a new agenda, by addressing the connection of NNESs identification and their cultural background (Wang, 2015b). In the meanwhile, it also focuses on other non-native cultures and the intercultural communications between them. Simply put, it has challenged “NNES variation from native English hinders intercultural communication”, and proved to language researchers the practicability of NNS norm in intercultural settings (Wang, 2015b, p.96). Given these, in a broad sense, Wang (2015a) demonstrates ELF awareness as a notion that it is used to describe language attitudes indicating that English is played as the role of lingua franca, which is different from the role that English is played as a foreign language due to the globalization of English while the beliefs about English as a foreign language take native competence as its reference. (e.g. Jenkins, 2015; Seidlhofer, 2011). And ‘the challenge to the exclusive reference to native English’ (Wang, 2015a), is as another important factor in ELF awareness.

Similarly in the field of language education, although it becomes clear that ‘ELF raises implications for the ELT classroom, and in the sense that learners can benefit from developing into confident and efficient non-native users English’ (Sifakis, 2017, p.2), a mismatch is revealed between the classroom teaching/learning and the sociolinguistic practices(Jenkins, 2015). And the existing of the mismatch is mostly because of the language education prioritizing native English and native speakers’ ownership of English (Wang, 2015a). English is still taught and learned as a foreign language on the basis of SLA theories, with the purpose of “direct learners towards native-speaker competence” (Seidlhofer, 2011, p.201).

In the light of these facts, Bayyurt & Sifakis (2015) propose a term ELF-aware perspective to integrate ELF in ELT. He further defines that the ELF-aware perspective is ‘essentially a set of principles that can be used to describe teachers’, learners’ and other stakeholders’ beliefs and attitudes about ELF concerns, in the evaluation of established teaching and

testing practices, and in the appraisal and development of activities, tasks, textbooks, curricula, tests, and foreign language policies.' (Sifakis, 2017, p.17). According to him, ELF awareness is a concept that it is completed by a set of attitudes, beliefs and knowledge of ELT stakeholders and ELT products which are related to the issues and concerns in the field of ELF research and which are relevant to the local ELT contexts. Also, because the ELT stakeholders are different, the scope and extent of ELF awareness in ELT settings can be different and change all the time. Attention should be paid to evaluating the engagement of different stakeholders within the construct when evaluating ELF awareness. Thus, According to Sifakis (2017, p. 4-5), three components of ELF awareness are identified as follow:

- a) Awareness of language and language use
- b) Awareness of instructional practice
- c) Awareness of learning

The first component, awareness of language and language use, concerns with stakeholders' awareness of ELF discourse, and the difference between ELF and native speaker English etc. The second and third awareness of instructional practice, and awareness of learning, mainly focus on the engagement between teachers and learners, in terms of teachers' attitudes towards normative, and students' identity of being an ELF user. Wang (2015a) also investigates into Chinese university students' ELF awareness, particularly focusing on language education. In it she identifies three main aspects of ELF awareness, they are:

- a) the sociolinguistic context of language education
- b) the subject of language education
- c) the learner in language education

Based on the above three aspects, she further identifies that, language education is the major influential factor that impacts on students' ELF awareness through language choices. It concerns with 'language education developed the myth of native English', and 'maintained the authority of native English in the use of English' (p.96). Other than language choices, students' language awareness are also impacted by how students perceive their roles and identities in the process of learning and students' reflection and recognition of the gap between sociolinguistic practice and classroom practices. Detailed explanations about each component, as mentioned by Sifakis (2017) and Wang (2015a), will be explored further in

the next section.

3.4.1. Components of ELF Awareness in ELT Settings

3.4.1.1. Sifakis' s Components to ELF Awareness

As for the first component explained by Sifakis (2017), two major issues should be noticed for awareness of language and language use. On the one hand, it requires people to learn how “languaging” and ‘translanguaging’ (Phipps, 2006; Swain, 2006; Garcia & Wei, 2014). That is, whatever the language outputs is considered as right or wrong, good or bad, proficiency or deficiency measuring against native speakers’ norms, it matters with the ability to put language they have acquired to strategic use (Kramsch, 2009; Todeva & Cenoz, 2009). As Swain (2006, p.98) puts it, languaging, “refers to the process of making meaning and shaping knowledge and experience through language”. The ability for languaging cannot be improved by conforming to native speakers norms. On the contrary, it can only inhibit the development of this capability. And to achieve effective communication for multilingual speakers, as Garcia and Wei (2014) refer, the use of linguistic and non-linguistic resources to translanguaging is a process of being aware of ELF. On the other hand, it also requires stakeholders to develop an awareness of their own perception about “normativity, appropriateness, comprehensibility and ownership of English by native and non-native users alike” (Sifakis, 2017, p.5).

The second component involves in teacher-related and textbook-related practice. As discussed in *Chapter 2, Language policy*, teachers’ instructions have a huge impact on students’ decisions about language use. Teachers’ attitudes towards normative, error correctness, error resources, and learners’ needs are central concern according to Sifakis (2017) and Sifakis & Bayyurt (2018) in the awareness of ELF. For example, from the mainstream SLA linguists’ points of view, as Ellis (1997) says, in the process of second language acquisition, learners usually rely on their own language resources. However, it is worth paying attention to that it is because the most reliable and familiar language resources are their own languages. But they are not allowed and not accepted in class. Instead, they are considered as negative transfer, as the resource of errors that the second language learners tend to make. In a word, their adjusting and accommodating of English are not traditionally viewed as proper or correct in using English in SLA points of view. With such a fact, if we look at it in another way, with ELF perspective, traditional views of “error”, as believed by

the mainstream SLA researches, should be considered as possible signs of effective learning. In this alternative ways of learning, native speakers' norm and native English are not viewed as the learning purposes or the only legitimate use of English. Then the teaching objective becomes different, it is much more important to improve individual learners' ability of exploiting linguistic resources, to function in whatever English works for the purpose it is used for. In other words, with perceptive of ELF, teachers should encourage their students to exploit their ability of appropriating, adapting, and accommodating the language input for strategic use. And through the process, learners will learn how "languaging" (Phipps, 2006; Swain, 2006) and make meanings.

It is similar to textbook-related practice. Learners' awareness of language and language use are not only impacted by teachers' practice, but also implicitly reinforced through the use of textbook and other classroom materials. One of the typical examples is that most of the teaching and learning reference books in the market are still NS based (Jenkins, 2007). And through the use of such NS based references, it promotes their readers' assumptions about the English and ELT with a "broadly traditional NS-normative perspective" (Jenkins 2007, p 122). Although most of times the authors don't make any negative judgments directly about ELF towards its accent, grammar, and linguistic feature, they tend to choose the words or phrases which contain negative meanings (Jenkins, 2007). The authors tend to use the positive words to describe ENL, such as "standard", "correct", and "acceptable" etc., while ELF has generally been described as "deficient ENL", "imperfect", and "incomplete" ones (Jenkins, 2007, p119). It is true that the authors don't try to manage public opinions, but such an act consciously or unconsciously suggests to their readers the authors own opinions. They are "pretexts in both sense of word" (Widdowson 2004, cited in Jenkins 2007, p.122) with "ulterior motive" (Jenkins 2007, p 122), more or less, disparage ELF. As a result, the embodied language ideology of learning references, e.g. NS-normative perspective is reinforced through the textbook-related practice, which hinders stakeholders' awareness of ELF.

The third component, awareness of learning, focuses on individuals' identity of being ELF users in the ELF settings and outer sociolinguistic context (Seidlhofer, 2011; Vettorel, 2013). In the traditional view of ELT, it is usually believed that how a language is used in communication depends on the language learned in class. There are two separated processes.

Yet, with ELF perspective, the process of learning and using English cannot be moved away from each other. Language learners are actually the language users at the same time while they are adjusting and accommodating their language use in the reference with their own language resources. It suggests that it is effective to learn while they are using the language at the same time in order to make the full use of the resources to exploit potential of the language to make meanings. For instance, students are learning English as a foreign language in class, they will become ELF users when they are communicating with English in the outer sociolinguistic context. Wang (2015a) also emphasizes the focus on learners' agency and their critical engagement, and furthermore, she refers it is important for "understanding how learners enact their identity in the learning process in response to the context they are situated in" (p. 93). As Preston (2005) cited in Jenkins (2007, p.197) believes, "learners should be allowed to develop their personal selves as they learn a new language". Thus, with ELF perspective, it can liberate learners' way of using English in many ways, e.g., conformity or non-conformity to native speakers' norms which is not particularly required. Therefore it suggests that learner-centered ideology should be noticed in teaching in order to encourage learners' initiative and autonomy (Seidlhofer, 2011). However, learners' adjusting and accommodating are usually considered as ineffective in the current ELT approaches. As believed by SLA theories in the current ELT settings, adjusting and accommodating are usually taken as errors that teachers tend to correct or suppress it in their process of teaching.

3.4.1.2. Wang's Three Aspects of ELF Awareness

Wang (2015a) also conducts a research about Chinese students' ELF awareness and how to raise their awareness of ELF. Three main aspects have been examined and emphasized by her, e.g. the sociolinguistic context of language education, the subject of language education, and the learners in language education (p.90). She further finds that language education appears to be the major resource of language attitudes that plays a role as 'interface between linguistic realities and language attitudes' (p. 94). And language attitudes, in this case, concerns with ELF awareness of Chinese students.

The first aspect, sociolinguistic context of language education, refers to taking into account not only the classroom teaching, but also the outer sociolinguistic realities so that one can catch up with the ever-changing phenomena. Especially in response to the emergence of English as a lingua franca as a sociolinguistic phenomenon that

is different from traditional role that English plays as a foreign language, the ways of using, understanding and conceptualizing English is also different (Jenkins 2006; Cogo & Dewey 2012, Mauranen & Ranta, 2009). Thus, ‘it deserves deliberation where the focus should be directed to in respect of the larger social world’ (Wang, 2015a, p.91).

In terms of the second aspect, the subject of language education concerns with the understanding of “English”. It concerns with ‘the diversity of English resulted from its lingua franca role’ and ‘the fluidity of English in playing the role of lingua franca’, as the two features of ELF are relevant to the goal of English education. On the one hand, it further requires the users of ELF to understand English in its plural form, and to re-think the ownership of English. On the other hand, it makes the use of English on the basis of their own purposes by adaption and accommodations. This is similar to Sifakis’s (2017) first component of ELF awareness: awareness of language and language use, that is, emphasizing on the understanding of the language and discourse, and focusing on the process of ‘languaging’ and ‘translanguaging’ to make meanings in practice. The two features, as mentioned by Wang (2015a), require non-conformity to the mainstream’s beliefs in native speakers’ norms and challenge the NES ownership of English to claim NNESs right of changing and adapting English.

In the third aspect, learner factor, she emphasizes that the options other than native English should be offered to L2 learners as their goal of learning English in class. It is problematic that native English is considered as the only effective language and native speakers of English are the major interlocutor that L2 learners would align with in communication. L2 learners thus should be aware that the existing of other language choices suits different contexts of language use more than native English available to them. Besides, she proposes that learners’ identities to the context are also involved in this aspect in investigating into ELF awareness.

To sum up, both Sifakis (2017) and Wang (2015a) propose a number of components or aspects of ELF awareness. Firstly, they both believe that the understanding of the language is compulsory. Secondly, both of them think it is important to take the outer sociolinguistic realities into consideration. Thirdly, it is important to be able to adjust and adopt the way

ELF users use English to achieve effective communications. Achieving so, the concerns with native speakers' competence and the ownership of English should be re-considered. In addition, the learners' identities, in terms of how they are positioning themselves in learning, are emphasized by both of them. And it makes clear that both of them suggest that EFL should not be replaced, but it should allow space to offer ELF users as another option for L2 learners to suit the different roles that English plays in the different contexts. Yet, although common grounds are made by Sifakis (2017) and Wang (2015a), what they emphasize is obviously different. Sifakis (2017) takes 'teachers as a point of departure' (p.4), paying more attention to discussing awareness of instruction practices, e.g. teacher-related and textbook-related practices. He also suggests adopting the ESP approach to ELF awareness and the launch of ELF-aware teacher education. Wang (2015a) tends to focus on learners' attitudes towards ELF, their awareness of ELF and language education impacted on ELF awareness through language choices. In a word, Sifakis (2017) lays emphasis on teachers, while Wang (2015a) focuses on learners in demonstrating different components of ELF awareness.

3.4.2. Implications for ELF-oriented Classroom

After discussing the components and aspects of ELF awareness, the questions of how to raise ELF awareness and through what ways that ELF-oriented classroom can be created are brought to debate, as it is not straightforward to adapt to ELF concerns in the current ELT classes. One of the most obvious issues that has hindered stakeholders' awareness of ELF is concerned with teaching and learning towards native speakers' competence (Seidlhofer, 2011; Jenkins, 2014; Wen, 2012). Even if recent studies has paid attention to emphasizing on improving ones' language proficiency in ELT classes, the perception about language proficiency hasn't moved away from measuring against native speakers' norms, for example, the suggestion that "complexity, accuracy and fluency" should be the three components of acquiring the second language (Housen & Kuiken, 2009). Yet, defining accuracy, according to Housen & Kuiken (2009, p.461), is "the ability to produce "error-free speech"; and emphasizing fluency is in the reference with the ability to produce L2 with native-like English. In a word, the current ELT classes that are taught in the guidance of SLA theories are to improve learners' English proficiency in conforming to native-speakers' norms rather than proficiency in using English for communication. Their self-achievement is then evaluated on the basis of how close they are native-like (Jenkins, 2015; Wen, 2012; Seidlhofer, 2011). In this case, the more they conform to native speakers' norms, the more they are considered as proficient English learners. The view of proficiency, as believed in

current ELT classes, refers to the proficiency of achieving standards through formal education, and particularly the evidence in measurement of assessment (Seidlhofer, 2011). Dewey (2009, p.79) also makes his point for current ELT approaches, the standard of success or not for language assessment depends on conforming to standard norms.

It is similar to the discussion about different teaching methods and approaches for ELT classes, such as Communicative Language Teaching (CLT), Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), Task-based Language Learning (TBLL) etc. No matter what kinds of teaching approaches listed above have been heavily debated, difficulties of learning and teaching from teachers and students remain unsolved. Wen (2012) points out the reasons of the two major factors. One refers to “traditional native-speakers based concepts of EFL have been so deeply rooted and it takes time for them to be changed”, and the other concerns with “some teachers, although they are in support of ELF conceptually, they do not know what to do” (p.373). Seidlhofer (2011, p.201) also refers it is because, firstly, for the majority ELT teachers, “the main knowledge-base and point of reference have not moved away from the perspective of English which is taught as a foreign language” (p.201); secondly, English has been perceived as “the language used by inner circle speakers and codified in grammars, dictionaries, and textbooks remains, by and large, unquestioned as the only legitimate object of study and target of learning” (p.79). It is obvious that, what ELT believes is not only to be nativelike in linguistic performance, but also to accept the superior status of native speakers as distributors (Jenkins, 2015).

Given the major factors that hinder stakeholders’ awareness of ELF, traditional conceptualization of English is “outdated and needs to be reconsidered in order to capture the changing phenomenon” (Wang, 2015b). Stakeholders of ELT classes should be, on the one hand, acknowledge that native speakers’ norms are not the compulsory conditions for an effective learning, and it is not the only valid English, either. The primary aims of learning a language is mainly learning to manage the language and make it work to meet individual’s purpose of communication. Thus, students are not ENL learners only, they are acted actually as agencies to integrally make good use all of the resources available to them to adjust to the language, which is actually ELF while using, whether they are linguistic or non-linguistic resources, e.g. their previous life experiences. And on the other hand, ELF is not the deficient EFL or ENL. ELF is an emerging sociolinguistic phenomenon that is happening as a result

of the ever-changing society. Teaching and learning objectives should then change as well. This is in accordance with the first and third components of ELF awareness, as proposed by Sifakis (2017, p.2). e.g., stakeholders should be aware of ELF discourse as well as ‘of the elements that differentiate it from native speaker English’. And they should also be aware of being ELF users rather than ENL learners. It also complies with Wang’s (2015a) three aspects of ELF awareness, such as paying attention to the outer sociolinguistic reality, and reconstruction of ‘the thing that is called English’ (Seidlhofer, 2011, p.1).

Yet, being aware of what is meant by ELF, and the difference between ELF and the traditional ELT are just a starting point. It is far away from enough to raise ELF awareness to replace NS-centered ELT classrooms with ELF-oriented ones. Dewey (2009) mentions, on the one hand, ‘ELF-oriented classrooms emphasize context dependently, locally determined and interactional relevant, while the current ELT classrooms emphasize that linguistic heritage determines level of competence’ (p.9). Traditional ELT approaches, on the other hand, downplay the performance of a language in which system and competence are seen as primary. And the variation is seen as ‘deviation’ from ENL and linguistic deficiency. Accordingly, ELF-oriented classes should highlight the performativity nature of a language, which actualizes its primary, heightens variability and linguistic diversity. And the major focus is to be able to be equipped with communicative strategies to accommodate for effective communications in the globalizing world. It is to “make use of the only language shared by all interactants, the Lingua Franca, in order to achieve the fullest communication possible” (Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 17). Just as what Dewey (2012) suggests, teachers should be aware of some sociolinguistic issues arising with the spread of English, such as the ownership of English, English as a global language, and ‘a critical awareness of the unsuitability’ of the NES-NNES dichotomy (Dewey 2012, p150). It is also teachers’ responsibility to replace their learners “stereotypes and prejudices” about English by offering “insights into how a language works” in intercultural environments (Galloway & Rose, 2014, p.9) and encourage them to “discover language for themselves” (Hawkins 1984 cited in Bolitho et al, 2003, p.251). Sifakis (2014, p.323) also claims that it is important to include “special knowledge, skills and attitude” in use of English internationally based on the understanding of “current realities.”

Cogo & Dewey (2012) further summarize a number of implications for ELF for teachers to pay attention to. Firstly they take global diversity of English into account instead of just focusing on native English in applying curriculum. Secondly, effective communication should be emphasized rather than emphasizing on lexical and grammatical accuracy, on the basis of standard. Thirdly, no attention should be paid to error corrections, sociolinguistic reality should bear in mind. And lastly, it is important to develop learners' ability to put strategic use of English in communication in intercultural settings. This also complies with the second component of ELF awareness, as discussed in the previous section, teachers' attitudes towards normativity, error correctness, error resources, and learners' needs are the central concerns of teacher-related practice to be aware of ELF. Jenkins & Leung (2014) focus on language testing, and propose that "native speaker" in traditional ELT should be replaced by the term "competent user" in ELF. Bowles & Cogo (2015) also suggest that an ELF-informed set of teaching and learning materials, approaches, language awareness and teacher education programs should be established if they want to bring together ELF and ELT. Sifakis (2017) suggests the use of ESP approach to raise ELF awareness in ELT classes, as the way that English is perceived in the definitions of ESP and ELF is similar. Wang (2015a), on the one hand, also mentions that the major gap between current ELT and ELF is 'English lies in the isolation of learning from the world outside the classroom' (p.101), and it is teachers' responsibility to address the issues that have emerged in reality. On the other hand, she suggests learners' needs should be taken into account and further purposes the term 'imagined community' as one of the implication for understanding ELF identities in raising students' ELF awareness.

3.5 Conclusion

To sum up, as English has been used as a global language in all aspects of people's daily life all over the world, it actually functions as a lingua franca in intercultural settings. As a sociolinguistic phenomenon which emerges rapidly, it is necessary to pay attention to the meaning of ELF and how the emergence of ELF impacts on the individual speakers' language awareness. This chapter has explored the most relevant issues that have been discussed frequently in the field of ELF, e.g. the dichotomy of native and non-native; the ownership of English, Standard English and Standard English Ideology etc. While English has been used much more frequently among non-native speakers than it has been used among native speakers, English has still been perceived as the property of native speakers'. Native

speakers' norms are set as the standard, "good" and the most "proper" English, and further it has been learned and taught as the legitimate one. Thus, in order to fit into the role that English intends to play in the highly developed international status, it is necessary to advocate English to be reconceptualised as a Lingua Franca.

In this case, in addition to discussing ELF at the conceptual level, this chapter has also discussed the major challenges of being aware of ELF in educational settings with the comparisons to the mainstream SLA theories. A number of features and focuses have been discussed in terms of traditional EFL and ELF, in which 'towards native speakers' competence' and 'the belief about NES ownership of English' have been found to be the two major gaps that have hindered classroom participants' ELF awareness. More attention has also been paid to exploring the implications for improving teachers and learners' ELF awareness to create ELF-oriented classrooms. As for learners, on the one hand, they need to be confident to adjust and accommodate their ELF usage. On the other hand, they should focus on strategic use for communication instead of focusing on forms and functions. As for teachers, as they are playing the role as experts in front of the class, their attitudes towards a language, their decisions about what to teach, in which ways, will, more or less, impact on students' language preferences, and learning outcomes. Thereby, with ELF perspective, attention should be paid to students' learning process instead of production; the traditional views of learners' "interlanguage" or "errors" should be then taken as features and signs of effective learning; and they should be aware of what is actually happening outside of the classroom to capture the ever-changing society.

After exploring the issues related to language ideologies and ELF awareness in particular in this chapter, and the discussion about the three components of language policy in Chapter 2, the theoretical framework of this thesis has been explained and analysed. Bearing these relevant theories and issues in mind, in the following chapters, an empirical study of this PhD project will be presented, analysed and evaluated with the focus on ELF awareness in language acquisition policy and classroom participants' language ideologies and language practices.

Chapter 4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters, the theoretical frame work of this research is addressed by evaluating both the top-down and bottom-up effects of language policy with a particularly focus on interactions among components of language policy according to Spolsky's (2009; 2012) framework. Meanwhile, Shohamy's (2006) theory of mechanisms is also considered to evaluate through a variety of devices (curricula, classroom teaching practices, teachers, textbooks and tests etc.) that the *de facto* policy is created and affected. Therefore, based on the previous explorations on language policy, the aim of this PhD project is to find out:

1. How is English explicitly and/or implicitly represented in language policy? To what extent is the language policy reflecting the role of ELF?
2. How is language policy implemented in classroom participants' language practice?
3. What are the classroom participants' perceptions about English and how do they engage with the implementation of language policy in practice?

In order to answer the research questions, the research is designed to consist of document analysis, semi-structured interviews, focus groups and classroom observations to triangulate the methods and data. Firstly, the official documents of current English education policies, textbooks, learning materials will be investigated into discovering the embodied language beliefs and ideologies. Then, semi-structured interviews and focus groups will be organized from teachers and students to find out their explicit ideologies and perceptions of language rules. Lastly, through the classroom observations, policy implementations of certain language rules and individuals' implicit language attitudes will be paid attention to.

The table displayed below shows how each research method is related to each research question and different datasets.

Table 4.1. Research Method, Research Question and Datasets

Methodology	Research Questions	Datasets
Document Analysis	R1	Requirements (2007); textbooks and learning materials;
Classroom Observations	R2	ELT classes for 1 st and 2 nd year UG general major students
	R3	
Interviews		Teachers of ELT classes for 1 st and 2 nd year UG general major students
Focus Groups	R2 & R3	Teachers of ELT classes for 1 st and 2 nd year UG general major students

4.2 Theoretical Considerations

Methodology refers to how we gain knowledge about the world and how we collect research data (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). The methodology that is applied is embedded in the ontological and epistemological assumption that it underlies the research. Different methods and approaches that researchers used in qualitative or quantitative research respectively are fundamental to research results and are underlined by different assumptions. In light of this, before carrying out this research, there is a need to not only learn the knowledge of certain methods or approaches, but also identify and internalize the underlying theories or assumptions (Hennink, Hutter, & Bailey, 2010).

Therefore, as Creswell (2009) refers, when considering the design of a research, it is necessary to include one's philosophical orientations as each methodological approach is different from certain theoretical assumptions and is always consistent with their philosophical positions. It is primary to clarify the philosophical position regarding to the research aims and questions, and the range of methods should be considered, with the most appropriate choice being matched to the aims of the research (Ormston et al, 2014). In a word, it is necessary to have "congruence between ontology, epistemology and methodology" (O'reilly & Kiyimba, 2015, p.2).

4.2.1. Being Qualitative

When conducting researches in the field of social science, positivist and interpretive approaches are the two mostly referred paradigms (Bryman, 2015), in which interpretive paradigms usually underlie qualitative research. Interpretive paradigms are concentrated on the way in which human beings make sense of their subjective reality and attach meaning to it (Krauss, 2005). Different from positivism, the interpretive approach seeks to explain, predict and understand subjective meanings that people are attached to their experiences, which is often referred as “emic” perspective and is also considered as “inter-subjective” rather than focusing on facts (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Prasad, 2005, p.14). Just as Snape and Spencer (2003) mention, qualitative researchers are eager to understand experiences subjectively meaningful and the meaning of social actions within the social construct.

In detail, interpretive approaches are recognized as the following aspects. They are believed that the social reality is constructed as people’s experiences occurred in the social and cultural contexts (Fossey, Harvey, McDermott, & Davidson, 2002). It is acknowledged that there are multiple perspectives on reality existing as each perspective is subjectively linked to their personal experiences (Jackson & Mazzei, 2011). Therefore, it is believed that it is important to observe and understand individuals’ life experiences and perceptions in order to understand the social reality (Snape and Spencer, 2003). In addition, researchers also recognize that the research data are influenced by values and beliefs of individual for participants and researchers themselves.

Accordingly, as Denzin & Lincoln (2005) mention, qualitative research is “studying things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings that people bring to them” (p.3). Qualitative research, as discussed above, can be useful for explaining a wide range of complex issues. Particularly, it is useful for understanding behaviors and attitudes or beliefs of participants. In this research, by using qualitative research methods, the in-depth nature of qualitative research can offer opportunities to gain in-depth explanations of the embodied perspectives, ideologies and attitudes towards individual participants’ language use of the research context. More importantly, “qualitative research is most suitable for addressing “why” questions to explain and understand issues or “how” questions to describe processes or behaviors” (Hennink,

Hutter & Bailey, 2011, p8). Other than that, it is also a common qualitative approach to explore new and sensitive topics (Flick, 2011; 2014). As the research aims to find out the interrelations between language policies, language practice and classroom participant's language ideologies in both top-down and bottom-up manners, individuals' language perspectives and attitudes towards English education policies, learning materials, testing system and English that they are teaching/learning will be evaluated effectively by adopting qualitative research methods rather than quantitative research methods.

4.2.2. Triangulation

Triangulation is seen as a research strategy that is evidence-based to fields. It involves in the issues which are employed as instruments to assess empirical study. More importantly, it can also be used as a way to manage validity and promote quality in the research (Flick, 2007). Simply, put, it provides a systematic way of extending "scope, depth, and consistency in methodological proceedings and thus put findings on a more solid foundation" (Denzin, 1989, p.236). One of the most obvious features of triangulation is the combination of various methods and approaches in one qualitative research. Triangulation is generally considered as "the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon" (Denzin, 1970, p.297). Kimchi & Stevenson (1991) extend the types of triangulation to include data analysis triangulation, which involves in triangulating not only methods, but also triangulating data, investigators and theories. Data triangulation suggests the use of different sources of data collected with various methods. It allows the research to reach a maximum of theoretical profit from using the same method (Flick, 2007). Investigator triangulation means a number of researchers, such as interviewers or observers who are employed to avoid biases from the individual researcher. By triangulating theory, Denzin (1970, p.303) indicates that it refers to "approaching the data with multiple perspectives and hypotheses in mind". A wide range of theoretical perspectives then could be used as supportive arguments to assess the utility. It prevents researchers from relying too heavily on their preliminary assumptions and ignoring being objective.

Triangulation of methods can be divided into two types: between-method and within-method (Flick, 2007). In qualitative research, within-method triangulation mainly refers to combining different methodological approaches with different aims and theoretical backgrounds in one qualitative method. But it does not go beyond the scope of one method,

for example, from combining questions and narratives in semi-structured interviews approaches to a specific issue (Kvale, 2008). Between-method triangulation refers to, on the one hand, adopting multiple methods in qualitative research, and on the other hand, combining different qualitative and quantitative methods.

Nevertheless, methodological triangulation aims to validate field research (Denzin, 1970). The features of within-method triangulation are systematically combined with different approaches in one method. The results collected from within-method triangulation will be the existence and connection of different sorts of data. And its major aim is to complement or extend potential knowledge of two or more approaches systematically (Flick, 2007). The use of between qualitative method triangulation in qualitative research is a very common strategy to achieve a comprehensive, reliable and consistent explanation of research questions (Flick, 2014). It provides ‘a confluence of evidence that breeds credibility’ (Eisner, 2017, p. 110), which creates the opportunities to let the scholars authenticate their discoveries collected through diverse methods and approaches. Moreover, it offers complementary result that is a broader, more comprehensive or even complete image of the issue under study (Flick, 2007). For example, ‘interview data helped focus specific participant observation activities, document analysis helped generate new interview questions, and participant observation at community events provided opportunities to collect documents’ (Goldstein & Reiboldt, 2004, p. 246). That is to say, triangulation not only can be used to examine the validity of the result that is obtained from each single method, but it is also an effective strategy for “enriching and completing knowledge and towards transgressing the epistemological potential of the individual method” (Flick, 1998, p.230). At the same time, triangulation should produce knowledge at different levels, which means insights that go beyond the knowledge made possible by one approach and thus contribute to promoting quality in researches.

All in all, Denzin sees triangulation strategy as useful in “overcoming the methodological limitations of single method” (1989, p.236), and believes that “the goal of multiple triangulation is a fully-grounded interpretive research approach.” (p. 246). On the bright side, it allows the researchers to conduct more than two methodological approaches to enhance the comprehensive results. It also could be used to avoid potential claims based on simple and inadequate opinions, approaches or preconceptions and decrease the influence of

possible prejudice existing in individual case (Patton, 1990). As for the limitations, compared with common single methodological research, extra tasks and activities are usually required to be done by researchers to apply triangulation. Particularly challenging can be divergent results coming from different methods demanding additionally theoretical or empirical explanation (Denzin, 1989; Flick, 2007). Therefore, in order to gain a more comprehensive and valid understanding of research questions, triangulation of methodology and data with qualitative approach will be considered in this research. Meanwhile, with such between-method triangulation of this research used, the combination of different methodological approaches should be focused on clearly and distinctly between each method to maximize the advantages of each method.

4.3 Research Design

As explained above, when considering how to carry out a research, it is primary to think about what kinds of research questions this research are seeking to answer to and which type of the target participants can be the most representative ones of the research, and then to evaluate which research method could be used to sample data as close as possible to the target subjects. Therefore, in order to evaluate more insights into implicit and explicit attitudes towards individuals' language beliefs about teachers and students in the Chinese higher education context, a combination of different qualitative methods will be used, namely, document analysis, interviews, focus groups and classroom observations. Each of them will be discussed individually in the following sections in detail.

4.3.1. Participants

Before discussing research methods, I will firstly talk about the selection of participants as it is preliminary to consider who will be able to provide the most relevant and detailed information on the study topic in order to make good use of the research methods to generate data effectively. Especially when this research is designed to be qualitative to triangulate the methods, the source of participants can be various. It is rather important to carefully plan the recruiting process to ensure the quality of participants. Therefore, in order to recruit research participants in the most appropriate way, it is necessary to identify the features of participants that are usually recruited in qualitative research. Meanwhile it requires the researcher to be able to distinguish the types of participants who are needed in qualitative and quantitative

researches to increase the efficiency of participants' recruitment work.

Unlike quantitative research, first of all, only a small number of sample participants are needed to carry out qualitative research. By saying a small number of participants, as mentioned by Ritchie and Lewis (2003), qualitative research usually contains no more than 50 in-depth interviews and 20 focus groups. Instead of a large number of participants recruited in quantitative study, the focus in qualitative research is on how to make a good use of the small number of research participants to justify and evaluate proposed research questions. Therefore, random selection is not relevant to qualitative research (Patton, 2005; Burke, 1997). Moreover, it requires researchers to select participants wisely. Efforts should be made in defining participants with purpose of who is having relevant background information, rich experiences and knowledge of the research topic (Creswell, 2007; Patton, 2005; Devers & Frankel, 2000). In another word, participant requirement in qualitative research is considered as a fundamental stage as it will provide researchers with "particular characteristics or experiences that can contribute to a greater understanding of phenomenon studied" (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011, p.85). Furthermore, the number of participants in qualitative research is not necessarily always defined clearly. It can be flexible as long as saturation is reached where information that is collected begins to repeat itself (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

There are many ways to recruit participants in qualitative research, such as convenience sampling, theoretical sampling, gatekeepers, formal and informal networks, snowball, advertisements and research-based recruitment. In this study, snowball, gatekeepers, convenience, and theoretical samplings were selected. Snowball can be understood as a method of chain sampling (Biernacki, & Waldorf, 1981; Noy, 2008). It is useful for recruiting participants with similar specific characters. By using snowball strategy, it allows researchers to recruit participants with common characters easily by asking one participant to find someone they know with certain commonalities. However, one of the most obvious disadvantages of adopting snowball is that most of the participants are linked with each other, and usually come from the same community. As they are connected with each other, interview process and contents may be prior noticed to other participants, which cause researchers to gain prepared answers instead of more reflective answers from the participants. In this case, to avoid being too single-faceted, it will be helpful to have multiple

stating points in snowball (Heckathorn, 2011; Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981).

A gatekeeper refers to who of the field has the authority or is recognized by the members of community. Approaching to the gatekeeper, one of the major advantages is that it allows the researcher to get access to most of the field. Further up, the gatekeepers' knowledge about members of the community provides researchers with a lot of convenience for the researcher to gain background information when selecting participants. As for the drawback, it is always the case that gatekeepers tend to recommend participants that they want the researchers to recruit (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011). The strategies are, one the one hand, ensuring that participants meet the eligibility criteria for the study, and clarifying whether the participants are volunteering out of curiosity only, or out of gatekeepers' instruction. On the other hand, it is necessary to hold a debriefing meeting with the gatekeepers once field work finishes (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011). It is always good to keep a long and trusted relationship with them.

As convenience sampling is usually adopted together with snowball sampling, it benefits the researchers to "save time and money and spare the researchers the effort of finding less amenable participants" (Cohen, et al, 2011, p.230). Therefore, in the research, I adopted convenience sampling as my starting point by asking my contacts who were working at the research sites as my initial participants. By adopting snowballing, as my initial participants, my friends started to introduce their students and colleagues as the following participants to my research. As some of them were working as teachers or lecturers and some of them were in administrative team, the sampling types then changed to involve in both snowball and gatekeepers sampling. Snowball sampling provided me with participants who were sharing commonalities, similar backgrounds and experiences. However, in case of being too single-faceted, multiple stating points were chosen to conduct snowball afterwards with the help of gatekeepers sampling. Gatekeepers or people who had authority to give permission to enter into the field were also introduced by some of my contacts. It was effective for me to gain information about members of teaching fellow, course information, courseware, curricula, and most of the classrooms sites. It was also helpful for me to identify different starting points for snowball sampling. At the same time, to ensure that participants were selected eligibly and trustworthily, I invited gatekeepers to attend the first several classroom observations together, and gave them brief updating regularly to foster long term

relationship. Besides, theoretical sampling were also adopted throughout the process of selecting the participants, as it helps to specify research purpose during the changes in sampling types where participants become more and more relevant to the research purpose. Just as Flick (2009) mentions, it allows the researchers to narrow down or increase the number of potential participants, as well as contributes to the research by developing emerging theories.

Through the strategies of participants recruiting listed above, two groups of participants were recruited to conduct the research (see *Table 4.3*). Teacher participants were all Chinese ELT teachers from *College English Department*, who were specialized in teaching English for the general major students at undergraduate level. And to gain the most comprehensive insights, the teacher participants were selected based on the length of their teaching experiences, their ages, titles, and their positions at the workplace. Student participants were the first and second year non-English-major Chinese university undergraduate students at average aged about 20s. All of the student participants had six years of English learning experience in ELT classrooms from the secondary education. The reason why I only chose the first and the second year students was that for general major students, English was only taught as compulsory subjects to them at their first and second years of undergraduate study only in all of the three universities.

Table 4.3 Composition of the participants

Groups	Participants	Sampling	Sites	Number	Methodology
Group One	Teachers	Convenience Snowball Gatekeepers	University A.B.C	Around 24	Observations & Interviews
Group Two	Students	Convenience Snowball Gatekeepers Theoretical	University A.B.C	Around 30	Focus groups

All of the strategies were adopted to recruit participants to conduct classroom observations, interviews and focus groups. I conducted classroom observations at the beginning by asking my initial participants, and then adopted snowballing and gatekeepers to continue. Interviews and focus groups with teachers and students from observed classes were held afterwards. Through observing classroom performance of both teachers and students, and their reacting and implementing to certain language policies, theoretical sampling was also adopted to help the researcher to narrow down the students participants and selected the most relevant ones to organize focus groups. The participants of focus groups were selected based on two considerations. Firstly, it was concerned with students' classroom performances and its relevance to the research purposes. Secondly, in response to issues that had emerged from interviews with the teachers, their students were also considered to be recruited as potential participants for focus groups. In addition, the group composition of each focus group was also considered. On the one hand, participants of each focus group were all selected from the same big lecture classes to ensure that they had the same degree of shared experience of the discussion topic (Bloor, Frankland, & Thomas, 2000). On the other hand, they were also selected based on how much they were familiar with each other, because the level of acquaintance would have different effect on the dynamic discussions (Hennink, 2007). The detail of participants' information for interviews, classroom observations and focus groups would be explained later in *Chapter 6, 7 and 8 Qualitative Findings from Interview, Focus Groups and Classroom Observations*.

4.3.2. Document Analysis

May (2001, p.176) refers “documents, read as the sedimentations of social practices, have the potential to inform and structure the decisions which people make on a daily and longer-term basis.” Documents are also referred to as “social facts” that members of society are produced, shared and used in socially organized ways (Atkinson & Coffey, 1997, p.47). Documents therefore can be seen as a method for knowing and understanding socially constructed phenomena and practice, norms, beliefs of members of social community in the context.

In terms of document analysis, the major focus, as mentioned by (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011), involves in: firstly, it is how to conceptualize the relation between explicit content, implicit meaning, and the context of functions and the use of the documents; and secondly,

it is how to take these relations into account in the interpretation of the documents. Simply put, in document analysis, it is not only background context information and explicit policy statements but also investigating into underlying meanings of textural information that need to be evaluated in order to gain understanding to develop empirical knowledge (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Besides, the same as other analytic methods in qualitative research, analyzing data collected through documents allows researchers to capture relevant themes through data-driven materials at the very beginning stage of analyzing data. Relevant information written into documents may inspire the researcher to investigate into some questions and notice situations as part of the research. Merriam (1988) also points out, 'documents of all types can help the researcher uncover meanings, develop understandings, and discover insights relevant to the research problems' (p. 118).

Documents can be read in terms of intended meanings through their narrative structures. In doing so, it is possible to adopt qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis approach (Bowen, 2009; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). In this sense, the process of analyzing documents involves in reading, identifying, coding, and synthesizing relevant information contained in documents (Coffey, 2014). It may start with evaluating the frequency of words, phrases or other elements or characteristics, indexing and coding data to identify the key themes and thus generate theoretical categories and identify patterns. As documents depend upon particular uses of language and forms, it might be written to conform to various genres, in various styles, structures and languages. What's more, it employs visual signs, literary devices and other symbols to present and display meanings. In the meantime, a language does not merely describe events or a state of affairs, and it also creates or performs them. The researchers can therefore learn a lot about cultural settings by paying particular attention to language genres, structures, registers and forms.

For this research, I adopted document analysis as a starting point to first investigate into the official document of current English education policy, namely, *College English curriculum Requirements (2007)*. By reading the document, I identified initial themes that I wish to investigate further into classroom observations, interviews and focus groups through data-driven approaches. I focused on not only the Chinese version of *Requirements (2007)*, but also the officially published English version. It offered me insights into embraced language beliefs or ideologies by focusing on the different ways that language policies are understood,

translated, described and interpreted. During the months, I also extended the data sources to not only the official documents, but also university website pages, textbooks and teaching materials, such as PowerPoint slides, courseware, teachers' lesson plans, exam papers and any other relevant documents etc. Both explicit textual contents and implicit extended meanings were paid attention to by noticing the discourses, language forms and the frequency of words or phrases.

Other than the *Requirements (2007)*, the *Examination Syllabus for CET Level 4 & 6*, which was published in response to the *Requirements (2007)*, an updated version of language policy, *College English Teaching Guide (2016)* were also collected as the supportive documents to gain an overview of ideological changes or shifts. As documents can be evaluated systematically, any changes in different periods of time are traceable, which allows the researchers to be able to compare such changes and differences over time periods (Bowen, 2009). Take the official documents of the government as example, any changes, to some extent, may suggest an ideological shift over times with various factors. In this case, efforts that have been made to implement and adjust to those differences and changes could also be used as a supplementary information or knowledge to explain research questions.

It is worth mentioning that, the combination of document analysis with other qualitative methods as a means of triangulation is one of the common strategies for carrying out qualitative research (Bowen, 2009). Information and insights derived from documents can be valuable additions to a knowledge based on data collected through other methods and can be analyzed as a way to verify findings or corroborate the evidence from other sources. In this way, the combination of document analysis with teacher interviews, student focus groups and classroom observations were adopted for this research, which will be explained later in the next few sections.

4.3.3. Interview

Generally, an interview can be defined as a one-to-one conversation with a specific purpose. Interviewers and interviewees co-create knowledge and meanings in the interview settings and thereby co-construct reality (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011). In the field of qualitative research, an interview is used as a method of data collection through 'a special kind of

knowledge-producing conversation”. As a “two-way process”, an interview allows interviewers to interact with the interviewees, and develops ‘a meaning-making partnership’ between interviewers and their respondents’ (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006, p.18) so as to facilitate a more probing investigation than a questionnaire.

Kvale (1996) proposes that there are a series of advantages of qualitative research interview. Firstly, interviews usually focus on individual participants, about their experiences, behaviors, perceptions and perspectives etc. As Kvale (1996) points out, qualitative research interview is very useful in knowing and understanding the themes from participants’ perspectives. To be more exact, in-depth interviews might be conducted to identify the experiences, personal stories of participants; their motivations for making decisions and certain behaviors; their feelings, perspectives, emotions, beliefs and attitudes towards certain issues, items or persons etc. In this research, interview questions which are related to personal life experience are relevant to the research topic, as discussed in Chapter 2, it is related to classroom participants’ language ideologies and attitude towards ELF, as individuals’ language learning and using experience will impact on their language choice and further on the policy implementation. Thus, interviews were decided as one of the instruments of this research.

Secondly, Kvale (1996) mentions that a qualitative research from the interviews seeks to cover at both a factual and a meaning level. It is important to pay attention to ‘what is said’ and ‘how it is said’ by the interviewees (Kvale 1996, p.30). To achieve so, it requires the researchers not only to be open to “what is said” with interviewees’ perspectives, but also to be sensitive to take the researcher’s perspective to reflect on ‘how it is said’. While being open allows researchers to obtain new insights and broaden horizons, being sensitive helps researchers to notice new and interesting ideas emerging from interviewees and then explore them at in-depth levels. An interview, therefore, is very efficiency in collecting “information on sensitive issues and the context surrounding people’s lives” (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011, p.110) as well.

Thirdly, in terms of the flow of interviews, as mentioned by Kvale (1996), focus, ambiguity and change are the three main issues that should be taken into account. Focus, as its name

applies, refers to concentrating on the topics. The conversation should be kept on the track instead of being “nondirective” (Berg, 2007; Kvale, 1996, p. 34). However, “being focused” is not equal to being unnatural. A natural conversation offers interviewees comfortable to be open, which allows the researcher to have the opportunities to capture unanticipated points emerging from the conversation. Therefore, researchers are required to find the balance between being focused and being natural. Semi-structured interview can be one of the strategies in finding balance between “being focused” and “being natural”. As Kvale (1996) debates, although an interviewer is the one who brings up a topic, interviewees are the main factors that impact on the data of whether they are relevant to the topic or not. Using a semi-structured interview, a most close to topic conversations is given to interviewees. In the meanwhile, it allows flexibility and liberty to interviewees to develop their talk. The researchers then should be sensitive to any interesting points that are produced by interviewee subconsciously. Ambiguity describes a feature of information that is produced by interviewees might sometimes be unclear and inconsistent (Kvale, 1996). Yet, he also makes it clear that ambiguity may be not as the result of faulty communication. Instead, this may be the way that how interviewees make sense of the contradictions that exist in reality. In this case, the researcher should be sensitive and be able to pick up these unanticipated ideas and meanwhile he or she should manage the conversation back to the track. As an interview is an on-going process, changes occur when the interviewees reflect on certain issues and develop new insights. According to Kvale (1996), changes can happen when interviewees ‘have discovered new aspects of the themes’ or “seen the relations that they had not been conscious of earlier”. Changes indicate interviewees’ on-going reflection and perspectives on research-relevant questions which are useful in digging interviewees’ attitudes shifts.

Besides, during interviews, the interviewer’s role is actually elicited from each other’s story and manages the conversations so as to motivate the respondents to share the viewpoints freely as much as possible. In this sense, interviewers’ role is not only asking questions. He or she is responsible for them to be able to respond to the respondents appropriately in terms of each other’s characters, appearance, manners, and identities. This will have a huge impact on how questions are asked and the quality of answers collected. In addition, it is important to foster friendly interrelationship between the interviewers and the interviewees. As interviews are dealing with human, to what extent the close relationships the interviewer and interviewees have may directly reflect on interviewees’ answers to interviewers. Fostering

long and trusted relationships between interviewers and interviewees would contribute to the success of interviews. This can be applied to the whole process of the research by using other different methods.

4.3.4. Focus Group

Focus group, as its name implies, emphasizes on two key words: “focus” and “group”. In its broader sense, focus groups can be seen as a qualitative method that indicates dynamic interactions among groups of participants with a focused conversation (Bryman 2001, Berg 2007, Hennink, 2007). In detail, the meaning of that “focus” in focus groups can be interpreted in two aspects. On the one hand, it refers to the interactive nature of FG. And on the other hand, it refers to the features of dynamic discussion focusing on one or a serial of topic between groups of participants.

Therefore, interactive and dynamic are the two main characters of focus groups. The feature of interaction found in focus group discussions enables this method to generate more insights into the research issues than a series of in-depth interviews with the same number of participants. Barbour (2007) mentions, focus group is an interactive discussion that focuses on specific issues with a predetermined group of people. As Morgan (1997) mentions that the hallmark of focus groups is “their explicit use of group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group” (p.2). Obviously, effective interaction between group participants, offer a large number of opportunities to probe each other directly for more perspectives, ideas and information by freely interrupting the discussions. It is rather closer to nature for other participants to probe with each other than they are made by the moderator. Thereby, unanticipated issues and perspectives might arise spontaneously through interactive discussions.

In terms of the dynamic features of focus group, simply put, discussions that participants produced can be seen as a contribution to the context (Bloor, Frankland & Thomas, 2000). Different from interviews, probes and arguments that interviewers are seeking, usually involve in personal attitudes, identities, beliefs and their concerns about social factors. Focus group, on the other hand, emphasizes on observing group members’ challenges, probes, arguments, discussions, and affects each other in terms of their perceptions which are related

to research questions, in dynamic interactions among group members. In order to do so, it is group members that raised and/or captured interesting ideas from each other. Looking into how group members are impacting on each other, their interests contribute to further understandings of their attitudes towards research questions.

It is worth mentioning that different from interviews, focus group discussions do not collect narratives or personal stories of participants. Personal experiences are playing negative effect on the dynamic interaction between group discussions (Fern, 2001). By conducting interviews in this research, the researcher's attention is going to be paid to participants' implicit and explicit attitudes towards current language policies, curricula, textbooks, texts, teachers and in-depth knowledge about interviewees' attitudes and beliefs about their language use based on their individual experiences. However, in focus groups, my attention will not be paid to detailed information of participants' language attitudes. On the contrary, the focus will be on how group members participate and engage into the discussion and interplay with each other's arguments as dynamic interactions. To be more exact, the data I am going to collect from focus groups are clearly different from the interviews. Though it is always the case that the findings from focus groups suggest similar information with those found in interviews, the attention will be paid to evaluating issues that have impact on group members' perspectives which are related to research questions.

With such facts, during the conversations among groups of participants, the researcher plays the role as a moderator, in which she is not a part of the group discussions. Furthermore, the moderator operates and facilitates the discussion to make sure that the discussion runs smoothly (Hennink, 2007). Difference from qualitative in-depth interviews, which is known as interviewer-dominated data collection approach, focus interviews is known as interviewer-dominated data collection approach, focus group discussion tend to create a most close to nature atmosphere to allow participants to interact with each other. A lot of attention is going to be paid to in order to ensure the directions of discussions and remain focused on the topic. The researcher herself should pay attention to linguistic features as well, such as the silences, laughs, pauses while speaking; the rise, fall and stretch they sound; interrupting each other's speaking; their faster and slower rhythm in speaking etc. All of the above may provide the research more insights into discovering implicit meanings and attitudes of participants, which are also useful for analyzing data after the fieldwork.

In terms of “group” in focus group, it also indicates a number of issues that need to be considered in conducting focus groups. One the one hand, the group composition will need to be carefully planned in order to create a relaxing and comfortable atmosphere for group discussions (Bloor, Frankland & Thomas, 2000). According to Fern (2001, p.156), the higher “level of homogeneity in participant characteristics” leads to the more productive and “cohesive” discussions among group members (see also Hennink, 2007, p.115). Thus, two major issues will be concerned. One is that each group member of focus group should have the same degree of shared experience of the discussion topic (Bloor, Frankland & Thomas, 2000). The other is that the level of acquaintance among group participants can also influence participants’ contribution to the group discussions (Hennink, 2007). To what degree that group members are familiar with each other will have different effect on the dynamic discussion interactions. The advantages and disadvantage should be considered regarding to the discussion topic and research purpose.

Group size also needs to be carefully planned before conducting focus group. To decide whether to recruit a big or small group mainly depends on the ‘topic of discussion’ and ‘characteristics of participants’ (Bloor et al. 2001, p.26; Henninks, 2007, p.136). The aims of the research need to be concerned as well. Therefore, the number of participants can be various. Hennink (2007) mentions that a focus group usually contains 5-10 participants; Morgan (1998) believes that 6-10 participants are the most common cases. Wilson (1997) debates that 4 to 12 participants are likely to have in a focus group. Bryman (2001) therefore suggests that the number of participants in a focus group can be from 3 to 14 (see also Bloor et al. 2001). Large size of focus group may be difficult to moderate and there is possibility to ignore some of the relevant details, compared with small groups (Bryman 2001, Hennink, 2007). Small groups, on the contrary, are good at collecting detailed information from individual participants and easily facilitated by the researcher. Therefore, for this research, the number of participants for each focus groups was just as Bloor et al. (2007, p.28) suggests that, it should be as minimal as possible, “be kept down to the bare minimum”.

Last but not least, it is critical for researches to think about what materials focus groups are going to be used. Litosseliti (2003) refers that ‘presentations or demonstrations and stimulus materials’ (p.56) should be provided for the group members to encourage the discussion. The

selection of materials should be based on a goal that has positive effect on ‘generating a broad yet focusing, in-depth discussion on the context and various components of the topic’ (Litosseliti, 2003, p.56). More importantly, the materials also need to be prepared to serve researchers’ and group members’ need, keeping focused and simultaneous in the process of dynamic discussions.

4.3.5. Classroom Observation

Observation, as another major qualitative research method, allows a systematic way of observing participants’ behaviors in the field (Wragg, 2013; Flick, 2014; Marvasti, 2014). It can be seen as an integrated sense of “seeing, hearing, feeling and smelling” (Flick, 2014, p. 308). Daston & Lunbeck (2011) refer “observation is the most pervasive and fundamental practice of all modern sciences, both natural and human. Its instruments... (are as) a myriad of other ingenious inventions are designed to make the invisible visible, the evanescent permanent, and the abstract concrete” (p.1). It concerns with “the significance, meaning, impact, individual or collective interpretations of events, are rooted in a different traditions (paradigms)” (Wragg, 2013, p.9). Therefore, though the observation method underlies the interpretive paradigm, meanwhile, it features of positivists as well in some circumstances (Flick, 2014). For example, findings of observations are sometimes generated by counting and categorizing incidence of certain phenomena.

Before entering into the field, decisions made towards the observation is going to be conducted covertly or overtly; systematically or unsystematically; in a natural or artificial scene. What’s more, the type of observation in a sense is different mainly because the role that researchers play is from complete participants to completely invisible (Adler & Adler, 1987; Robson, 1995; Marvasti, 2014); observers or observed by other participants (Marvasti, 2014). Thus, it is important for researchers to make decisions about being non-participants or participants in the field to observe others, or to be observed by others (Marvasti, 2014; Flick, 2014).

Commonly used observation in qualitative research is a complete participant, which “entails the greatest commitment on the part of the researcher (...) immerse themselves fully in the group as natives” (Adler & Adler, 1987, p.67). The feature of participants, summarized by

Jorgensen (1989) refers to the observer who observes the field from a member's perspective or as natives with particular interest in human meanings and interactions. The theoretical form of participant observation, therefore, is interpretative. Meanwhile, observers are usually exposed themselves to the field as a routine and adopt direct observation along with other methods of gathering information. Denzin (1989) also defines participant observation as a field strategy "that simultaneously combine document analysis, interviewing of respondents and informants, direct participation and observation, and introspection" (p.157-158). Observers, as non-participants, however, usually observe the field distantly.

As for this research, I immersed myself fully in the field and observed firstly from a member's perspective to understand and interpret classroom participants' behaviors and attitudes reflected in classroom practices. However, as a researcher who is observing the class, he/she will always be present in the classroom in which he/she observes, whether he/she participates in the activities or not, therefore "becoming part of the wallpaper" is never completely possible in observation (Robson, 1995). Also, there are always incidents or events that could not be predicted or happened as a particular case, the researcher should also notice that there will always be a part of the situation in which he/she is about to observe, which will be influenced by his/her presence or actions. So my role may have to change to become flexible from both a participant and an outsider's perspective depending on the dynamic situation of the field.

In terms of operating the observation, at the beginning, according to Spradley (1980), descriptive and non-focused observation should be made to provide researchers with an overall image of the field. Then with the central part of the operation process focused, the observation is going to be conducted. At the end of the observation, attention should be paid to selecting "further evidence and examples for the types of practices and processes found in the focused observations" (p. 34). In the light of this, before actually conducting observations, I did piloting studies on classroom observations so as to testify the quality of the observational data and enhance my observational techniques.

Then, Spradley (1980, p.34) also displays a series of major focuses in the process of observations. They are, "space, actor, activity, object, act, event, time, goal and feeling"

(p.78). In this sense, the layout of the venues and social setting should also be taken into account. By focusing on a venue layout, the researcher can observe how people make use of a space, social setting or institution. It will help to understand the place and then locate the activities or behaviors in this place. Other than that, “detailed observation of behaviors and talk: watching and recording what people do and say” (Mays & Pope, 1995, p.182), are needed in the process of conducting observations. Further, participants’ body languages should be noticed as these suggest further information about behavioral norms. They will give insight into the non-verbal communication between people. Especially it is participants’ language ideologies that this research interests, which is conceptual and abstract. Rather than asking people about their behaviors and attitudes towards certain topics directly, observations could be more effective in gaining implicitly underlying ideologies about classroom participants’ language use by observing and evaluating participants’ interactions, as well as their responses and reflection of issues which are related to research questions.

In terms of recording, Wragg (2013) summarizes four major methods, which are written account, video, sound, and transcript. Among them, video and sound recording are the most widely used. In terms of video, it is easy to be kept and replayed multiple times. However, which angles that camera(s) are going to take will lead to different information. Also as video contains visual information, it will undoubtedly increase the work load for data analysis. Using voice recording always corroborates with written account. The drawback for voice recording is apparent loss of important visual data such as body language, facial expressions. Considering there is a large number of data of this research, all of the observed classes will be audio recorded with consistent field notes kept so as to record body languages, facial expressions and so on.

In addition, classroom observation is always used as an important and effective tool alongside in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. Through interview is surely one of the effective methods to obtain data, but there are also possibilities of contradictions between participants’ words and behaviors. Some maybe subconsciously produced. Others may be said on purpose due to various factors. Comparing and justifying the results gained through interviews and observations about implicit and explicit ideologies of behaviors, we can use observations to identify discrepancies between what people say or claim what they are doing and what they actually do subconsciously in the most close to nature settings.

Therefore, consuetudinary beliefs and norms of behaviors of observed participants, which are related to research questions, may be captured. It reveals unspoken rules of behaviors from documents and interviews, which is less intrusive than interviews. In brief, combined classroom observation with interviews, it allows the researcher to learn implicit and explicit insights into explaining certain questions and justifying behaviors participants described by them.

4.4 Piloting

Before I started my fieldwork, a number of concerns had drawn on me, which drove me to conduct a pilot study to evaluate the practice of my research. Are the questions asked for interviewees understandable? Could these questions be answered and explained in detail? Which is the best logical order to conduct observations, interviews and focus groups? Are any further explanations of concepts needed for participants? And would the duration be too long or too short? And so on.

Therefore, I did pilot study on classroom observations, interviews and focus groups. In terms of classroom observations, I observed two classes to improve my techniques and skills, such as keeping the dairy, note-taking, being objective to what would happen in the field etc. I also tested the equipment that would be required in observations and checked the quality of recordings afterwards to make sure that it would be clear enough for later transcribing. In terms of interviews, the intended interview prompts were designed and then discussed with the teachers from the similar background as the target teacher participants to evaluate the quality and efficiency of individual interviews. During the process, I specifically simulated the operational routine and timing. I focused on the quality of my interview prompts, which were especially concerned with the following questions. Were those interview questions asked clearly? Did they need to be further explained to the respondents? What if the questions were not answered as expected? Based on these questions, I also practiced my reactions to the answers that were different from expectation as well. As for focus groups, it is worth mentioning that the initial design of the methodology was conducted interviews with teachers and students. But later I changed my plan. The reason why I did focus groups was that mainly I found through the pilot study, the students were not very comfortable to make comments on their teachers when I asked them directly through individual interviews.

Instead they were much easier to open up when discussing such issues with their classmates in groups. Therefore, I decided to adjust my research methods from interviews to organizing focus groups from students. Therefore two focus groups were organized to testify the quality. I specifically found that it was important to choose participants who were familiar with each other, as it caused deadlocks several times during the piloting if participants were not familiar enough.

Besides, the sequential order of conducting each method had been measured and evaluated as well. I found, through the piloting, that classroom observations had offered common ground between me and the participants, which could be used as a good starting point. Moreover, compared with the outcomes, if I did classroom observation after the interviews, interviewees might pre-notice some issues I mentioned during interviews and acted differently from what they actually had believed and behaved. Yet, if the classes were observed afterwards, it was very effective in evaluating whether the information gained through the interviews and focus groups was true or not. It was also easier for me to keep focused on the key information and avoid being distracted by less relevant information. In the light of this, some of the classes were observed more than once before and after each turn of teachers' interviews and students' focus groups if necessary.

4.5 Fieldwork

The research was conducted in Guangzhou, the capital city of Guangdong province the south of China. Ever since the year of 1978, Guangzhou has been one of the pioneers of China's reform and opening up policy. It is famous for its developed market economy and openness which has developed as a modernized city with a large population. Guangzhou's economic construction has scored marked achievements. The developed market economy has brought a large number of imported and exported business opportunities. It is also known as one of the four biggest cities in China. By the end of 2015, it has been calculated by the census that the number of residences in Guangzhou had reached fourteen millions, among which, 620,000 residences (both permanent and temporary) were foreigners (Li, 2013). According to the sixth national census, more than one-third of the international immigrant population in China had been registered in Guangdong province.

Given this, the research sites had been chosen due to a number of considerations. Firstly, Guangzhou has been one of the pioneers of China's reform and open-up policies. Compared with the most cities of mainland China, more opportunities have been offered to the citizen residences in Guangzhou to use English for intercultural communication. Secondly, with the frequently use of English for intercultural communication in Guangzhou in people's daily life, the stakeholders' attitudes, beliefs and ideologies towards English, and further up, the implementation of language policies will surely be affected, which is worth investigating into. Thirdly, as Guangzhou is the city where the researcher grows up, the researcher has several contacts from the listed universities in teaching and administrative teams. There is an opportunity for the researcher to access into the field, it is also easy for the researcher to conduct the field work and schedule or adjust my research timetable in different circumstances. Therefore, Guangzhou has become the city in which the researcher aimed to conduct the research.

Three universities belonging to the top tier in Guangzhou were selected to conduct the research. As shown in the chart below, all the three universities are public comprehensive universities and directly or indirectly administrated and supervised by the MOE, sharing the same understanding of nationally unified English education policy.

Table 4.2 University Information

University	Type	Public/Private	Administration
University A	Comprehensive University	Public	MOE (directly)
University B	Comprehensive University	Public	MOE (directly)
University C	Comprehensive University	Public	MOE (Indirectly; supervised by local government)

As China features as a centralized education system, different universities still have the same nationally unified English education policy to follow, but they are flexible to adjust the policies based on local conditions (MOE, 2007). Therefore, University C shares the common ground with University A and B, which follows the instruction of the same English education policy at national level through it is indirectly administrated by the MOE. For example, the entrance examination for University A, B and C are nationally unified. High school graduates are required to pass the entrance exam to enter the university. Recently, with the publication of *College English curriculum Requirements (2007)*, “*the requirements for undergraduate College English teaching are set at three levels, i.e., the basic requirements, the intermediate requirements, and the higher requirement*”. English is taught to the students with multiple levels based on their English proficiency. Therefore, in the three universities, students are all divided into three levels of Class A.B and C as soon as they step into the university based on an English proficiency test.

Meanwhile, University C reflects features of local diversity. As University C is under the charge and supervision of the local government, the local government is in power to adjust the actual practice of language policies. Its interests, promotions and ideological considerations will also impact on the de facto language policies. Thereby, only by looking at language policy in University A and B cannot gain a full picture of local people's awareness of ELF.

I did my field work from 1st October 2016 to 31st January 2017, from the beginning of Semester One to university Winter Holiday. For the first week, a pilot study was done in advance to evaluate the practicability of my research. In the next following weeks, I adopted document analysis to investigate into the official documents of current English education policy. In the second month, semi-structured interviews, focus groups and classroom observations were adopted. I firstly immersed myself in the three listed universities to observe classes taught by Chinese ELT teachers. After that, in order to gain insights into the understandings of classroom participants' explicit language attitudes and behaviors, semi-structured interviews with teachers and focus groups with students were organized. Then some of the classes were re-observed to evaluate issues mentioned in the interviews and focus groups by both teachers and students. At the end, a total number of 23 ELT classes

were observed (counted as one even if it was re-observed). Each of them lasted for 60-90 minutes, the total hours of classroom observations were around 30 hours. 23 semi-structured interviews were conducted and 6 focus groups were organized.

4.6 Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis in social science is conducted through the “classification and interpretation of linguistic or visual materials to make statements about implicit and explicit dimensions and structures of meaning-making in the material and what is represented in it” (Flick, 2011, p.5). It includes the researcher not only to develop the analytic process at the very basic level, but also to present a rather comprehensive image to explain underlying meanings that are attached to individual participants’ experiences and behaviors (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011). In another word, it is conducted through immersion in research data from which the researcher is able to explain and interpret human experience, identify the unique perspectives of study participants. Thus, the researcher can explain and develop theories about people’s actions or beliefs, understand social or cultural meanings attached to behaviors. Briefly, the analysis of data collected through qualitative method refers to a process of exploration and discovery (Flick, 2011). It requires the researcher to be immersed into the data in order to develop an evidence-based conclusion or explanation of research questions. To the end, the ultimate purpose of qualitative data analysis is able to develop generalizing conclusions through the comparison among diverse resources with various methods (Flick, 2014).

As discussed above, the aim of adopting qualitative research to carry out this research is mainly because it can be used to describe a natural setting and uncover implicit meanings which are attached to behaviors or social phenomena. However, in the process of qualitative data analysis in this research, the research instruments adopted in this research would result in a huge amount of data, which would greatly increase the difficulty of selection and sorting the data. In addition, the interpretation of data from the research sometimes is easy to become too subjective. In order to avoid so and analyze data systematically, reliably and transparently (Schreier, 2012), qualitative content analysis (QCA) would be used.

QCA has three main characteristics. Firstly, QCA allows for the systematic treatment of data through the whole process of selecting, transcribing and analyzing data. In another word, “all relevant materials are taken into account; a sequence of steps are followed during the analysis, regardless of your material; and you have to check your coding for consistency” (Schreier, 2012, p.9). Briefly, by saying systematically, it refers the researcher evaluates any relevant data and materials based on a coding frame (Shapiro & Markoff, 1997), regardless of what types of data and materials collected through which way and based on what aims of research questions. The same sequence of steps of QCA will always be adapted. Secondly, QCA involves in concept-driven and data-driven processes. On the one hand, the coding frame could be built based on concepts, knowledge or the previous experience for individuals, and on the other hand, codes can be captured and will emerge through data.

Thirdly, QCA helps to avoid messy data and make data analysis manageable. At the very basic stage, it reduces irrelevant descriptions, information, aspects, points or views to the research topic by reviewing the data. On the deeper layer, further classifying, coding, categorizing and gathering information under each category conducted by the researcher will not only reduce the data but also produce and generate valuable information for the research. Therefore, QCA is also a suitable method for describing material that requires some degree of interpretation when you are dealing with meaning that is less obvious (Schreier, 2012).

Schreier (2012) proposes to follow a few steps for the whole process of data analysis. Preliminary, the intended research questions and materials that might be relevant to the research questions should be cleared by the researcher. More importantly, a coding framework should be built. By doing so, reading the material systematically and consistently is required. Then he/she breaks down the materials into pieces by coding and categorizes the code into different categories and subcategories. Following up, the coding frame should be evaluated in terms of validity by reviewing. Finally, he/she interprets the data and develops the findings of the research.

As Saldana (2016) points out, the major step of QCA is obviously coding the data (see also Flick, 2014). Schreier (2012) also defines that, “QCA is a method for describing the meaning of qualitative material in a systematic way. It is done by classifying materials into instances

of the categories of a coding frame” (p1). To be brief, codes can be considered as views, opinions, issues or topics that are revealed in the data, it could be a word, phrase or sentences (Saldaña, 2016). Coding the data is also an essential and central step for QCA while sorting the data. Broadly, it helps the researcher to identify different perspectives that are evident in the data and uncover some implicit meanings of behaviors of participants. Practically, coding the data involves in marking and indexing all of the data systematically, which allows the researcher to be able to locate and trace the relevant data if needed afterwards for focused analysis.

Codes can be divided into two types. Deductive codes refer to concept-driven from the top, such as predicted concept, previous knowledge or document sources etc. It is helpful to use deductive strategies to spur the development of inductive codes, and help recognize specific concepts, cultural references or contextual issues in the data. It is therefore usually used as logical starting point. Inductive codes, in contrast, emerge directly through collected data which are raised by participants. Inductive codes are extremely valuable as they reflect the issues of importance to participants themselves, which may be different from those who are anticipated by the researcher. In short, searching for inductive codes allows the data to speak for itself.

4.6.1. Coding and Analytical Procedures

The initially analytic framework of this research, as shown from the table below, was derived from Spolsky's (2004), and Shohamy's (2006) interpretation of language policy. It analysed language policy by comparing and contrasting policy statements in the *College English Curriculum Requirements (2007)* and relevant policy statements, language practice in classroom implementations and classroom participants' perceptions of language policies and practices. During the process, all policy makers', teachers' and students' inexplicit and explicit ideologies towards English and English use as a top-down and bottom-up effects on language policy and practice were demonstrated throughout the data analysis. As I adopted qualitative content analysis for this research, the process of pre-coding and coding for themes became a central concerns in analysing the data (Dörnyei's, 2007). Followed up with Dörnyei's five stages of content analysis, e.g., data transcriptions, pre-coding and coding; development ideas and generate conclusions, my materials were analysed according to the following steps:

Methodology	Research Questions	Codes
Document Analysis	R1	<p>5.2.1. (Lack of) awareness of the Sociolinguistic Contexts</p> <p>5.2.1.1. The Role of English</p> <p>5.2.1.2. The Speakers of English</p> <p>5.2.2. The Understanding of English as a Subject Matter</p> <p>5.2.2.1. The Fluidity of English?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English is Taught and Learned as a Fixed Code <p>5.2.2.2. The Diversity of ‘Englishes’?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Ownership of English <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) English Used in English-Speaking Countries 2) The Superior Status of English Used in English-Speaking Countries <p>5.2.2.3. Conformity to Native Speakers’ Norm</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Native English as the Target Language 2) Native Cultures as the Target Culture 3) The Legitimacy of NNSE has been Ignored <p>5.2.3. Focus on Student Agency</p> <p>5.2.3.1. Students’ Communicative Effectiveness</p> <p>5.2.3.2. Students’ Engagement with Learning Process</p> <p>5.2.3.3. Students’ Reality</p>
		<p>6.3.1. Teachers’ Beliefs about English in the Sociolinguistic Context</p> <p>6.3.1.1. Awareness of ELF Concept</p> <p>6.3.1.2. The Nature of English</p> <p>6.3.1.3. Authority in English</p> <p>6.3.2. Teachers’ Beliefs about English Teaching/Learning and Using in Practice</p> <p>6.3.2.1. Standard English as the Target Language Input</p> <p>6.3.2.2. Non-native Englishes as an Option</p> <p>6.3.2.3. NES Cultural Awareness</p>

Interviews	R2 & R3	<p>6.3.3. The Factors of Impacting on Teachers' Beliefs</p> <p>6.3.3.1. Non-reorganization of ELF in Language Policy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Testing and Education Systems • Teachers' Recruitment <p>6.3.3.2. Self-experiences of Teaching and Using English</p>
Focus Groups	R2 & R3	<p>7.3.1. Common Co-constructed Perceptions:</p> <p>7.3.1.1. Attitudes Towards Native and Standard English</p> <p>7.3.1.2. NSE Learners vs. ELF Users</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sociolinguistic Reality vs. Classroom Learning Materials • Effective Communication vs. Correctness • The Considering of Cultural Factors • The Acceptance of Chinese Speakers' Use of English <p>7.3.2. The Factors of Impacting on the Development of Different Attitudes</p> <p>7.3.2.1. Lacking knowledge about ELF</p> <p>7.3.2.2. Concerns of Gatekeeping Practices</p> <p>7.3.2.3. Teachers and Textbooks' Language Practices Impacting on Students</p> <p>7.3.2.4. Self-experiences of ELF Use</p>
Classroom Observations	R2 & R3	<p>8.3.1. Focus on Language Accuracy</p> <p>8.3.1.1. Conformity to Native Speakers' Standards</p> <p>8.3.1.2. Error Correctness & the Use of Negotiation Strategies</p> <p>8.3.2. In the Reference of NESs' Authenticity</p> <p>8.3.2.1. NES Idiomatic Expressions</p> <p>8.3.2.2. NEC Awareness for Intercultural Communication</p> <p>8.3.2.3. NESs' Contexts</p> <p>8.3.2.4. NNSE as Optional Input</p> <p>8.3.3. Focus on Students</p> <p>8.3.3.1. English for Special Purpose/Occasions</p> <p>8.3.3.2. Engage with Students' Local Context</p>

Firstly, I transcribed and read throughout all the data collected from documents (e.g. *College English Curriculum Requirements (2007)* and *Examination Syllabus for CET Level 4 and 6*

(2004)) systematically so as to gain an overall ideal of the representation of English in China's language policy. Attention was paid to identify the explicit and implicit language ideologies as reflected through the *Teaching/Testing Objectives*, *Teaching/Testing Requirement*, *Course Design of Requirements* (2007) and *Syllabus* (2004).

Secondly, I transcribed the data collected from teachers' interviews and students' focus groups so as to segment, name and number these data. I divided each interview and focus group discussion into smaller parts, and summarized the meaning of them and conceptualized them. Each concept was given in a serial number so that it would be easier to trace back. Thirdly, I generated themes from each interview and focus group discussion and integrated all the generated themes of each interview and focus group discussions and categorize the similar themes in different categories. At the same time, sub-themes of each interview and discussion datum was also identified and broken down in each category. In order to trace the sources of each code, the number and name of each code was used as categories instead of word descriptions.

For example, at the beginning of coding interview data, I adopted a number of preconceived codes set on the basis of literatures review chapters, which guided me to analyse the data with the purpose of finding the answers to my research questions, e.g., teachers' perceptions about *the ownership of English*, *the diversity of English* and *NS/NNS dichotomy*. However, at the same time, data-driven approach was also adopted along with the concept-driven approach. During the process of data transcribing, more themes emerged, which did not perfectly fit into the preconceived themes when I divided the data into smaller parts. So I had to look back and re-structured the themes.

It was the similar process of re-structured the themes for focus group. Moreover, as attention paid to focus group data was different from that of the interview. It was each turn and probe that the focus group data focused so that the researcher could gain insights into participants' attitudinal development. Thus, there were a lot of difficulties occurred. The most obvious one was that I found the students were not able to stick to the topic all the time. And they tended to change the topic frequently. That caused a lot of troubles in categorizing relevant data of the same topic. Another difficulty was transcribing the data. As there were always

the cases that more than one students talked at the same time when they were arguing, I had to listen to the recordings carefully and went back again and again to identify opinions of each different student. At the end, sub-themes of students' opinions towards *classroom learning materials, communicative effectiveness and Chinese speakers' use of English* were identified. Besides, their *knowledge about ELF; self-experiences of use ELF* and *concerns of gatekeeping practices* were also noticed. Given these, the themes for focus group data were then generalized as the *co-constructed Perceptions* and *the Factors of Impacting on the Development of Different Attitudes*, on the basis of "what" perceptions were; and "how" the perceptions were developed.

As the classroom observation is mainly adopted to evaluate whether the classroom participants' performance complies with their reflecting ideologies in interviews and focus groups, and their reactions to the language policy statements, fourthly, I started to transcribe observational data after having gone through each turn of interview and focus group data. With the themes generalized from the interviews and focus groups in mind, attention was paid to the use of classroom teaching materials and teachers' instructions. However, more codes were identified during the process, and some of the codes overlapped. To ensure the data consistency, the observational codes were restructured and updated afterwards.

Last but not the least, I integrated document coding, interview coding, focus groups coding and classroom observation coding with the consideration of data consistency and finalized the coding book, as shown in the above table. Awareness of English in sociolinguistic realities, perceptions about English teaching/learning and using in practices and awareness of student factors were updated as the final themes for the research at the three levels, e.g., the policy statements, the language practices and the language attitudes, beliefs and ideologies.

4.7 Ethics and Risks

All my research participants were recruited on a voluntary basis. Before I got access to the field, I submitted a research overview, which included the general purpose of the research. I proposed research questions and research design to members of administration team of each

university and gained some feedback to adjust my research plan. The design of semi-structured interview prompts and potential risks had also been considered before I entered into the field. As all of my participants were over 18, I obtained their permission to conduct the research from them. I explicitly explained the purpose of the research and informed the participants of their rights to withdraw at any time without any reasons and my responsibility to protect their information. As for collecting relevant documents, I explained to teachers that some confidential documents would only be used for research purpose in a very general way and would be kept into a password protected by a hard drive to avoid the risk of leak. In the classroom observations, I also explained the general aims and topics to the teachers and informed them that any of the recordings would be used only for the research purpose.

4.8 Trustworthiness

Different from the validity of quantitative research that can be easily evaluated by figures and intuitively procedures, one of the major concerns with the quality qualitative research is to subjectively interpret the data. Therefore, the evaluation of validity, reliability and objectivity of qualitative research become necessary and significant. (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Kirk & Miller, 1986; Dornyei, 2007; Kvale, 2008).

Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose a term “trustworthiness” to establish a critical criterion to evaluate the quality of qualitative research. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), there are four components of trustworthiness which involve in credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability. Guba and Lincoln (2005) also believe internal validity, external validity, reliability and objectivity can be replaced by the four components of trustworthiness. Credibility concerns with the truth of the data and points of view made by participants, and researchers’ interpretations and representations (Polit & Beck, 2012). Dependability suggests not only recognizing and recording changes in different situations, but also constancy of the data (Polit & Beck, 2012). Transferability emphasizes on generating findings, and ensuing the findings and conclusions can be adopted in other cases. Confirmability is related to what extent that the researchers are neutral to avoid biases (Polit & Beck, 2012).

In order to achieve trustworthiness in qualitative research, a number of suggestions are proposed. For overall quality evaluation, Dornyei (2007, p.61-61) then mentions “prolonged engagement”, “persistent observation”, “triangulation of data and methods” and “longitudinal research design” should be considered. Reflexive journal, thick description, peer check and audit trail may also help to establish trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In this way, to ensure trustworthiness, a number of actions were taken throughout the research. Firstly, trustworthiness could be enhanced by researchers demonstrating their engagement in the field. For this research, , there was an extended engagement with participants which lasted 4 months through different activities. Secondly, to triangulate the data and methods, I adopted different research tools including document analysis, interviews, focus groups and classroom observations. The findings retrieved through different data sets explain, endorse and conflict each other in different aspects, which enables the inquiry to go deeper and deeper to seek the understanding of language policy and ELF in China in a rounded manner. Thirdly, as the audit trail was effective in documenting the process of the research, it let not only researchers themselves, but also their peers check and monitor the research easily (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Miles & Huberman, 1994). The research journal was kept with an audit trail established through the description of the research process. In particular, thick description for observations were used, for example, keeping notes in the field. The notes mainly recorded the observational process and what happened in the field during the classroom observations. Through thick description, dependability could be evaluated if the study findings were replicated with the similar participants in the similar conditions.

4.9 Conclusion

To conclude, the research was conducted in the three Chinese universities in Guangzhou, China, where the field work was done. Considering the winter holiday and Chinese New Year in January, the proposed time period for field work was extended to 4 months from 30th of September 2016 to 31st of January 2017. To conduct the research, I chose to adopt qualitative approaches to evaluate my research questions. As qualitative research methods were suitable for digging in-depth underlying meanings attached to behaviors of individual participants, it was therefore, very useful in answering and explaining “how” questions.

In this sense, in this research, only a small number of participants were recruited for both teachers and students. Both teacher and student participants with specific characters or knowledge that were relevant to the research topic were recruited on purpose. Document analysis, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and classroom observations were conducted among teachers and students from the three universities. With methodological triangulation of these qualitative methods done, the thick and comprehensive pictures of the research context have been presented. Document analysis, as a starting point, has offered the researcher issues to explore in-depth interviews. Through the in-depth semi-structured interviews with the teachers, the researcher has collected individuals' explicit points of views, perspectives, attitudes, and ideologies, which have allowed the researcher to develop explanations to their behaviors and language choices they made. The same as focus groups that were organized from the students, in the comfortable atmosphere, they were able to communicate and probe each other's opinions freely. The interviews have provided the researcher opportunities to collect a wide range of ideas, perspectives and attitudes. In addition, some sensitive topics were easily discussed in the group dynamic interaction while the researcher did not participate in the discussion. Further, a lot of interesting and unexpected points have also been discovered in the interaction. Classroom observation, was used not only to offer common ground among the researcher and other classroom participants, but also used as an important supportive tool to evaluate the information gained through interviews and focus groups. Its natural of "close to natural setting" suggested it was useful in observing implicit attitudes, beliefs and ideologies of language policy and practice.

Both qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis were conducted to analyze the collected data. The systematic and flexible nature of QCA has allowed the data to become more consistent, comprehensive and reliable. Moreover, the use of QCA and thematic analysis has helped the researcher to narrow down the data. In order to validate the data, triangulation strategy was applied for combining several of methods, data sources and data types. It has helped the research to discover the contradictions and inconsistencies between policy and practice and between what people say and how they actually behave. It was also worth mentioning that the ethics and risks issues had also been taken into account before entering into the field.

Chapter 5 Qualitative Findings from Document Analysis

5.1 Introduction

After having discussed the theoretical framework and methodology of this PhD research in the previous chapters, in this chapter the researcher will focus on the qualitative results produced through document analysis. In order to answer RQ1, this chapter will focus on evaluating language ideologies reflected through the analyzed documents implicitly and explicitly. This chapter will focus on ELF awareness in order to evaluate how English is represented and conceptualized in various documents in the Chinese higher education context.

5.2 The Procedures of Document Analysis

- **The Types of Documents**

As this research will evaluate ELF awareness with a particular focus on language policy, the current version of the official documents of English educational policy *College English Curriculum Requirements* (2007) were used. *Requirements* (2007) was published in 2007, while its pilot version was launched in 2004. After years of implementations and revisions in some selected universities in China, the formal version was finalised and officially published nationwide by the MOE. Another language policy document, examined for this chapter, was the *Examination Syllabus for CET Level 4 and 6*, first issued in 2004 in response to the reform of the *Requirements* (2007). Thus the *Syllabus* (2004) shares the same objectives as *Requirements* (2007), which should be consistent with each other, so it is also necessary to further investigate into.

In addition to the official publications, a variety of other documentations were examined, including articles, advertisements, and publications from the three universities' website pages. In addition, module/program handbooks and classroom materials were also included. Please refer to Table 5.1 for the different types of documentations examined in this chapter:

Table 5.1 Types of Selected Documents

English Education Policies	University Documents
College English Teaching Requirements (2007)	Universities' Website Page Information
Examination Syllabus for CET Level 4 & 6 (2004)	Module Information and Handbooks Administrative Documents Classroom Materials ²

- **Developing the Thematic Coding Framework**

In order to evaluate the focus of this chapter, that is, to what extent that ELF is aware in analysed documents, and the answer to RQ1, both data-driven and concept-driven processes went through. For the data-driven process, the main aim was to identify language ideologies embodied in the language policy documents through document analysis. For the concept-driven process, Wang's (2015a) three aspects of ELF awareness were adopted to analyse documental data to understand to what extent that the policy statements were aware of ELF.

As discussed in Chapter 3, aspects of ELF awareness involve in: 1) an awareness of the sociolinguistic context(s), 2) understanding ELF as a subject matter, and 3) focusing on learners' factor (Wang, 2015a). The coding framework for document analysis was thus designed to investigate into the three aspects of ELF awareness that Wang (2015a) proposed. Firstly, the framework was concerned with policy-makers' awareness of the role of English and the speakers of English in the outer-linguistic environment; therefore, the policy-makers' acknowledgement for the emergence of ELF was examined. Secondly, the nature of English as a diverse and fluid framework was the two major focuses of understanding

² Detailed analysis of the classroom materials will be given in *Chapter 8, Qualitative Findings from Classroom Observation*. For document analysis, these types of materials were only used as supportive evidences.

‘English’ as the subject matter. Teaching and learning English as a fixed code, specifically measures of conformity/unconformity to native speakers’ norms and the plural forms of ‘Englishes’, were also considered. Finally, in evaluating the policy-makers’ awareness of the needs of students, communicative effectiveness and functional use of English were focused. Student engagement with the learning process and engagement with the students’ realities were examined. Given these, the thematic coding framework for the document analysis is as follows:

Table 5.2 Coding Framework of Document Analysis

5.3. Findings: The Representation of English in Language Policy

5.3.1. (Lack of) awareness of the Sociolinguistic Contexts

5.3.1.1. The Role of English

5.3.1.2. The Speakers of English

5.3.2. The Understanding of English as a Subject Matter

5.3.2.1. The Fluidity of English?

- English is Taught and Learned as a Fixed Code

5.3.2.2. The Diversity of ‘Englishes’?

- The Ownership of English
 - 3) English Used in English-Speaking Countries
 - 4) The Superior Status of English Used in English-Speaking Countries

5.3.2.3. Conformity to Native Speakers’ Norm

4) Native English as the Target Language

5) Native Cultures as the Target Culture

5.3.3. Focus on Student Agency

5.3.3.1. Students’ Communicative Effectiveness

5.3.3.2. Students’ Engagement with Learning Process

5.3.3.3. Students’ Reality

5.3 Findings: the Representation of English in Language Policy

In the section of 5.3, qualitative findings from document analysis will be presented with the focus of representation of English in the two examined documents of language policy published officially. The findings were generated into three categories: awareness of the sociolinguistic contexts; the understanding of English as a subject matter and focus on

students' agency. Regarding to the first category, the issues which were related to the role of English and the speakers of English were explored. For the understanding of English as the subject matter, the dynamic and diverse nature of English was focused. And with regard to the last category, students' communicative effectiveness, students' realities and their engagement with learning process were paid attention to.

5.3.1. (The Lack of) Awareness of the Sociolinguistic Contexts

5.3.1.1. The Role of English

According to Galloway and Rose (2015, p.150), one of the key features of ELF which has been used in practice is that 'ELF is a very different phenomenon to ENL or EFL'. It is also mentioned in Wang (2015a) that the awareness of ELF, in its border sense, refers to the role that English plays in ELF is different from how English plays as a foreign language. Thereby, the first subtheme of this section is concerned with to what extent that the role of English is different from EFL that the policy statements are aware of. Please have a look at the following extract (*Extract 5.1*), which makes clear that the character of College English is under the guidance of theories of foreign languages teaching.

Extract 5.1: The Character of College English

- ✓ "Under the guidance of theories of foreign language teaching, College English has its main components, knowledge and practical skills of the English language, learning strategies and intercultural communication" (MOE, p.18).

It should be noted that, '*The character of College English*' is a paragraph stated at the very beginning of *Requirements (2007)*, which introduces and explains the background information of what theories that such rules and regulations are created (see *Appendix 1*). In emphasising '*under the guidance of theories of foreign language teaching*', the MOE explicitly believes that English should be learned and taught as a foreign language (FL). The role that English plays is viewed as a FL. ELF, as an emergence of the linguistic phenomena, has not been reflected through the above statements. Considering that the descriptions are made to explain the overall character of *Requirements (2007)*, other detailed policies should be planned and carried out in accordance with such an orientation. Thus, further investigation of detailed policy statements are needed to clarify how English is represented and conceived in the outer sociolinguistic context.

Other than the above example, the ignorance of what language(s) was really needed for social interactions was discovered. Please refer to *Extract 5.2*, the recruiting advertisement for ELT teachers teaching business English at University B.

Extract 5.2: Teacher Recruitment Qualifications:

1. Native speakers of English
2. Bachelor's degree or above in business, economics, finance or other related disciplines
3. Teaching experience is preferable

As shown in the recruiting advertisement above, being a native speaker of English was a compulsory qualification. As a result, local non-native teachers, especially Chinese speakers were excluded. As mentioned by Hu (2012), the authenticity of the target language should be in accordance with speakers' actual language usage, which is relevant to 'the environment in which the candidate will use the language' (Hogan-Brun, 2007, p.2). Hiring native speakers of English did provide authentic native English inputs to ELT classes, but they were in the reference of native speakers' real life situation, not for the students in the Chinese context. In fact, the majority of English communications in China are made among non-native speakers rather than native speakers (Wang, 2015b; Wen, 2012). Hiring native speakers only as ELT teachers certainly ignored the importance of engagement between the sociolinguistic context and classroom learning environment. Such a fact was different from the first aspect of ELF awareness, as mentioned in Wang (2015a), that language education should involve in-classroom teaching and the in addition to the realities beyond the classroom.

5.3.1.2. The Speakers of English

To evaluate one's awareness of the role that English plays in the outer sublinguistic reality, it is also necessary to be aware of the existence of NNSE. As the matter of fact, the number of NNESs outnumbers NESs. Such features were specifically considered while analysing the data. It was found that none of the explicit evidences showed the MOE's awareness of the existing of NNSE, whereas the following *Extract 5.2* implicitly reflected it. Please have a look:

Extract 5.2: Teaching Requirements for Translating (p.21-23)

- ✓ "...students should be able to translate...texts on familiar topics in popular newspapers and magazines published in English speaking countries..." **(Intermediate).**
- ✓ "...students should be able to translate...to their areas of specialty and in newspapers and magazines published in English-speaking countries..." **(Advanced).**

The extract above displays the requirements of teaching translating at the intermediate and advanced levels. It is evident that '*English-speaking countries*' has been repeated in both requirements. By laying emphasis on '*English-speaking countries*', the MOE has acknowledged that languages other than English used in English speaking countries, pointing to the existence of different Englishes. That is also the reason why it has to make clear explicitly. Yet, although the MOE has acknowledged NNSE, no further evidence demonstrates that the MOE is aware that the number of NNES has outnumbered NES. On the contrary, NNSE have been overlooked as they are not even mentioned in the above statements. This contradicts with what Wang (2015a) mentions that to catch up with the ever-changing phenomena, the different approaches should be attached to the different roles that English play. Questions on what model(s) of English are (most) relevant, what set(s) of norms are (most) appropriate, what are the contextual conditions of language use required by the students, is there a normative approach suitable for the context of learning/use in China and other countries, have not been reflected. From this it can be observed that the outer sociolinguistic reality of Chinese context has been largely ignored.

5.3.2. The Understanding of English as a Subject Factor

In terms of understanding of English as a subject, the fluidity and diversity of English is here evaluated to gain insights into how the term 'English' is understood by the MOE. In evaluating the fluidity of English, it has been found that English was still viewed as a fixed entity. As for the diversity of English, the ownership of English in terms of the perceived English used in English speaking countries and the superior status of NSE were brought into debate.

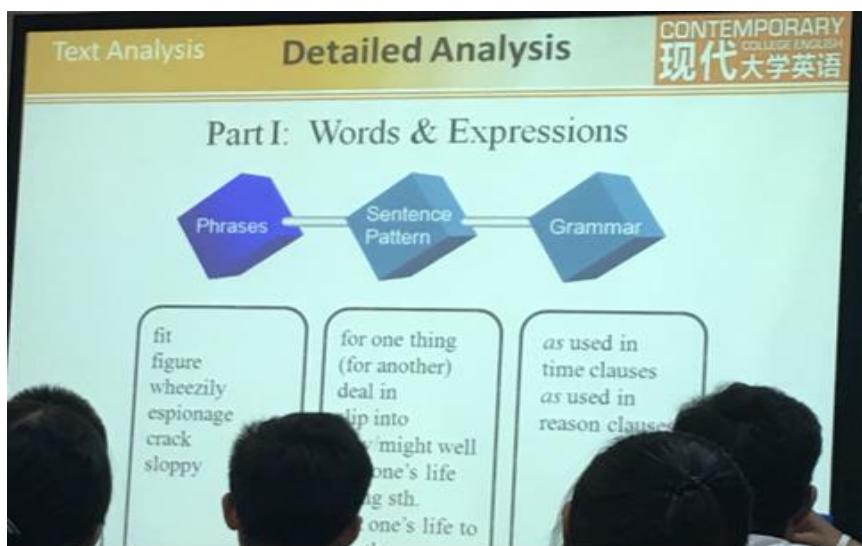
5.3.2.1. The Fluidity of English?

- **English is Taught and Learned as a Fixed Code**

In terms of the fluidity of English, contrary to its flexible and dynamic nature, the most

obvious feature is that English is viewed as a fixed system that is made up of a series of codes. Evidences can be found in *Image 5.1*, a PowerPoint slide of the class of *Contemporary College English*.

Image 5.1



It was noticed that the process of detailed analysis of text was the analysis of words and expressions. That is in order of firstly learning the words and phrases, followed by sentence patterns, and finally the grammar. All the forms, functions, and structures, as shown on the PPT slide, were memorised by students on the basis of a set of standards, without taking consideration of the context and communication factors. Similarly in *Requirements (2007)*, as shown in *Appendix 1*, the difficulties of reading passage are divided into '*longer yet less difficult texts*', '*longer texts*', and '*rather difficult texts*' for the basic, intermediate and advanced levels. Please refer to the following extract:

Extract 5.4: Teaching Requirements for Reading (p.20-21)

- ✓ “With longer yet less difficult texts, the reading speed should be 100 wpm... With the help of dictionaries, they should be able to read textbooks in their areas of specialty”**(Basic)**
- ✓ “With longer texts for fast reading, the reading speed should be 120 wpm...”**(Intermediate)**

Although the MOE does not elaborate the standard of difficulty, '*the help of dictionaries*' is repeated a lot of times in teaching requirement. Vocabularies and passage length are seen as the important components. With respect to vocabularies, more information is found in

Syllabus (2004), as shown in *Extract 5.5*, there are recommended vocabularies listed for each level of teaching. Vocabularies excluded from the vocabulary lists are not required to learn, and will be translated directly into Chinese in test papers. Please refer to *Extract 5.5* for more information:

Extract 5.5: Syllabus (2004)

- ✓ “Vocabulary excluded from the vocabulary lists will be given explanations or Chinese translation when necessary”

Such statements above suggest that, rather than viewed English as a communication-based course, English is learned as a knowledge-based course like chemistry, biology, or any other course with the purpose of acquiring fixed knowledge. The ability of comprehending and understanding the passage has been overlooked by directly translating unfamiliar vocabularies to students. In other words, what matters to the MOE is accumulating linguistic knowledge to enhance individual skills. How to integrate the acquired knowledge and to make a good use of them in practice has been ignored.

More evidences have been found in relation to language that has been considered to be an integration of a phonological system, a semantic system and a syntactic system. As shown in the following *Extract 5.6*, the students' writing ability is examined through: vocabularies, grammatical rules, sentences structure, punctuation, and the use of linking words. It is similar to what Chomsky (1959) discusses, in that language is completed with a finite number of fixed and abstract grammar rules, which are expected to produce infinite language structures, on the basis of a phonological, semantic syntactic system.

Extract 5.6: Testing Requirement for CET-4 & 6 (p.10)

- ✓ **Writing:** Linguistic Performances
 - using vocabularies appropriately
 - using grammatical rules accurately
 - express sentences structure appropriately
 - use the punctuation accurately
 - using linking words appropriately

All the statements above suggest that instead of viewing English as highly variable and

dynamic, it is still interpreted as a fixed entity, a system which has an isolated social-cultural context, and overlooked the complexity and changeability of language (Canagarajah, 2013). Based on such assumptions, English is still learned and taught as fixed codes traditionally, which is certainly different from the understanding of English in ELF research. Thus, the ignorance of the fluidity of English of the MOE does not reflect its awareness of ELF.

5.3.2.2. The Diversity of ‘Englishes’?

- The Ownership of English

In addition to the fluidity of English, the diversity of English, as mentioned by Wang (2015a), is worth investigating into, as both aspects are important to understand ‘English’ as a subject matter. The ownership of English is found as another major issue that is related to the understanding of diversity of English. Similar to the fluidity of English, there is little relevant information in *Requirements (2007)* which is explicitly related to the understanding of ‘Englishes’. Implicitly, it has been observed that English is perceived as English used in English-speaking countries (and as a property of native-English speaking countries), and that English used in English-speaking countries enjoys superior status in the process of English teaching and learning for teachers and students. Both of these features which are implicitly stated in *Requirements (2007)* suggest a strong intention of NES ownership of English.

Please have a look at the following extract as reference:

Extract 5.16: Teaching Requirements (p.20-22)

- ✓ “Students should generally be able to read essays on general topics in popular newspaper and magazines published in English-speaking countries at a speed of 70 to 90 wpm”. (**Reading, Intermediate**)
- ✓ “Students...should be able to read English articles in newspapers and magazines published abroad...” (**Reading, Advanced**)

1) English Used in English-Speaking Countries

In the statements of *Teaching Requirements* in *Requirements (2007)*, ‘*English-speaking countries*’ is frequently adopted. Clearly, English is explicitly perceived as English used in English-speaking countries by the MOE. More importantly, as discussed in Section 5.3.1.2., the policy statement has acknowledged the existing of NNSE, and that their understanding of such different Englishes in the MOE is grounded on the geographical boundaries of ‘*English-speaking countries*’, particularly the inner circle countries, as mentioned in Kachru’s

(1985) three circles model. English is thus viewed as property of the countries where English originates. The description of '*English in English-speaking countries*' here apparently stands for Native English. In other words, English refers to English that is used in native speaking countries. The belief in NES ownership of English has been reflected through the above policy statements.

Further up in the text, although '*English-speaking countries*', '*English that is used in English-speaking countries*', and '*magazines that are published in English-speaking countries*' are frequently used in the *Teaching Requirements* section, they are typically used to describe teaching requirements at the intermediate or advanced levels only. No such descriptions are found at the basic level in all individuals' skills. Thus it suggests that NES enjoys the status superior to other acknowledged Englishes.

2) The Superior Status of English Used in English-Speaking Countries

For instance, in the *Listening* requirement, the section emphasizes that at the advanced level, students should be able to '*follow talks by people from English-speaking countries given at the normal speed*'. Yet, at the basic and intermediate levels, it states listening as '*English radio and TV programs spoken at a speed of...*' Evidences are listed in the following *Extract 5.17*:

Extract 5.17: Teaching Requirements for Listening (p.19-22)

- ✓ “Students...should be able to understand English radio and TV programs spoken at a speed of 130 to 150 wpm...” **(Basic)**
- ✓ “They should be able...to understand longer English radio and TV programs on familiar topics spoken at a speed of around 150-180 wpm...” **(Intermediate)**
- ✓ “Students should...be able to understand radio and TV programs produced in English-speaking countries and...follow talks by people from English-speaking countries given at normal speed...” **(Advanced)**

It is obvious that English spoken by people from English-speaking countries has been considered as the relatively higher aim according of the MOE. Speakers of English speaking countries, namely, native speakers' speed of speaking, has been considered as the '*normal speed*', or in other words, authentic speed of native speakers. Moreover, native speakers'

speed of speaking has also been set as a standard of marking and dividing students into different levels of English proficiency. Thus, it can easily be deducted that, English used in English-speaking countries is seen as superior to any other kinds of Englishes. Just as what has been discussed in Chapter 3, traditional ELT believes the superior status of native speakers as distributors (Jenkins, 2015). This also indicates that traditional EFL-oriented ELT is still planned to put into practice by the MOE in *Requirements (2007)* through a top-down process. The belief in native speakers' authority then becomes one of the major gaps that traditional EFL-oriented language education has impacted on classroom participants' language choices in the top-down manner, which in turn hinders classroom participants' awareness of ELF.

5.3.2.3. Conformity to Native Speakers' Norms

Besides the NES ownership of English, another gap between traditional ELT and ELF awareness, as mentioned in Chapter 3, is concerned with the purpose of native-speakers' competence (Seidlhofer, 2011; Jenkins, 2006; Wang, 2015, Cogo & Dewey, 2012; Sifakis, 2017). Accordingly, such features are also found in *Requirements (2007)*. Although such features are always reflected implicitly, it is worth mentioning that, other than conformity to native speakers' language, NECs are also found to have been learned and taught as the target culture input.

- **Native English as the Target Language**

Taking NES as the target language for teaching and learning is found as one of the features of conformity to Native Speakers' norm by the MOE. Examples are found in the test and evaluation systems, specifically the statement of *Summative Evaluation*, as stated in *Requirements (2007)*. Another obvious example of belief in native English has been discovered from teachers' recruitment criteria on one of the university's web pages.

Summative evaluation, as mentioned by the MOE in *Requirements (2007)*, involves in not only the term-time university examinations, but also the national English proficiency tests, e.g. CET 4 & 6: a NS norm based test, while its testing contents are selected from original English input (*Syllabus, 2004*). Examples can be seen from the *Extract 5.7*, that 'the standard British or US' accent is selected as listening materials for test. Moreover, as shown *Extract*

5.8 (*Vocabulary List*), the vocabulary list is designed in the reference of dictionaries like Collins, Longman, and corpus of American English, that is, in the reference of corpus for native speakers. Similarly, in *Extract 5.9*, the accuracy in phonology and grammatical rules, the complexity and richness of vocabularies and grammar are the two major criteria of scoring systems for Speaking. In sum, the evidence suggests the presence of NS norms in CET 4 & 6.'

Extract 5.7: Listening Comprehending:

- ✓ “the listening materials are selected from the standard British or US accent, at the speed of 120-140 wpm” (p.1).

Extract 5.8: Vocabulary List

- ✓ “Vocabularies are selected in the reference of Collins cobuild, BYU Corpus of American English...and Advanced Learners' Dictionary of Current English, Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English etc” (p.15)

Extract 5.9: Scoring Criteria for Speaking

- ✓ “Accuracy and the scope: ‘Accuracy’ refers to candidates’ phonology, intonation, use of vocabularies and grammatical rules. ‘Scope’ refers to the complexity and richness of candidates’ use of vocabularies and grammatical features” (p.11)

As Brown (2012) notes, the test is not only ‘an essential part of monitoring students’ progress and providing feedback, but also a crucial part of determining the degree to which the objectives are appropriately defined’ (p.161). It is easy to say that current language tests take English native speakers as their reference, with their use of English are set as the standard and norm. Students, as non-native speakers, are all evaluated by such norms and standards. Testing, thus, has become the *de facto* language policy for indicating language beliefs, and behaviors in which how language is actually used.

In addition to testing and evaluating students, according to *Requirements (2007)*, one of the most important criteria for teachers’ evaluation is students’ test scores in examinations. As we discussed language policy in Chapter 2, testing is seen as one of the most powerful mechanisms that may impact on one’s language choices. Taking students’ scores as one of the criteria for teacher’s evaluation, more or less, will impact on teachers’ way of teaching consciously and subconsciously. The following extract describes the evaluation for teachers:

Extract 5.10: Evaluation for Teachers

- ✓ “Evaluation also includes that of the teachers, i.e., the assessment of the teaching processes and effects. This should not be merely based on students’ test scores, but take into account teachers’ attitudes, approaches, and methods; it should also consider the content and organization of their courses, and the effects’ of the teaching” (MOE, p.28)

Extract 5.10 clearly notes that students’ test scores are not the only elements that will impact on teachers’ evaluations; teachers’ attitudes, approaches, methods, teaching contents and administrations are all under evaluation. As test scores decide whether a student will be able to enter a good class, or whether a teacher will have the opportunity to win the title of ‘outstanding teacher’ at the end of the year, curriculum, teaching materials or teaching/learning focus are subject to modification as to meet the test content (Hogan-Brun, 2007). As a consequence, no matter what kind of teaching approaches and methods teachers adopt, or whether they have the awareness of English as a *lingua franca* or not, it is the NS norm in which the test is designed. And with the fear of the negative effect of test results, teachers and students tend to comply with the language that they will be tested without much resistance, thus making the reproduction of such language ideology easier, while at the same time preventing stakeholders from being aware of ELF. Simply put, through tests’ ‘wash back’ on teaching materials, on language teaching and learning, and on its stakeholders, the beliefs about NS norms will be surely enhanced. Testing, thus, plays a positive role that has successfully enhanced the belief about native speakers’ norms and standard in subtle ways without even being aware by stakeholders themselves. This is reiterated by Jenkins and Leung (2014), who note that the wash back effect of language test is ‘preventing learners from exploiting the potential of the English language and their own resources as multilingual English speakers, thus holding up English language change’ (p.1616).

Not only in test and evaluation systems, conformity to NS norms is also revealed in recruitment material of ELT teachers for University A in *Extract 5.11*. On the one hand, native speaker of English was a compulsory qualification and listed at the very beginning. On the other hand, for ELT teachers, the university preferred the candidates who had obtained NS-based certificates e.g. TESOL, TESL or TEFL. Such qualifications indicate that NS norms have been imposed deeply within the mindset of the institutional authorities.

Extract 5.11: Recruit English Language Teacher for Non-English Major Students

✓ Qualifications:

1. Native speaker of English
2. Master degree or above
3. A minimum teaching experience of two years
4. TESOL, TESL or TEFL certificates are preferable

From the extract above, the authority believed that as long as the candidates had relevant degrees, native speakers of English could be the teacher of English teaching NS English as a target language to Chinese HE students. This implicitly suggests that native speakers of English are considered as the ones who are able to produce better and effective English, and that it is native English speakers that the authority prefers their students to learn from.

- **Native Cultures as the Target Culture**

Not only the native English as the reference but also native cultures from inner circle countries as the target ones are learned and taught. For example, “*to improve...cultural awareness so as to meet the needs of China’s social development and international exchanges*” (MOE, 2007, p18), is one of the most explicitly-stated ideologies by the MOE in *Requirements (2007)*. Briefly, improving cultural awareness for international exchange has been put forward by the government as one of the major teaching objectives at the national level in *Requirements (2007)*. Please have a look at the following *Extract 5.12*:

Extract 5.12: Teaching Objectives

✓ “The objective of College English teaching is to (...) enhance their ability to study independently and improve their general cultural awareness so as to meet the needs of China’s social development and international exchanges.” (MOE, p.18).

Clearly, “cultural awareness”, as one of the major teaching objectives of *Requirements (2007)*, is put forward by the MOE for national development and international exchange. Moreover, to enhance cultural awareness, in *Extract 5.15, Course Design*, cultural-related modules are described as: ‘*learning about different cultures in the world...teaching the knowledge about different cultures in the world*’ (see *Extract 5.15*).

Extract 5.15: Course Design (p.24-25)

- ✓ “College English is not only a language course that provides basic knowledge about English, but also a capacity enhancement course that helps students to broaden their horizons and learn about different cultures in the world”.
- ✓ “When designing college English courses, therefore, it is necessary to take into full consideration the development of students’ cultural capacity and the teaching of knowledge about different cultures in the world”.

Yet, ‘*different cultures in the world*’ are mainly considered as western cultures in the process of policy implementation. To be more exact, ‘*different cultures in the world*’ are referred to as different cultures from native-speaking countries of English, such as Anglo-American culture by university authorities. Please refer to the following modules listed below, the cultural-related module list of University A. The listed modules were open to be selected as electives to all major undergraduate students.

Extract 5.13: Cultural-related Modules

English-speaking countries' cultures	American Society and Culture
American History and Culture	Australia Society and Culture
Australia Society and Culture	British Society and Culture
Modern British History and Culture	English Media and Culture
British Political System and Culture	an overview of Chinese Culture
Inter-cultural Communication	International Business Culture
Western Art and Pop Culture	
Intercultural Business Communication;	
Film and Inter-cultural Communication	
The Great People of Early Western Civilization	
Critical Theory and Western Civilization rise and fall	
English Intercultural Communication: audio-visual	
American Film: history, culture and criticism	
American Political System and Culture	
British/American Film and Social Life	
History and Culture in American Movies	

The module list above also suggests that the university authority closely relates culture to target language and the country where the target language originated. As shown, the so-

called cultural-related modules are mostly NS cultures, such as British, American and Australian etc. On the one hand, American culture and British culture are taken as models in English education, which will bring the danger that learners tend to limit themselves to one or two cultures and reject other cultures. On the other hand, language use may involve in the culture which is neither the L1 culture nor the target language culture. But there is a third culture which exists in the world, or is provisionally co-constructed by interlocutors (Kramsch, 1993). Along with the flexible and dynamic use of global Englishes worldwide, culture has become a “transcultural flow” where “cultural forms move, change and are reused to fashion new identities in diverse context” (Penneycook, 2007, p.6). English, therefore, may be also performed with new cultural meaning when it is used in different contexts by different users (Risager, 2006). Thereby, “there is no identifiable culture to which a language is inseparable tied” (Baker, 2009, p.571). In this case, it is not necessary for English language to be tied to the English speaking countries where it originates. Although the MOE does not mention that cultural awareness refers to the cultures from Native speaking countries, the MOE ignores the fluidity of culture by emphasising ‘*different cultures in the world*’, instead of giving further instructions on what to do after being aware of cultural differences. As discussed, cultural awareness is related to having not only the knowledge of certain cultures, but also the awareness of differences within and between cultures, and accommodating those differences depending on various situations and interlocutors (Baker, 2011). Yet, such feature is not reflected in *Requirements (2007)*. The same understanding of cultural awareness as the MOE was found in the Dean’s message of University B, where he/she believed that proficiency in ‘*foreign languages and knowledge of foreign cultures*’ referred to proficiency in cultural and intercultural awareness.

Extract 5.14

- ✓ “We look to the future with the goal of globalizing our students through proficiency in foreign languages and knowledge of foreign cultures. Here, students learn to think critically, act globally, and work collaboratively to achieve their full potential.”

Accordingly, it was believed by the Dean of University B that one could act globally and work collaboratively if one had been equipped with certain proficiency in foreign languages and knowledge of foreign cultures. The accommodation strategy (Cogo, 2009; Cogo & Dewey, 2006; Baker, 2012) is not included in it. To be more specific, there are no suggestions about how to cope with differences in an intercultural setting. The Dean’s

viewpoint is certainly in accordance with what the *Requirements (2007)* requires, while obviously it was not ELF-oriented.

Furthermore, the awareness of culture that those modules are embodied clearly belong to what can be defined as Level 1 of intercultural awareness in Baker's framework (2011), that is, basic cultural awareness. In another word, cultural pedagogical expectations revealed from the above extracts suggest that students could be able to be aware of the culturally based norms, beliefs, habits, behaviours of their L1 culture and other different cultures. This has also been reflected in *Extract 5.14*.

Extract 5.14: Teaching Requirements (p.19-23)

- ✓ "...they should also be able to translate Chinese introductory texts on the conditions of China or Chinese culture into English..." **(Translating)**

Through these extracts, it is obvious that there are not too many features of intercultural awareness that have been reflected in *Requirements (2007)*. Intercultural awareness refers to "...a conscious understanding of the role culturally based forms, practices, and frames of understanding can have in intercultural communication, and an ability to put these conceptions into practice in a flexible and context specific manner in real time communication" (Baker, 2011, p.5). However, in the three universities considered here, only a few cultural-related modules are to enhance one's '*cultural capacity*', as mentioned in the *Course Design*. More importantly, instead of viewing intercultural awareness as with fluid, hybrid perspectives, the MOE appears to have a fixed attitude towards culture. Students should be reminded by the curriculum that they not only need to learn about the norms of specific cultures, but at the same time, should also acknowledge that cultural norms in specific culture are flexible (Baker, 2011). Therefore, laying emphasis on cultural awareness in *Requirements (2007)* cannot prove itself to be ELF-oriented, either.

With the two features above, the illegitimate status of NNSE has been observed. On the one hand, the MOE overlooks NNSE although it has acknowledged they exist in language policy statements. On the other hand, it is in accordance with Seidlhofer (2011) that English has been perceived as "the language used by inner circle speakers and codified in grammars, dictionaries, and textbooks remains, by and large, unquestioned as the only legitimate object

of study and target of learning” (p.79). With such an assumption, native speakers of English are considered as authority, while NNSE are considered as illegitimate. Their speakers are thus perceived as deficient NSE speakers. This is different from what Galloway and Rose (2015) suggest, in that ELF has a global ownership as one of the features of English which has been used as ELF in practice.

5.3.3. Focus on Student Agency

The last theme focuses on student agency. It is seen as one of the major components of being aware of ELF, as mentioned by both Wang (2015a) and Sifakis (2017). Communicative effectiveness is found to have been put forward by the MOE. The students’ engagement with learner-centred learning process is highly emphasised. Moreover, engaging with students’ reality is embodied implicitly in policy statements as well.

5.3.3.1. Students’ Communicative Effectiveness

As discussed in *Section 5.3.2*, improving cultural awareness is explicitly set as one of the major teaching objectives in *Requirements (2007)*; Communicative effectiveness is another teaching objective that is explicitly emphasized by the MOE. Communicative effectiveness is emphasized in the studies and social interactions for not only future careers, but also social activities. Please refer to the following extract which is retrieved from *Teaching Objective* in *Requirements (2007)*:

Extract 5.18: Teaching Objectives

- ✓ “The objective of College English teaching is to develop students’ ability to use English in a well-rounded way, especially in listening and speaking, so that in their future studies and careers as well as social interactions they will be able to communicate effectively.” (MOE, p.18)

As communicative effectiveness is set as one of the major teaching objectives, it should be reflected in the whole official document of language policy consistently. From the above extract, laying emphasis on social interactions and careers, it seems that the MOE pays attention to communicative effectiveness in social activities, and the use of English for personal career needs. Thus, several relevant issues have been discovered by the researcher in analyzing the policy statements.

Firstly, linguistic knowledge has not been particularly mentioned in teaching requirements for all levels (basic, intermediate and advanced) in *Requirements (2007)*. As grammatical linguistic knowledge is always seen as the representation of standard NS English, it suggests that linguistic and grammatical knowledge has no longer been the only way to evaluate one's English ability, and that the Standard native English has not been over-emphasized by the MOE in *Requirements (2007)* explicitly. For example, it can be seen in *Extract 5.19* that multiple aspects should be taken into account in the whole process of English teaching and learning according to *the Requirements (2007)*.

Extract 5.19: Teaching Requirements for Writing (p.20-23)

- ✓ **Basic:** “The composition should be basically complete in content, clear in main idea, appropriate in fiction and coherent in discourse. Students are expected to be able to have a command of basic writing strategies.”
- ✓ **Intermediate:** “The composition should be complete in content, clear in ideas, well-organized in presentation and coherent in discourse.”
- ✓ **Advanced:** “The text should be characterized by clear expression of ideas, rich content, neat structure, and good logic.”

Instead of emphasizing on linguist skills, such as the use of vocabularies, punctuations or grammatical structures, ‘*complete in content*’ and ‘*clear expression of ideas*’, are considered as the most basic and main purpose, as shown in *Extract 5.19*. Other descriptions like ‘*appropriate in fiction, coherent in discourse, neat structure and good logic*’, are all regulated based on delivering a structured logical piece of writing. It is the same as *Teaching Requirements* for reading (see *Appendix 1*), ‘*correct understanding*’ or ‘*grasping the main ideas*’ are encouraged by the MOE as well. Skills for comprehension are valued the most like skimming and scanning, instead of concentrating on linguistic knowledge. Such orientations are in accordance with what Dewey (2009) argues, specifically that English should be taught beyond its forms and functions. A similar discussion can also be found in Seidlhofer (2011) what is significant about ELF is not the non-conformist forms it takes but how the forms function, how they are put to strategic use in communication.

Similar evidence can also be seen in *Testing Requirement of Syllabus (2004)* (*Extract 5.20*). Although linguistic features have been set as one of the testing requirements for listening, ‘*understanding the key points*’, ‘*implicit meanings*’, and successfully comprehending the

testing materials have been emphasized as well.

Extract 5.20: Testing Requirements

- A. Understand the main idea and key points
 - Understand the main ideas
 - Pay attention to important or special details
 - Pay attention to important attitudes and opinions
- B. Understand implicit meanings
- C. Comprehend listening materials with the notice of linguistic features

However, linguistic skills are not the only element for communication effectiveness. Language is only regarded as one of the communication resources, while other resources, such as pragmatic strategies and accommodation strategies, are equally important in communication (e.g. Jenkins, 2015; Cogo and Dewey, 2006; Baker, 2011). Yet, except linguistic skills, other elements were not reflected in the policy statements. In fact, in the ELF settings, pragmatic strategies are not merely considered as supplement in language communication. Instead, those strategies are useful resources and as important as linguistic resources. Pragmatics, thus, becomes one of the most important proficiency aspects that need to be considered in ELT. However, other than '*listening and speaking abilities*' that has been put forward, sociolinguistic skills, code switching, convergence or divergence strategies have not been reflected in the documents. This suggests that the MOE tends to focus on language as the only resources available for communication. The other components that may impact on effective communication have been overlooked.

Moreover, although communicative effectiveness has been set as one of the major objectives of *Requirements (2007)*, and linguistic knowledge has not been over-emphasized by the MOE, *Requirements (2007)* have still concentrated on encouraging their students to speak English with '*correct*' articulation, pronunciation, and intonation. For example, as stated in *Extract 5.21, Teaching Requirement* for speaking, phonology, correctness, fluency and accuracy have been emphasized significantly.

Extract 5.21: Teaching Requirements for Speaking (p.20-22)

- ✓ “give...short talks on familiar topics with clear articulation and basically correct pronunciation and intonation.”**(Basic)**

- ✓ “to hold conversations in fairly fluent English.” **(Intermediate)**
- ✓ “to describe events with clear articulation and basically correct pronunciation and intonation.” **(Intermediate)**
- ✓ “to conduct dialogue or discussions with a certain degree of fluency and accuracy on general or specialized topics, and...in fairly difficult language.” **(Advanced)**

It is obvious that, in order to achieve comprehension and successful communication, the MOE believes that accuracy has still been featured as one of the most important issues. Yet, that ‘*correct*’ is based on what standards has not been explicated. Neither has it made a clear explanation of what ‘*fairly difficult language*’ refers to. Other important components like cultural differences, different patterns of language use, the pragmatic use of language, and accommodation strategies have not been mentioned. Even if the MOE has mentioned about the use of accommodation strategies, in order to communicate effectively, efforts should be made to develop the students’ ability to use English in a well-rounded way, it is the ENL that the MOE targets and the Standard English that the authorities prefer.

Similar to *Testing Requirements* for writing in *Syllabus (2004)*, as shown in *Extract 5.22* below, individuals’ linguistic performances have been evaluated as well in both CET Level 4 and 6. Please have a look:

Extract 5.22: Testing Requirements for CET-4 & 6

- ✓ **Writing:** linguistic performances
 - using vocabularies appropriately
 - using grammatical rules accurately
 - express sentence structures appropriately
 - use the punctuation accurately
 - using linking words appropriately

Apparently, individuals’ linguistic performances are evaluated on the basis of using vocabularies, grammatical rules, sentence structures, punctuation and linking words ‘*appropriately*’ and ‘*accurately*’. Yet in the meantime, no further explanations have been made about being based on what standard that the language output should be considered as appropriate and accurate. Such intention suggests that to the MOE, it is still important to have a standard where classroom participants can compare with so that they can produce them appropriately and accurately. As no further explanations have been made about what

standard that the language output should be, it is implicitly reflected in *Extract 5.3* that English used in English speaking countries are the aims of teaching and learning. Native speaker' norms and standards still play a guiding role in impacting classroom participants' understanding of English and English teaching, directing their behaviors in implementing ideologies in practice. This contradicts with what Jenkins (2006) mentions, specifically that the measurement of proficiency depends on the degree of mutual intelligibility in the communication instead of taking Standard English as the norm. Thus 'communicative effectiveness...in social interactions', as proposed in *Requirements* (2007, p.28), is interpreted differently from how ELF believes. It also cannot draw conclusions that such ideology is ELF-awarded.

5.3.3.2. Students' Engagement with Learning Process

In order to implement the two explicitly mentioned teaching objectives, communicative effectives and cultural awareness, a reform for teaching model and teaching methods has been claimed by the MOE in *Requirements* (2007). The major change for the *Teaching Model*, briefly speaking, is promoting computer and web-based patterns not only for English teaching, but in the process of learning, evaluating, giving feedback, monitoring and management etc. Thus, the learning process is taken more seriously. Please refer to *Extract 5.23*:

Extract 5.23: Teaching Model (p.25-26)

- ✓ “an attempt to...cover the complete process of teaching, learning, feedback and management, including such modules as students' learning and self-assessment, teachers' lectures, and online coaching, as well as the monitoring and management of learning and coaching...”
- ✓ “It should ensure that students make steady progress in English proficiency throughout their undergraduate studies”
- ✓ “...so that English language teaching and learning will be, to a certain extent, free from the constraints of time or place and geared towards' students' individualized and autonomous learning...”

As discussed, student engagement in the whole process of learning is emphasised by the MOE. The learning process includes not only student classroom learning, but also outside of the classroom, in classroom activities and online self-learning. With such emphasis by the MOE, the policies requires student engagement with the learning process constantly and continually, a process that is '*free from the constraints of time and space*'(MOE, p.25). This, on the one hand, increases the opportunities of students to use English just for learning, and

the accumulation of knowledge. On the other hand, it allows students to reflect on the issues which are free from the classroom-relevant input, and to be engaged with different language choices available to them from various resources. The students' awareness of sociolinguistic reality will be increased, more or less, with their engagement of different language choices, which is instructive for their awareness of ELF.

While the learning process is '*free from the constraints of time and space*', students are exposed unrestrictedly to purely native speakers, or non-native speakers despite having the same learning materials. Thus, students' identities of being NSE learners will be surely influenced consciously and unconsciously due to this occurrence. As a result, as mentioned by Seidlhofer (2011), learners of EFL classes are actually users of ELF as well. However, teachers, students, textbook publishers, testers and policy-makers are always unaware (Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2011, 2015; Sifakis 2009). They have 'a priority in ELF awareness' (Sifakis, 2017, p.5). Therefore, students' identities of being ELF users rather than NSE learners will be impacted throughout their engagement of learning in the process of being free from time and space. As such, it is relevant to raise their awareness of ELF.

5.3.3.3. Students' Reality

Besides the two subthemes discussed above, other important issues have been noticed in the *Requirements (2007)*, which concentrate on the functional value of English. It has been noticed that listening and speaking abilities are frequently underlined by the MOE in explaining not only the *Teaching Objectives* and the *Teaching Requirements*, but also the *Teaching Model* and *Evaluation*. However, in the meantime, strategies for listening and speaking to facilitate meanings and construct conversations are frequently stressed in *Teaching Requirements* at different levels as well.

Extract 5.24: Teaching Requirements(p.19-22)

- ✓ "They are expected to be able to employ basic listening strategies to facilitate comprehension" (**Listening**).
- ✓ "They are expected to be able to use basic conversational strategies in dialogue" (**Speaking**).
- ✓ "They could...make due adjustments to the specific requirements...at the three levels. In doing so they should place more emphasis on the cultivation and training of **listening and speaking abilities**".

Seen from what has been explicitly stressed in the extract above, the functional characters of English is paid attention. *Requirements (2007)* indicates that other than conforming to native speakers' norms, as discussed in 5.3.2., the MOE values the strategic use of English in communication as well, particularly in listening and speaking skills. This complies with Seidlhofer (2011), who notes that what is crucial is not error correctness or conformity to native speakers' norms, but how the forms function in practice so as to serve individual speakers' needs and purpose of using the language. Just as the example listed in the following *Extract 5.25*, students' '*area of specialty*' or '*specialization*' has been repeated frequently in the whole documents of *Requirements (2007)* and *Syllabus (2004)*. Especially in *Teaching Requirements* for listening, speaking, reading, writing and translating skills, '*areas of specialty*' have often been mentioned in the intermediate and advanced levels.

Extract 5.25 Teaching Requirements (p.19-22)

- ✓ "...They (students) should be able to deliver papers at academic conferences and participate in discussions". (**Speaking**)
- ✓ "...Compose English abstracts for these in their own areas of specialty, and write short English papers on topics in their field" are emphasized here as well..." (**Writing**)
- ✓ "Students should be able to express, by and large, personal views on general topics, compose English abstracts for these in their own specialization, and write short English papers on topics in their field..." (**Writing**)

Extract 5.26: Teaching Model

- ✓ "The new model should enable students to select materials and methods suited to their individual needs, obtain guidance in learning strategies, and gradually improve their autonomous learning ability" (MOE, p.25).

Placing emphasis on '*areas of specialty*', the MOE has clearly acknowledged that the students' own needs and purpose are different (see *Extract 5.25 & 5.26*). English is learned not only for academic use in class, or learning for testing, but also for using in different occasions, e.g., conferences, conversations, or even travel overseas. Mentioning '*free from the constraints of time or place*' in students' engagement with learning, it engages more with the students' reality both in and out of the classrooms. The functional value of English for social activities has been noticed as well both in and out of the classrooms.

Besides, as shown in the *Extract 5.27*, in *Course Design*, '*English of specialty*' is set as one

of the five types of module category. Although the ESP approach has not been explicitly stated, English for specific purpose has been implicitly reflected by mentioning particular context of use, and for different purposes. As the general ESP is used to refer to teaching and learning activities that are tailored to meet the needs of individual purposes (Sifakis, 2017). The features of teaching English for specific occasions and purposes, as indicated by ESP approach, ‘can be instructive for the understanding of ELF awareness construct’ (Sifakis, 2017, p.9).

Extract 5.27: Course Design

- ✓ “A course system which is a combination of required and elective courses in comprehensive English, language skills, English for practical uses, language and culture, and English of specialty, should ensure that students at different levels receive adequate training and make improvement in their ability to use English” (MOE, p.24).

Besides, the student’s reality is surely considered and referred subconsciously with the emphasis laid on student’s engagement in the learning process. With specific reference to the process of self-management and self-evaluation, students will have a very clear image of their learning outcomes. They can easily reflect on outcomes on the basis of their own situations and manage their own learning strategies. That is how individual speakers make use of the acquired linguistic knowledge in practice and how they make use of it to develop ‘the capability for languaging’ have been considered by the MOE. It is similar to Sifakis’s (2017) argument about language awareness and use as important components of ELF awareness. A statement which relates engagement to the students’ reality is demonstrated in *Extract 5.28* below:

Extract 5.28: Formative Assessment

- ✓ “...but also provides students with an effective means to adjust their learning strategies and methods, improve their learning efficiency and achieve the desired learning effects” (MOE, p.27).

It is significant to encourage students to be able to adjust their choices of materials and learning methods, and strategies to meet their own purposes. Flexibility has been offered to students to adjust their own materials and strategies of learning to meet the individual needs. Students could reflect themselves on specific issues and get feedbacks from teachers out of

their own needs and interests rather than taking the classes together with other students as receivers only. It has also offered more opportunities for students to make the most use of English in practice on the basis of their individual needs. This is in accordance with Seidlhofer (2011) that, the pedagogic significance of an ELF perspective is that it shifts the focus of attention to the students and the learning process, and that what really matters is that the language should be engaged with the student's reality and activate the learning process.

5.4 Discussions

5.4.1. Inconsistencies among Different Policy Statements

After having gone through an analysis of the documents, it has been observed that there are inconsistencies among different language policy statements. Firstly, the inconsistencies have been showed between *Teaching Objectives* and *Teaching Requirements*. While the first teaching objective (communicative effectiveness) has been found that to achieve effective communication, the accuracy of linguistic knowledge is not particularly mentioned by the MOE. Not only language, but also grammatical rules and knowledge are no longer emphasised in *Requirements (2007)*. Yet, the MOE still concentrates on encouraging their students to speak English with 'correct' articulation, pronunciation, and intonation in the *Teaching Requirement* (see *Appendix 1*). Inconsistency has also been found within *Teaching Objectives* and *Teaching Requirements* as in *Syllabus (2004)*. For writing, linguistic performances are evaluated based on using vocabularies, grammatical rules, punctuation and linking words 'appropriately' and 'accurately'. However, no further explanations are given based on what standard that the language output should be considered as appropriate and accurate. All of the above facts suggest that the MOE's understanding of communicative effectiveness is based on the correct and appropriate use of the language as a fixed standard.

Another teaching objective refers to cultural awareness. On the one hand, the MOE hopes students are able to enhance their cultural awareness for international exchange. On the other hand, the MOE requires cultural-related courses should teach students "different cultures in the world" in *Requirements (2007)*, while "different cultures in the world" were interpreted as the cultures from native-speaking countries by university authorities. In addition, no further explanations are provided in terms of how to deal with cultural differences. Students

are not taught to deal with cultural differences after they have been briefly introduced in class. Moreover, the majority of the cultural-based modules were offered to students as introductory and knowledge-based only. This is also different from the objective of improving one's cultural awareness for intercultural exchange.

In addition to issues with the two teaching objectives above, there is one further inconsistency, between *Teaching objectives* and *Testing*. The *Requirements (2007)* suggests multiple teaching requirements to students at different levels of proficiency. The standard that they divide into different levels of proficiency is on the basis of a one-time norm-based paper test. Based on the testing results, students are enrolled in the basic, intermediate and advanced English classes and taught by different teachers, materials, objectives and requirements. It is simply contradictory. On the one hand, it emphasises teaching to improve one's communicative effectiveness and cultural awareness. And on the other hand, it relies on a one-time norm-based test to decide students' language proficiency and their education plans in the next four years of study. Furthermore, the test was NS norm based. The communication strategies have not been taken into account in designing the test. Neither has the cultural factor.

5.4.2. The Trends and Reform from *Requirements (2007)*

- **College English Teaching Guide (2016)**

It is worth mentioning that, in the year of 2016, a revised version, *College English Teaching Guide (2016)* was launched by the MOE under the *National Outline for Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development (2010-2020)*. However, by the time of its publication in 2016, the research had started and almost finished with primary reference of *Requirements (2007)*. Thus, *Guide (2016)* is only looked at by the researcher to discuss the current trends, shifts and promotions in relate to language ideologies.

Explicitly, in the newest version, the MOE puts forward the instrumental and humanity features of English. All of the teaching objectives are made on the basis of the two features. In mentioning humanity, the MOE explicitly mentions the intense focus on intercultural communication. And in mentioning instrumental, it is concerned with individual skills of listening, reading, speaking, writing, translating and English for special uses.

Different from *Requirements (2007)*, in *Guide (2016)*, ‘cultural awareness’, has been replaced by ‘intercultural communication’. Moreover, the module category of *Language and Culture* in *Requirements (2007)* has been replaced by *Intercultural Communication* in *Guide (2016)*. The MOE also explicitly mentions ‘*language is seen as the carrier of culture, meanwhile, an important component of culture*’ (p.2) Intercultural communication is then described as the “awareness and ability of intercultural communication” (p.10). Mentioning the ability of placing intercultural communication, the MOE has acknowledged the ability of putting cultural knowledge into practices rather than just learning it as introductory.

As for instrumental features of English, *English for special uses* is considered as one of the major components of its instrumental characters. Besides *Intercultural Communication*, *English for Special Uses* and *General English* are another two module categories recently created. *Guide (2016)* values more of an integrated practical use of English for individual needs than *Requirements (2007)*. It also complies with the other ideologies, ‘human-centred’. Besides “humanity feature” and “instrumental feature” (p.1), the MOE emphasises on the value of individuals for personal development.

However, firstly, the standards for dividing students into different levels of class are still based on their marks of national university entrance examination implicitly, e.g. the basic level is set mainly for students with passing grades in their entrance exam. Secondly, the statement of accuracy in phonology, vocabulary, and grammar and sentence structure is emphasised by the MOE in the basic, intermediate and advanced levels for overall aim. Thirdly, having ‘a command of basic learning strategies’ (p.4) is emphasised in all levels of proficiency as well. To be more exact, the learning strategies refer to ‘following the language learning habits or patterns’ (p.15). In fact, a ‘language learning pattern’ is based on the view that language is used as a fixed code. More importantly, it has also been noticed that although the MOE has recognised the importance of textbooks, course materials and digital courseware, the MOE particularly states that ideological content, authoritativeness, relevance are the three major elements when selecting textbooks. By noting authoritativeness, it has easily been seen that the MOE has still been valued the legitimacy of native English very much.

• China Standards of English Language Ability

In order to accelerate the reforms of the examination and enrolment system across all levels of education, *China Standards of English Language Ability* (CSE) was established in response to assessment systems of foreign language proficiency in the year of 2018 by the MOE and National Language Commission. CSE gave detailed descriptions about English language ability in language comprehension ability, language production ability, pragmatic ability, linguistic knowledge, interpretation and translation, and language use strategy at nine levels, from primary to intermediate and advanced learners and users (MOE, 2018). It has played a guiding role in setting the teaching objectives, designing courses, curricula, evaluation syllabus and textbooks (Liu, 2014; Liu, 2019a). It has also affected the policy-making process (Liu, 2019b). In the updated version of policy statement *Guide* (2016), the MOE also made it clear that teaching and learning English in the higher education context should be associated with CSE.

CSE puts forward language use ability in all levels of study. Instead of emphasizing on language itself, it gives an articulate description of which kinds of communicative tasks are expected to achieve within various contexts. It also makes it clear that ‘language ability’ refers to language learners and users making the strategic use of linguistic and non-linguistic knowledge to deal with different language activities. Other than that, it also focuses on language use strategy and pragmatic ability and encourages language-teaching activities which are centered on communicative purpose. All of the above features suggest that it has acknowledged the importance of non-linguistic resources for effective communication besides language resources; and linguistic ability does not stand for language proficiency. However, native speakerism is still reflected throughout the document.

Firstly, using language “appropriately” is always one of the criteria. For example, *Table 6* states the students with overall organisational competence at Level 8:

“...can naturally use grammatical and textual knowledge...expressing meaning correctly and coherently, with appropriate and conventional language use” (p.13).

It is the same as *Table 10. Grammatical competence*, at Level 8 & 9, the students:

“...can appropriately use vocabulary and grammatical structures to organize information...”, “can properly use grammar in all situations.” (p.19).

Secondly, fixed collocations and idiomatic phrases are encouraged. Examples are found in *Table 12*, at Level 7 of vocabulary competence, the students are required to be able to use fixed expressions, for example:

“...can appropriately use common fixed expressions (e.g. proverbs, idioms, formulaic expressions).”

Thirdly, it is always in the reference of native speakers’ use of English. In giving the suggestions of learning strategies (*Table 17, level 6*), CSE adopts traditional SLA points of view and encourages students to:

“Can imitate words and sentence patterns used by native speakers and put them to use creatively” (p.30).

Furthermore, CSE particular mentions about English varieties, and students are required to distinguish and adjust to different varieties, such as American English, Indian English etc. (e.g., *Table 11, level 7 & Table 23, level 8*). Such descriptions suggest that the policy has acknowledged the development of English has caused language variations, but their points of view are still based on the theory of WE, where language varieties are linked with geography boundaries.

- **Belt and Road Initiative**

Another important policy statement that impacts on English teaching and learning is ‘Belt and Road Initiative’ (Wang, 2019; Liu, 2019; Perrin, 2018; Zeng, 2018), an influential official document which was firstly proposed by China’s President Xi in the year of 2013 and formally published in 2015 by Chinese National Development and Reform Commission, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Commerce. As a development strategy, it aims to deepen the cooperation among countries across Asia, Europe, and Africa and beyond, in the aspects of economy, facilities, cultures, policy coordination and people. In order to ensure the above connectives, language connectivity becomes an essential element and serves as the basic tool for communications among speakers whose L1 is not English.

The implication to “Belt and Road Initiative”, firstly, it lays emphasis on functional and communicational use of language (Liu, 2019), which offers an opportunity for the development of ELF in China as it meets the need of ‘Belt and Road Initiative’. Secondly, Native speakers of English like British or American are no longer the major interlocutors of Chinese speakers of English with the development of ‘Belt and Road Initiative’. In the light of this, taking standard native English as target language input for classroom teaching clearly mismatches the policy intention that prioritizes effective communications and intercultural communications for connectives (Wang, 2019; Zeng, 2018). It should carefully reconsider that how English should be taught and learned to serve the purpose of effective communication with non-native speakers. Besides, it also has a positive effect on cultivating language users’ awareness of ELF by raising ELF users’ awareness of the sociolinguistic realities and their awareness of being ELF users focusing on communicative effectiveness rather than NSL learners. Last but not the least, to implement the policy orientation of ‘Belt and Road Initiative’, in the field of language teaching, a set of responding English educational policy for the communicative effectiveness in intercultural settings are needed without assuming NESs and NSE are the potential interlocutors for communication and are the only legitimate English.

5.5 Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter has presented the procedures and findings from an analysis of a number of publications. In order to clarify to what extent that the documents are aware of ELF, special attention has been paid to analysing language ideologies embodied in language acquisition policy statements. Not only overt, but also covert statements have been evaluated. It has been noticed what role English has played and that the speakers of NNSE has not been acknowledged by the MOE. The fluidity and diversity nature of English have not been acknowledged either. On the bright side, the needs of students have been particularly focused by the MOE, emphasising the functional use of English for communicative effectiveness, particularly student engagement with learner-centred learning process and student realities. Yet, communicative effectiveness is still on the basis of correctly and appropriately productive English with fixed standards. In their totality, inconsistencies between *Teaching Objectives* and *Teaching Requirements* (Requirements,

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2007); *Teaching Objectives* (Requirements, 2007) and *Testing Requirements* (Syllabus, 2004) have been noticed in the above official documents.

After discussing the explicit and implicit issues that are related to language ideologies in this chapter, Chapter 6 will present some findings from another qualitative approach: through an interview. This will provide a follow-up analysis of the findings gained from this chapter.

Chapter 6 Qualitative Findings from Interviews

6.1 Introduction

Having presented the results found from an analysis of several documents in the previous chapter, this chapter will present and discuss the findings from a series of semi-structured interviews. Beginning with a description of the procedure of the interview study, the chapter will follow up with a thematic coding framework which will be used for interview analysis. The analysis of data will begin with the transcription and will be interpreted through the construction of the framework. Results will be presented in terms of coding categories. Moreover, discussions will also be concluded to interpret the research findings that have been generated from the data in order to answer Research Questions 2 & 3.

6.2 Procedure of Interview Analysis

The data is sourced from interviews with 21 teacher participants from all the three universities. All of them were selected from ELT teachers for the first and second year non-English major undergraduate students, except those who were teaching the courses that were open for both English and non-English major students to select. The interviews were conducted as semi-structured or unstructured before or after class. Each conducted interview lasted around 40-45 minutes, with some of the 21 teachers interviewed on more than one occasion. Information of each participant can be found in *Appendix 3. Teacher Participants' Information*.

All of the interviews were given individually face to face at the three universities in public places, such as campus café, meeting rooms, classrooms or staff restaurants. I gave the brief introduction to my interviewees at the beginning and let them know that they could withdraw at any time without any reasons during the interviews. Then I kindly asked them to read and sign for information sheet and consent forms due to the ethical issues. I also notified them that the interviews were going to be recorded and ensured them that the recordings were only be used for research purpose and would be kept in a computer with password protected. During the interviews, Mandarin Chinese was used as the main communication language as

it was both interviewers and interviewees' L1. Using the participants' first language was easy for the participants to express their ideas fully. Code-switching between Mandarin Chinese-English and Mondrian Chinese-Cantonese were also used.

After the brief introduction, a number of opening questions were firstly asked regarding to interviewee's personal experiences to warm up to encourage them to speak up. Then, as a follow-up to document analysis, the interviews were conducted with a small number of prepared question prompts to let me focus on the topic, and followed up with several in-depth questions regarding to the emerged point of views collected from other research instruments. On the one hand, I focused on the research purposes, and on the other hand, I was natural to the conversations to offer respondents comfortable atmosphere to open up. During the process, I also prepared for different reactions regarding to the unexpected answers I might obtain from the respondents, which had obvious impacts on the flow of interviews. I also adjusted my strategy of asking depending on the personality of the interviewees. As I tended to find out interviewees' attitudes, beliefs and ideologies towards current language policies and practices, it was difficult to get the clear answers if I asked directly. In this way, I paid more attention to interviewees' discourses, in terms of their speed, pauses, emphasis, modal particles, and facial expressions so as to evaluate the actual meaning. At the end of each interview, I expressed my appreciations to the participants and exchanged contact information with them to establish long-term relationships in case there were further information or follow-up interviews were needed. It is worth mentioning that, in order to foster the trusted relationship between interviewers and interviewees, small talks or walk talks were used all the time after classes or before interviews. Especially when talking with the interviewees who were introverted, it usually took time and made efforts for them to open up.

6.2.1. Coding Framework Development

As it has been discussed in Chapter 3, Sifakis (2017) mentions the awareness of instructional practice, e.g. teacher- and textbook-related practices, is important to the awareness of ELF in ELT. This chapter aims to: 1). evaluate teachers' language ideologies about the English language and English teaching/learning and using in practice, in terms of 'normativity, appropriateness, comprehensibility and ownership of English by native and non-native users alike' (Sifakis, 2017, p.5). 2). gain an insight into the factors impacting on teachers' beliefs.

The participants' beliefs about the issues reflected in document analysis are going to be addressed as well as a follow-up.

The development of coding framework for thematic analysis was not straight forward, it developed spirally. In this case, with the initial coding framework in mind, I firstly looked into the data that I mapped onto categories I had in advance. In Nvivo 11, attention was paid to data which would emerge through the interviews and which would not fit in any categories I had in advance. This also provided me with unanticipated themes and pursued me to update and reconstruct my coding framework. The updated framework then would be used as a guide for me to backtrack to each interview and evaluate whether the framework was suitable. Thereby, alongside the issues revealed through document analysis, the findings of the interviews would be presented in the following three major themes: firstly, teachers' beliefs about the English language; secondly, teachers' beliefs about English teaching/learning and using in practice; and thirdly, factors that impact on the teachers' beliefs. The finalized framework of analysis is presented in *Table 6.1*.

Table 6.1 Coding Framework for Interviews

6.3.1. Teachers' Beliefs about English in the Sociolinguistic Context

6.3.1.1. Awareness of ELF Concept

6.3.1.2. The Nature of English

6.3.1.3. Authority in English

6.3.2. Teachers' Beliefs about English Teaching/Learning and Using in Practice

6.3.2.1. Standard English as the Target Language Input

6.3.2.2. Non-native Englishes as an Option

6.3.2.3. NES Cultural Awareness

6.3.3. The Factors of Impacting on Teachers' Beliefs

6.3.3.1. Non-reorganization of ELF in Language Policy

- Testing and Education Systems
- Teachers' Recruitment

6.3.3.2. Self-experiences of Teaching and Using English

6.3 The Findings from Interview Analysis

6.3.1. Teachers' Beliefs about English in the Sociolinguistic Realities

In terms of the participants' beliefs about a language - especially, English language - in this section, a number of issues are of particular focus. On the one hand, teachers' awareness of ELF concept is the major concern in investigating into teachers' beliefs about English. On the other hand, their recognition of the dynamic and diversity nature of English are the two features that should be considered. Besides, insights into teachers' beliefs on authorities in English will be followed up. Each of these issues will be discussed in this section, with specific reference to data collected from teachers' discussions about relevant topics.

6.3.1.1. Awareness of ELF Concept

As the representation of English has been discussed with ELF perspectives in the document analysis, how teacher participants acknowledge ELF was considered during the interview. Generally, it was found that majority of participants were lacking knowledge about ELF. Among the 21 participants, only one, who had the experience of studying in the UK, expressed her awareness of it. Among the rest of 20 participants, the majority of them showed an unacquaintance with ELF. Apart from their unacquaintance, an obvious and common phenomenon was that the participants tended to mix up the concepts of WE and ELF. Please refer to the following *Extracts 6.1 & 6.2* for detailed information.

Extract 6.1

- 1 **JG:** What are you studying?
- 2 **R:** I'm interested in English as a lingua franca.
- 3 **JG:** Er...?
- 4 *(...Researcher gives a brief introduction, and the interviewee looks confuse)*
- 5 **R:** Emm...have you heard about world Englishes or global Englishes?
- 6 **JG:** Ahhh, world Englishes, I know, I know.

Extract 6.2

- 7 **R:** Have you heard about ELF? Would you mind sharing your opinions?
- 8 **YL:** I myself think that emphasizing on language identity will further weaken the place (of the language), and the only benefit is to encourage them to use Chinese

10 English. You can't easily say yes, we want Standard English or no, we shouldn't
 11 (refers to Standard English). ELT in China should be guided by the main stream of
 12 English rather than the royal English, especially in college English teaching classes.
 13 I strongly believe in it. I think your "lingua franca" should be interpreted differently
 14 in the context of UK and China. Because it is quite political, it is different from
 15 traditional means of language teaching.

16 **R:** Can you explain that it will 'depower' the place of a language?

17 **YL:** Well, there is just no need to claim the legal status, for example, Chinese
 18 English. It can only bring about critics as the majority are refusing it.

According to the two interviewees' transcripts listed above, it was evident that participants tend to misunderstand the concept of ELF as WE implicitly and explicitly. It was also found by the researcher that even if they were discussing the issues and facts in the scope of ELF, the participants still tended to refer to WE instead of ELF theoretically. The terminology of ELF, however, was unacquainted. Even the one participant (YL), who claimed that she knew about ELF, tended to talk about English varieties all the time when the researcher asked her perception about ELF. *Extract 6.2* was the conversation with YL who had an experience of studying overseas and claimed that she had heard about ELF. It should be noticed that when the researcher asked about YL's attitude towards ELF, she reacted quickly by mentioning language identity and Chinese English, referring back to '*Chinese English*' and '*varieties*' of English several times. Accordingly, it was perceived by the researcher that YL tended to adopt the idea that she had collected from World Englishes to answer questions on ELF. It somehow suggested, as the matter of fact, she was confused with the term WE and ELF. One more example was seen in *Extract 6.2*, YL's attitude towards ELF were quite complex to some extent. Although she claimed a tolerance towards the concept of ELF, she still showed a strong bias in her argument with the researcher. For example, she used the words "*your 'lingua franca'*" in the discussion, stressing the word '*your*' (line 13) to express her attitude, and '*strongly believed in*' (line 13) for the mainstream use of English (line 11), e.g. Standard English. Therefore, it was perceived by the researcher that she made her points with obvious bias instead of tolerance.

Considering the rest of participants who were unfamiliar or had never heard about ELF, the lack of knowledge about ELF had been commonly found among all the interviewed teachers. With such a fact, the researcher briefly introduced the concept to the participants. Following this, their attitudes towards ELF were found shifted in some extent. No one explicitly

demonstrated a bias attitude towards ELF, however several participants avoided directly answering questions like ‘is ELF acceptable?’ Some of them held limited tolerant attitudes and the majority of participants accepted the idea but had some hesitations. A few participants thought ELF was acceptable and the theories would be applied to their classroom teaching after they had the conversation with the researcher. To follow up, the researcher will present participants’ attitudes towards the key issues of the awareness of ELF, such as the awareness of nature of English and authorities in English.

6.3.1.2. The Nature of English

With the two facts, that English is viewed as a fixed code and illegitimacy of non-native Englishes is believed by the MOE, in order to know how English was perceived by the teacher participants in the sociolinguistic context, the two features of the dynamic and diversity nature of English were taken into account in the interviews. From this, two common attitudes towards the above issues were discovered. Firstly, it was found surprising that all of the participants (21) claimed that they had noticed the existence of different kinds of Englishes during the interviews. Moreover, more than half of them showed a positive attitude towards the fact that English was replaced by its plural form in response to my questions as to how they thought of the phenomenon that the different kinds of English existed. For detailed information, *Extract 6.3* displays the participants’ common attitude towards the plural form of Englishes:

Extract 6.3

19 **R:** Have you noticed that as the matter of fact, there exist a lot of different kinds of
20 English?

21 **CB:** Of course, this is unstoppable.

22 **R:** Could you explain what do you mean by ‘unstoppable’?

23 **CB:** Well, English is used all over the world, and used by changing into different
24 kinds. And due to the globalization, people from different countries are all speaking
25 English now, and the language they use (people from different countries) is also
26 different, more or less, so, yeah, certainly, the existing of different kinds of English
27 will become more and more. You can’t stop it at all.

CB showed his recognition of different Englishes, making the argument that there would be more kinds of different Englishes in the future as a result of globalisation (line 24). In line

22, he used the word ‘*unstoppable*’ to describe the development of different Englishes, believing that irrespective of whether it is or is not accepted, everyone had to adjust the sociolinguistic reality. CB’s words suggested that he was aware that English used by its speakers could be various in some way and the situation of highly variable use of English would become “*more and more*” in the future (line 27). Yet, it was discovered that CB tended to relate ‘Englishes’ with countries and geography boundaries. His understanding of ‘Englishes’ referred more to different ‘English varieties’, as emphasised in the field of World Englishes, than what ELF researchers were talking about highly variable use of English by all its speakers. That was one of the common reactions to the question asked by the researcher in relation to the plural form of Englishes.

The second issue of teachers’ beliefs about English, referred to the dynamic and fluid features of English. Contradicted with the traditional view of English as a fixed entity, this belief was one of the overarching topics that ELF researchers had argued frequently. *Extract 6.4* will display the common attitude towards the L1 transfer, please have a look below.

Extract 6.4

28 **JT:** I can understand the phenomenon of Englishes, but I don't know, because our
 29 L2 is usually in the reference of L1, we rely on different L1s in communication,
 30 this will cause the problems in understanding, more or less. Like Japanese people, I
 31 had this experience, they tended to say /'mɪlə/ for /'mɪrə/ (mirror) because they don't
 32 have /r/in their L1. This caused troubles.

33 **R:** Okay, I see, enn , so, do you think how we can avoid such problems?

34 **JT:** (laugh) this is tough, emm...I don't know, maybe when we all refer to the same
 35 language? That is why we teach (standard) English to our students.

What JT believed was another major common concern relates to the plural form of English. The expression of JT indicated that he had acknowledged the phenomenon, and his acknowledgement of different L1 speakers tended to use English in the different ways in the reference of their L1, which would lead to different Englishes. However, he had a concern that the use of different Englishes would cause trouble in intercultural communication, as he had experienced trouble in understanding Japanese people in intercultural communication. It was obvious that his view was still on the basis of the traditional EFL, that is, their L1 was considered as negative transfer. His argument on negative L1 transfer also suggested that he believed in his understanding of Englishes as fixed entities. He believed that there was an

idealised form of language, namely, Standard English, which everyone could refer to. His last sentence also proved the researcher's interpretation was true (line 34-35). This is different from what ELF believes, specifically that non-native speakers are regarded as highly skilled intercultural communicators who are able to adjust and accommodate the interactions in the intercultural settings with their L1 background as corpus resources. NNESSs are no longer identified as low-proficiency native English speakers. More evidence is displayed in *Extract 6.5*, regarding teachers' attitudes towards fixed grammatical functions:

Extract 6.5

36 **XI:** ...because language is always changing, it is good, it develops because of
37 changing. Ancient English is different from modern English, and, and also
38 traditional Chinese characters and simplified characters.

39 **R:** So do you think fluid, dynamic language is good? And, do you think we still
40 need to teach the fixed grammar to our students?

41 **XI:** We do not teach grammatical functions to our students. Er...it is not because
42 we think it is unnecessary. We still think it is important. It is just because we think
43 they have already had command of using it.

XI seemed to have acknowledged the dynamic and fluid natures of English by mentioning that language developed because of change (line 37). In fact, XI was still directed by a strong belief in a fixed standard. As a teacher of *Academic Writing*, in her later response to the researcher, XI emphasised that it was still important for students to have command of using grammatical functions in order to compose well-structured pieces of writing without serious mistakes. The reason why she did not teach grammatical functions anymore was that she thought the students had already had command of them. In this case, it was clear that XI did not show her understanding of the nature of language which was dynamic and fluid. Instead she thought it was important to maintain some fixed standards to successfully compose well-structured pieces of writing. Such a perception of English is certainly far away from what ELF believes. The character of ELF, as summarised by Dewey (2009, p.62), is better to be considered as a frequently movable and changeable dynamic, which is "highly variable" and various. The variation is seen as inevitable and necessary in the process. The standard of success depends on a students' ability to accommodate, or shift speech patterns to achieve effective communications. Instead, XI's perceptions of English, on the contrary, downplayed the performance of a language, in which system were seen as primary.

From the above extract, the recognition of different kinds of English was commonly recognized by the teacher participants though it was on the basis of the WE point of view. English varieties were still concerned with 'fixed' entities. On the one hand, Englishes have been perceived as different English varieties by teacher participants. On the other hand, given the different varieties were different from their geography boundaries, an assumption of communication difficulties among speakers occurred because of their different L1. Teacher participants therefore believed there was a need of teaching SE to overcome such problems.

6.3.1.3. Authorities in English

In discussing teachers' attitudes towards English in sociolinguistic reality, NESs' authorities in English were found as one of the major concerns that impacted on teachers' beliefs about English. Throughout the discussions, two reasons were relevant to their attitudes. Firstly, it referred to the belief that native speakers always had the right to decide and English was the language they were using. The second reason focused on the lack of power within NNESs to claim the global ownership of English. Please refer to *Extracts 6.6, 6.7 & 6.8*, displaying participants' discussions with the researcher in answering the questions about non-natives' rights to make changes while using English.

Extract 6.6:

44 **JUZ:** ... (if ELF is accepted) We won't feel we are evaluated, judged by native
 45 speakers any more....

46 **R:** Judged, do you mean...

47 **JUZ:** I mean they are higher than us? They can decide your English whether it is
 48 good. I feel unconfident and...er...how to say...feel nervous when communicating
 49 with them.

Extract 6.7:

50 **LAZ:** Right...a lot of pressures (when talking with native speakers). How to say,
 51 en...just uncomfortable you know?

52 **R:** Have you ever questioned why it must be native English that we are teaching
 53 and learning?

54 **LAZ:** It is the acquiescent. Because it is the language (English) that they are using.

In *Extract 6.6*, the participant clearly stated that she had a feeling of being judged and unequal status existed when she was talking with native speakers. The feeling of being judged also caused her to become less confident in communicating with native speakers. Similarly, in the discussion with LAZ in *Extract 6.7*, she also mentioned that she was feeling '*uncomfortable*' and '*a lot of pressures*' when she was talking to native speakers (line 50-51). But neither JUZ nor LAZ thought that they should challenge the status when the researcher raised the question why. LAZ even said that conforming to native English was '*acquiescent*' to her, as it was '*the language that they are using*' (line 54). Thus, we, as the learner of their language, should learn native English and conform to their norms. Apparently, such discussions suggested a strong intention of NESs' authorities in English. Although both the participants had sensed the unreasonable status, due to the deeply imposed beliefs about English as a foreign language that was teaching and learning English with native speaker's English as the major aim, they did not question about the situation at all. *Extract 6.8* recorded the other response that ZW mentioned in relation to his hesitation.

Please have a look:

Extract 6.8

55 **R:** As non-English speakers, we are using English, we are changing English. Do
56 you think we have the right to change?

57 **ZW:** Your language can deliver your thought. As for whether it is Chinese English
58 or Cantonese or native or non-native like, it doesn't matter. Your thoughts matter
59 very much, your research matters. But it takes a process.

60 **R:** A process of what?

61 **ZW:** Power and influence. If you have the strong power in your plan, you will
62 change the language in your own way. (...) Chinese English will be the next lingua
63 franca. Back to the old times, the Great Britain has the power, so we learn British
64 English, but now we write articles of science and technology is in the reference of
65 American English. After our Chinese...when our Chinese people's publication has
66 increased, because they need to learn our research they have to accept our Chinese
67 English.

Extract 6.8 above demonstrates what ZW believed about the authorities of English. On the one hand, ZW did not give an answer explicitly as to whether ELF was acceptable or not. However, he mentioned what really mattered was "*your thoughts*" that constructed whether your language was "*native or non-native like*" (line 58). Such intention is quite ELF-oriented

by suggesting constructing language to deliver one's thoughts to achieve communicative effectiveness. So in his mind, the purpose of speaking English was not to mimic NS English. On the other hand, ZW laid emphasis on the '*power and influence*' (line 61) of the speakers of a language. With '*power and influence*', he believed that Chinese English would become the next lingua franca (line 62-63). This discussion was related to his attitude towards a language which depended on the person who spoke it. With power and influence, he believed Chinese speakers of English, as non-native speakers, could also have the equal right to use language in their own way, and they were entitled to make changes. However, he also mentioned that there would be a process of gaining power for non-native speakers. Thereby, he still hesitated to apply it into classroom teaching.

Apart from the common attitudes that the vast majority was hesitated about in claiming global ownership of English above, there were also a group of participants who believed in challenging NES authorities. After the researcher had briefly introduced the concept of ELF, they gradually changed their attitudes to accept the theories of ELF by starting questioning NES authorities in English. Please refer to the *Extract 6.9* and *6.10* for more information.

Extract 6.9

68 **YQ:** I think this is very good, the theory is very new (...) And then it will challenge
 69 the dominant status of traditional English speaking countries. If...there must be
 70 influence...Chinese English is sure to exist. Every (non-native) country must have
 71 its own influence.

Extract 6.10

72 **LAZ:** Non-native English speaking countries clearly lack the awareness of
 73 challenging the dominance of UK or US English. If they were aware of it, I think it
 74 would be interesting. It would be flourishing (百家争鸣), it would change. Because
 75 language is always changing, if they find it is complicated to use a language, it
 76 would be simplified like traditional Chinese characters. English has also developed
 77 from ancient English. So it is quite hard to say what would be like in the future, but
 78 I think we do need the awareness of such intentions.

LAN believed that at the moment, NNESSs were lacking an awareness in challenging NES authorities in English (line 73), although she thought it would be flourish if it could be broken. For her, this was good for the development of English, like '百家争鸣', a Chinese phrase which is used to describe flourish. It might also accelerate the development of

English, and changes could be made due to the flourish that NNESs created. The discussion with LAN reflected a strong intention of global ownership of English. Similar to LAZ's opinion, YQ mentioned that by challenging the NES ownership of English, every non-native speaking country would promote their international status. She further mentioned that NNSE was more useful and effective in intercultural communication with non-native speakers (see *Extract 6.35*). Thus, it was good to question about the NESs' ownership of English.

Given what has been summarised, teachers' attitudes towards NESs' authorities in English were various, though the majority of them did not show resistance in believing authority in native speakers. They, more or less, had a sense of being judged by native speakers, which was unacceptable. This contradicts what *Requirements (2007)* reflects, that the ownership of English belongs to native speakers. Considering teachers are playing the role as agency to transmit the top-down ideologies into practice, their attitudes, will impact on their classroom teaching practice and further on the implementation of de facto language policy. More evidence is needed in looking at teachers' beliefs about language teaching/learning and using in practice in the next section 6.3.2.

6.3.2. Teachers' Beliefs about Language Teaching/Learning and Using in Practice

Apart from how English was perceived by the participants in the previous section, their beliefs about language teaching/learning and using in practice were also involved in the field of the participants' beliefs about a language. Thus, in this section, firstly, the issues which were involved in choosing target input should be considered. Native English would be particularly mentioned as majority of the participants used native English as their only target input. Secondly, non-native Englishes were also discovered as an option in discussing classroom input. Finally, as for target culture, it was noticed that the awareness of native cultures were only considered by the teachers.

6.3.2.1. Standard Native English as the Target language Input

Given what was discussed in the previous section, participants' attitudes towards target language input for classroom teaching appeared to be clearer. While the majority of them realised that with the development of globalisation, the frequent use of English among non-native speakers has become unstoppable and existed of different kind of Englishes all over

the world, most of them still believed that the native speakers' use of English have represented the authority and efficiency. Although quite a number of participants, such as LAZ and JI, held very positive attitudes towards adding NNSE to classroom inputs, more or less, YQ, believed it would be good to challenge NES ownership of English. Many of them were still hesitated about having NNSE as the target language. For example, when discussing the issues which were related to participants' acceptance of ELF, the phrase 'Standard English' was frequently collected by the researcher. Although almost all of the participants claimed that they did not insist on teaching SE as the target language to their students, they believed, without a fixed standard in mind, a common ground in communication couldn't be reached. Such attitude can be found in *Extract 6.11 & 6.12*.

Extract 6.11

79 **HJW:** I still think we need a common ground. Yes, I mean, you want
 80 communicative effectiveness, sure. But, I don't know, maybe I can't use the word
 81 'standard', but we need to finally reach to a common ground. I don't know how if
 82 we use ELF.

Extract 6.12

83 **XH:** There is a problem if you don't have a standard...your aim is communication,
 84 but how can you tell the purpose of communication is achieved? Do you have a
 85 standard? Exactly how many pieces of information delivered will be countered as
 86 effective?

87 **R:** Do you mean we need a common ground? Something we all accept and follow?

88 **XH:** Yeah, it is difficult to do without a standard. Especially under the environment
 89 of globalization. If an Italian is talking to a Chinese, how can you ensure that we
 90 can understand each other if we are all influenced by our L1?

Extract 6.11 and 6.12 were the most common attitudes collected in discussing SE with participants during the interviews. HJW, XH and the other five participants had similar hesitations about how to reach a common ground if people used NNSE in ELF settings. It was clear that on the one hand, participants were lacking knowledge about their own non-native-like language, and on the other hand, the Standard English was preferred as the only effective language to reach a common ground in both extracts. To be exact, HJW in *Extract 6.11* ignored the communication strategies which played a very important role in the process of reaching to a common ground among speakers from different cultural backgrounds. Even if he claimed that he was willing to take the viewpoint that they did not need a fixed standard

for communication in the intercultural settings, he still viewed that a fixed standard was necessary for interlocutors to refer to. Similarly, XH in *Extract 6.12* believed that they needed to set a standard to make distinctions of effective and ineffective communications. XH also expressed concern with negative L1 transfer and made it very clear that it might cause misunderstandings. Her belief in negative L1 transfer was similar to the belief that language was a fixed entity, with an ideal form of language that everyone could rely on. Moreover, she believed that speakers' L1 was the main resource of errors and misunderstandings. Similarly LAZ's talk in *Extract 6.13*, demonstrated a belief that it was important to tell students what was right or wrong. Please have a look:

Extract 6.13

91 **LAZ:** I think the difficulty of (speak English) Chinese people is psychological
92 barrier. You see European people, they dare to speak, they speak poorly but fluently.

93 **R:** Poorly you mean...?

94 **LAZ:** Grammatically I mean. But they don't care how people will judge them.

95 **R:** Do you mean if we don't care about these grammatical mistakes, we can also...

96 **LAZ:** Right, right, right, at least it will encourage students to speak. Our teaching, in
97 some extent, is trying to improve the situation. Because we encourage them to speak,
98 do not care about right or wrong. When you have achieved to some stage...in another
99 word, after your capacity of language has been improved, then examine yourself and
100 enhance yourself, so you can move on. At the very first stage, you just have to speak
101 as possible as you can.

102 **R:** Do you think at the end, such errors are needed to be corrected (...)?

103 **LAZ:** Depends on what purpose. I think yes, if it is in our field, to be professional.

104 **R:** Like when students read, speak, or write in their daily life, they make grammatical
105 mistakes, do you think such errors should be corrected?

106 **LAZ:** Eh? If not, how can we tell them right or wrong? Won't your supervisors tell
107 you the mistakes?

It should be noticed that when LAZ was asked if she thought errors should be corrected, she sounded surprised and asked the researcher back with a rhetorical tone (line 106-107). She also believed it was important to let her students know what was right or wrong so that they could make progress (line 98-100). Error-correctness was seen as a compulsory process which positively impacted on learning production, and if language production was different from NES, it was considered to be errors. In this case, LAZ tended to correct errors by

comparing students' language output with NS norms. This contradicts with what ELFers believe in with respect to NNESSs' creativity. Through an ELF perspective, errors are seen as good for students to improve their language capacity and not barriers to produce fluent English. But for LAZ, without measuring students' errors with the established NS standards, they could not make progress while feeling that they might be more fluent and confident in using English.

Another reason of why Standard English was preferred was related to the symbolic power of Standard English. In *Extract 6.14*, YL shared her experience of a failed communication with a speaker of Sichuan accent (a dialect in China), and compared it with standard accent. Please have a look:

Extract 6.14

108 **YL:** I received a phone call yesterday from a man with a strong Sichuan accent. He
 109 called to inform me that I had been awarded. If he had called me with mandarin, I
 110 wouldn't have suspected him at all, but his accent was too strong to understand...
 111 though I know we can't judge someone by their accent, but still...

112 ...

113 **YL:** I mean, you are a teacher, if there were no standard accent, at least you should
 114 be understood by the majority.

115 **R:** So do you think being understandable is the least acceptable level for a
 116 language?

117 **YL:** Yeah! Besides, there is a regional difference. If an accent has equal power to
 118 mandarin, it does not impact much. But I don't think there is such one. It is the
 119 same as SE or other English variety.

In *Extract 6.14*, YL suspected of the interlocutor's identity because the language he spoke was not standard mandarin Chinese. It indicated that to YL, her perception about people would be impacted by what kind of language he/she spoke. To prove her opinion, YL even gave an example of Mandarin Chinese and dialect accent to convince the researcher. She further mentioned that Standard English was like the role that Mandarin Chinese played in the Chinese context, enjoying a higher status than other varieties or dialects in communication (line 117-119). Thereby, she thought it was important to produce a standard accent to prove one's identity to be well-educated and to gain more opportunities. Thus, it could tell that Standard English was preferred by her mostly because of its superior status

and its symbolic power. Her interpretation of English was similar to *Requirements (2007)* that Standard English is the prestige variety than any other Englishes. And being the speakers of such variety could be identified as high proficient speakers of English. *Extracts 6.15* was also an example of teaching Standard English as the target input because of its symbolic meanings. Please have a look below:

Extract 6.15

120 **WNG:** You can use global sentence if it is just for daily communication. If you are
121 talking about academia, or in college English classes, you certainly want your
122 students to be more professional. And if it is in an international conference, your
123 language is related to your identity, then such communication must be
124 standardized. If you don't have it, I think that's unacceptable.

According to the transcript, WNG shared her opinion of whether Standard English should be encouraged among her students. She used the word '*professional*' to describe the student who spoke SE in the field of academia (line 122). In it she also pointed that due to the fact that the language identity was linked with the language speakers used, standardisation therefore was linked with one's language identity. In another word, she believed whether to be able to speak SE was concerned with people's attitudes towards its speakers. And in the field of academia, SE meant '*professional*'. Generally, though both YL and WNG mentioned that it did not have to be SE all the time with different occasions and purposes, the use of SE could be flexible, implicitly, SE was always the best option to them. Especially as the power of SE meant professional to teachers, teachers themselves should output SE to their students as target input.

• The Dichotomy of Native/non-native English

Besides the symbolic power of Standard English, the teachers' perception about NNESs as deficient NES speakers was another major factor in impacting on teachers' choices of classroom input. *Extract 6.16*, was the conversation with ZLS, who seemed to be very surprised when she heard the question of effectiveness of practicing English with non-native speakers of English. Please have a look below:

Extract 6.16

125 **LAZ:** ...It is quite difficult for us to learn English in China...I mean us teachers,
 126 we are lack of opportunities for practicing and using English in reality... to be
 127 honesty.

128 (...)

129 **R:** ...Do you mean practicing English with native speakers? How about non-native
 130 speakers? Do you think it is also effective to practice English with non-native
 131 speakers of English?

132 **LAZ:** Oh? This is quite unexpected! I always think only speaking English with
 133 native speakers can improve our language abilities.

134 **R:** Why? What's wrong with non-native speakers' English?

135 **LAZ:** Er... What's wrong? Obviously, mother tongue speakers are better than
 136 other language speakers.

It was recognized by LAZ that as a non-native speaker of English, when she was asked about effectiveness of practicing English with non-native speakers of English, LAZ used the word '*unexpected*' (line 132), and explained that she always thought learning native English was effective. Accordingly, she had never thought about that communicating with NNESs could improve one's English. Such discussion suggested that she believed that only native English was the effective language input for students to communicate with. In her words, LAZ mentioned NESs were '*obviously*' (line 135) better than non-native speakers, and confused about why the researcher even raised this question to her. It suggested that a clear distinction of ideological construct had been conceived by the participants. That is, the prefix "non—" native English indicate deficit use of English (Galloway & Rose, 2015), while "Native English" reflects a better language norm. Therefore, the teacher participants' understanding of the dichotomy of NES and NNES was still on the basis of traditional EFL point of view. Similar points were also made by XI, please refer to *Extract 6.17*.

Extract 6.17

137 **XI:** If we do not teach students with high requirement, they, as non-native speakers
 138 of English, their learning outcome won't be good.

In *Extract 6.17*, XI did not directly react to the question about whether NNSE should be taught to students, yet, she sub-consciously thought that non-conformity to native English meant to decrease the teaching requirements to students. Such comment suggested a negative attitude towards non-native Englishes, and considered non-native use of Englishes as inferior

to that of native English. And for students, the language learning outcome, as she mentioned, would not be good. “*Won’t be good*”, implicitly referred to the students’ language output, which was different from native English. The discussion with XI on NNSE also implicitly reflected traditional EFL points of view that NSE was the only effective language input. Based on the above two extracts, the Standard English ideology had also clearly been demonstrated.

Besides the common attitude towards the dichotomy of NES and NNES, as displayed above, surprisingly, quite a lot of the participants also showed their interests in non-conformity to native English, despite significant hesitation. For example, *Extracts 6.18 & 6.19* (see 6.3.2.2) displayed LAZ’s and JI’s comments about classroom input. Both participants told the researcher that NNSE were surely a part that was missing from the classroom input, and agreed to take NNES into consideration in their future classes.

Clearly, both extracts reflected a strong intention of teaching Standard native English as the target input for ELT classes for various reasons. The most common reason was that Standard English referred to the only effective language input. Without SE, errors and misunderstandings would occur. Both extracts also suggested that Standard English was considered as the entirely meanings of English, the effectiveness of other Englishes were overlooked. This complies with Seidholfer (2017, p. 89), that one of the relevant assumption of Standard English ideology, specifically that “Standard English constitutes English in its entirety, the English language” (p.89). This also complies with the notion that “things should be done in the ‘right’ way”, and in the case of language, language should be used in the ‘correct’ way” (Milroy, 2012, p.1). Thus, a strong Standard English ideology has been found from the interviews with the teacher participants. And their attitudes towards language teaching were still on the basis of traditional teaching English as a Foreign Language, instead of viewing it as ELF.

6.3.2.2. Non-native Englishes as an Option

While discussing the most common attitudes that participants expressed their preferences for SE in the previous extracts, a group of participants also agreed to consider NNE as their target input. Please refer to the following *Extract 6.18* and *6.19*, displaying what LAZ and

JI noted about classroom input although their understanding of non-native Englishes were still on the basis of geography boundaries.

Extract 6.18

139 **R:** Do you think classroom materials are reflected the use of English in reality?

140 **LAZ:** Emmm...in reality, students don't usually speak English. Our teachers rarely
141 use English, either.

142 **R:** Well, I noticed that in the textbooks, and the other classroom input, the
143 conversations were made up of native speakers of English.

144 **LAZ:** Yeah! This is a part we missed. We usually choose what is considered as
145 authoritative or native English. We used to have conversations among speakers of
146 Chinese and UK or US people. But now...

147 **R:** Used to?

148 **LAZ:** Yeah, before the revision of our textbook. Right, you have reminded me of
149 it. I didn't pay attention to it. (...) I think you are right, they (non-native speakers)
150 should be considered, it is globalization now.

In *Extract 6.18*, the interviewee sensed that with the development of globalisation, communications among non-native speakers of English were increasing. Their ways of speaking should not be completely ignored. So when LAZ was asked about her attitude towards the current textbooks and classroom input, she showed her agreement and considered NNSE in classroom teaching. LAZ also believed that the new textbook replaced the language input that was involved in Chinese speakers' use of English by UK and US English, which was inappropriate. Although she did not acknowledge of global ownership of English, she agreed that NNSE should be at least as another option reminded by ELT teachers due to the development of globalisation. Similar findings were noticed in the conversation with JI as well. As shown in *Extract 6.19.*, JI showed a great interest in the field of ELF, to the extent that the researcher requested relevant literature to read. After he had showed his acceptance on ELF, he also tried adding the content of NNESs' use of English in his teaching. For example, listening materials selected were involved in conversations among non-native speakers although both his and LAZ's understanding of ELF was still based on the WE point of view.

Extract 6.19

151 **JI:** After our meeting last time, I told my students in class that there existed a lot of
152 Englishes except that what we usually referred to, like British and American English.
153 I also selected NNSE as listening materials for them to do practices.

154 **R:** And how do they react?

155 **JI:** They complained that the material was pirated.

The students' reactions in line 155 is of worthy note. On one hand, the student reactions suggest a common fact that NNSE was omitted from the classroom input. On the other hand, the legitimate status of non-native speakers' Englishes had not been accepted by the majority. It was believed by the majority of students that the ownership of English still belonged to native speakers. Further discussions about students' attitudes towards the use of non-native speakers' Englishes will be discussed in the next Chapter, *Qualitative Findings from Focus Group*.

Both LAZ and JI discussed the content of textbooks in the extracts above. They all mentioned that NNSE were missing from the teaching and learning materials they were using in the ELT classes. Local context was replaced by UK and US Englishes. As a result, native speakers' English became the only recognised one. With the textbook-related practice, Standard English ideology has been internalised by classroom participants and, furthermore, it has been reproduced and reinforced. Just as Sifakis (2017, p.5) refers, the forms of textbook-related practice involves, that is, "whether instructional materials and 'endorsed' instructional practices priorities a norm-bound approach" is important for ELT stakeholders to be aware of ELF.

To sum up, the situation of choosing target language for classroom teaching and learning could be various and complex. It could not simply decide what to teach as language input to teachers. Although quite a lot of teachers have recognised the fact that the number of non-native speakers of English was increasing, NNSE should not be completely ignored. However, they further argued that they still needed a common ground to understand each other. Moreover, native English was still considered as authority and enjoyed high status, while non-conforming to native English, somehow suggested unprofessionalism. As an expert in front of a class, it was unacceptable for the teacher to be unprofessional and

deficient. Therefore, standard native English was still considered as the major target input even if NNSE was considered in some circumstances.

6.3.2.3. NES Cultural Awareness

After having discussed target language input for ELT classes, cultural awareness was one of the important issues that should not be ignored. Instead, it is a key concept that ELF researchers have discussed frequently. Meanwhile, cultural awareness is also one of the main objectives of teaching in *Requirements (2007)*. With this in mind, further investigation into cultural awareness is needed to follow up in the process of conducting the interviews with participants. For example, how cultural-related elements are taught and learned in classes, and what kind of cultural-related knowledge are involved. *Extract 6.20*, displays a teacher of *Comprehensive English* talking about teaching cultural awareness in her class.

Extract 6.20

156 **R:** Would you conclude cultural-related elements in your teaching?

157 **HX:** En...yes, we mentioned if we came across it in our process of teaching, like in
158 listening material, in passage.

159 **R:** How do you usually mention to your students?

160 **HX:** Emmm...Well you know, it is very difficult to teach culture, all we can do is
161 infiltrate the knowledge. Students themselves need to adjust clashes in reality.

When HX was asked by the researcher how she usually taught cultural awareness to her students, she did not answer it directly. As shown from her transcript, she was aware that it was important to adjust the cultural differences in realities, and required her students to experience it by themselves (line 161). She further mentioned to the researcher that cultural awareness could not be taught by knowledge sharing, but by infiltrating (line 161). However, at this stage, she could only mention cultural knowledge to her students when they came across in the process of teaching due to the limited time and resources. This was the same for the rest of participants. When compared with other skills, the percentage of cultural related content was less. Almost all of the participants mentioned that it was hard to teach cultural issues in class. Though they did not mention in what ways cultural issues were hard to teach, they clearly sensed teaching cultural-related knowledge was different from teaching linguistic knowledge. It could not be taught as strictly knowledge-based. From what HX

said, the importance of cultural factor in communication was clearly aware. She not only acknowledged cultural differences, but also emphasised to adjust those differences by students themselves in realities. Her understanding of cultural awareness was in accordance with Baker (2011) that learners should acknowledge that cultural norms in specific culture are flexible and may change in accordance with different contexts, purposes and individuals. In the meantime it was also consistent with *Requirements* (2007).

In addition, another feature of cultural awareness which has been discovered from teachers' interviews was the conceptions of interlocutors for intercultural communication, which was still targeted towards native speakers. Please have a look at the following *Extract 6.21* for more details:

Extract 6.21:

162 **JJ:** ...Emmm...for example, when we have to communicate with people from the
163 UK or America, we have to know the difference between us, and try to
164 accommodate our ways of speaking and acting, in case of misunderstandings.

A number of participants held similar attitudes when the researcher raised the question about their understandings of cultural awareness in intercultural communication. JJ's comment was a very common attitude. For example in *Extract 6.21*, JJ directly reacted that the intercultural communication was made among "*people from the UK or America*" (line 163). Although JJ acknowledged the important accommodation strategies was to avoid misunderstandings, a strong intention to take NES cultures as the target prevailed. And the interlocutors for intercultural communication that Chinese students would come across in reality were perceived as native speakers of English. This contradicts with Wang (2015b), in that native speakers are no longer the main group that Chinese speakers comes across with in intercultural settings. However, for majority of the teacher participants, they still considered NES cultures as a target cultural input, even with the fact that non-native speakers were the main interlocutors for intercultural communication. Thus, as Wang (2015a, p.92) notes, it is easy to conclude that the teachers' belief about classroom teaching/learning and using still complies what the mainstream believes about English, which is "likely to focus on the target language as native English and holds the assumption that L2 learners become engaged in native English culture through the learning process". ELF, however, is not aware through the above extracts.

6.3.3. The Factors of Impacting on Teachers' Belief about ELF

In addition to what was discussed in previous sections, the teachers' beliefs about English, and teaching/learning or using English in practice were evaluated. Their attitudes towards ELF were particularly addressed under two categories. Yet, there were also factors impacting the teachers' beliefs which emerged throughout the interviews. In this section, the following two major factors were observed.

6.3.3.1. Non-recognizing ELF in Language Policy

One of the factors impacting a participants' beliefs about ELF was language policy. More than half of all participants mentioned they could not truly make decisions about their language choices based on what they believed, mostly because of the current language policy is non-recognizing ELF. Even if they personally accepted ELF. Please refer to the next following part of this section for more information.

Extract 6.22 notes JUZ's decision about whether ELF was applicable in the Chinese ELT settings. It should be noticed that JUZ did not realise the concept of ELF before the researcher told her about the relevant theories of ELF. After the researcher briefly introduced the knowledge about ELF, JUZ showed her interest and explicitly expressed her agreement on it.

Extract 6.22

165 **JUZ:** ... (if ELF is accepted) In fact we are advantaged.

166 **R:** How do you think we are advantaged?

167 **JUZ:** We know how to communicate with non-natives like us. But they (NESs)
168 don't. This is a very good and interesting thing if this can be encouraged by the
169 government.

170 **R:** Do you mean if the policy were changing?

171 **JUZ:** Yeah, otherwise we still act under the regulation, and are judged by it, I
172 mean, tested by the system. No one can truly teach English on the basis of their
173 own choice without distraction. And how (to teach ELF)?

As mentioned by JUZ, if ELF were accepted, the NNESSs would be more advantaged in intercultural communication as the NNESSs could adjust quickly than NESs (line 167). This was quite ELF-oriented, implicitly referring to the use of accommodation strategies among non-native speakers for intercultural communication. It also suggested that she had had the confusion about taking native English as the only target input for classroom teaching. It could tell that JUZ personally accepted the concept of ELF as she claimed. However, from line 170-172, JUZ hesitated to put it into practice. As ELF was not recognized in language policy, it impacted on her acceptance of ELF and her behaviours in classroom teaching practices. This is in accordance with Jenkins (2014), that language policy appears to be one of the major gaps between what ELF has been used for many years in reality and the lack of knowledge of its legitimate status.

- **Testing and Education Systems**

As mentioned in the previous chapter, according to *Requirements* (2007), the reformed evaluation system consists of formative and summative methods. The government attempts to change the evaluation system as multi-schemes, which involves in “self-evaluation”, “mutual evaluation”, and “teacher-student evaluation”. As a result, all of the participants mentioned that formative evaluations had been widely applied, and tended to increase its proportion in final marks from 40% to 60% recently. Term-time examinations were not the only way to evaluate students’ learning outcomes. The student’s classroom performance could be recorded and evaluated in class and website activities. *Extracts 6.23* displayed teachers’ attitudes towards formative and summative evaluations in detail in which LAZ said that the orientation of the test was important in guiding teachers and students language choices. As it is mentioned by both Shohamy (2006) and Jenkins & Leung (2014) that evaluation plays an important role in shaping one’s language ideology and impacting one’s language choices. Thus, it is important to take testing and education systems into account when considering participants’ language ideologies.

Extract 6.23

174 **LAZ:** Yes, we have about 40% of formative assessment. But every module is
175 different. It depends on teachers.

176 **R:** Is the summative test designed by teachers themselves as well? How about the
177 content? Is it relevant to textbook or not?

178 **LAZ:** Totally it depends on teachers. So every module is different, but it should be
 179 based on textbooks. For me, I usually have 80% (of the textbook).

180 **R:** Do you think it is good to take both formative and summative assessment into
 181 account?

182 **LAZ:** Eh...the orientation of the test is important. Unless the reform of tests shifts
 183 its purpose as communicative effectiveness, things may change. But yes, it is good
 184 in some way. How should I say...em...at least students have more opportunities to
 185 use English while they are interacting with their friends via our website platform.

LAZ was hesitated when the researcher asked her opinion about the evaluation system. On the one hand, she carefully expressed that unless the orientation of the test changed, it would be hard for students to change their way of learning and speaking English. With 80% of the content of test was designed based on textbooks which were usually NS based, the tests were as the matter of fact, NS norm-based as well. LAZ clearly realised the role that the test had played in affecting teaching and learning activities for classroom participants. Yet, she could do nothing to change the test orientation, even as a teacher, she was the one to set the test papers. On the other hand, LAZ also mentioned that as long as students cooperated, she usually gave high marks in formative evaluations out of encouragement which left less consultative space of formative evaluation in knowing the student's learning outcomes. Although LAZ admitted the bright side of evaluating formatively, she believed it could increase the frequencies and opportunities of using English instead of 'testing' English, it was still the final test that made sense to teachers. Such intention was found commonly in other participants' responses as well.

After discussing LAZ's comment about term-time test, *Extract 6.24* was the discussion about national English proficiency test, e.g. CET 4 & 6. According to the majority of participants, the national English proficiency test, namely, CET 4 & 6 was mentioned very frequently. It was unexpected that all of them had recognised its importance, yet, at the same time they claimed that they would not allocate time and make efforts to help students to prepare for it. *Extract 6.24* presents how most of them believed. Please have a look:

Extract 6.24

186 **R:** Do your students learn English at university mainly for taking CET 4 & 6?

187 **WN:** Not really. Actually CET 4 & 6 are very easy for them. If they were required
188 to take the exams, they would pass, the difference is whether they will pass with
189 high or low marks. So for them, I think the only problem for them is to recite the
190 vocabularies that they have not learned.

191 **R:** Then do you know what are the major purposes for students to learn English?

192 **WN:** We did a survey among students, about what aim they want to achieve by
193 learning English. Most of them are learning English for studying overseas or
194 graduate-study admission exam.

This was unforeseen by the researcher. As LAZ mentioned that the importance of testing orientation, students were still learned and taught on the basis of the test orientation. The orientation would, more or less, impact on classroom participants' language practices. Therefore, it was assumed by the researcher that, in order to pass CET 4 & 6, teachers would adjust their teaching content, class hours and lesson plans for the tests. However, 18 out of 21 interviewees expressed the same ideas as WN. Teachers would teach what was planned on schedule, with knowledge of grammar or vocabularies not overemphasised. Without overemphasising CET 4 & 6, an examination which was NS norms-based by ELT teachers, classroom participants' beliefs about native Englishes and the ownership of native speakers of English would not be reinforced or less reinforced by the CET tests. However, according to participants, a high pass-rate for CET 4 & 6 was required by institutional authorities. Therefore, test orientations were still impacting on teaching and learning activities indirectly. Although to gain a high pass rate, teachers would not allocate specific time and make efforts in class, teachers and students' language choices would be dependent on it.

• Teachers' Recruitment

As discussed in Chapter 2, teachers were playing a very important role in the process of policy implementations. The teachers were acting as agents in transmitting ideologies that were embodied in official documents of language policy. They were the ones who could decide on the content of teaching and how to make the use of textbooks. Therefore, their language beliefs were also seen as one mechanism that would impact on students' language practice. Thus, there was a need to look into what teacher participants said about teacher recruitment in relation to qualification on team building.

It is worth mentioning that, in order to meet the policy requirements of teaching English at different levels of Class A, B and C, the shortage of qualified teachers to maintain modules appeared to be one of major problems in all of the three universities. One of the teacher participants who worked in University B told the researcher that in order to keep its competitiveness, the university had to open plenty of elective modules for students to choose regardless of the number of registered students. Teachers therefore usually had to take responsibility of more than two modules. As a result, a large number of NES teachers were hired. The same as University A, half of the teachers in the department were NES, with only two teachers having obtained relevant degrees. Please refer to *Extract 6.25*:

Extract 6.25

195 **JI:** ...let me tell you, half of my colleagues are not Chinese. They ...emm,
196 basically...come from America.

197 **R:** Do you mean half of them are native speakers of English? Are they hired to
198 teach ELT classes?

199 **JI:** I don't know too much, as far as I know, intercultural communication is taught
200 by an American, and there is business English.

With such a fact, the hire of NES to teach at university, on the one hand, suggested the Native English was preferred by the authority of the institution. On the other hand, the belief that native speakers of English would teach good English was unavoidably reinforced. Such interpretation would be also found in *Extract 6.26* in which YL heard the authority of University B preferred the teachers who graduated from 985 or 211 universities. Please refer to the following extract for detailed information:

Extract 6.26

201 **YL:** I heard a horrible comment from one of the leaders the other days. It is
202 something like this, "As we are a 985 university, we don't need the teachers who
203 graduated from non-985 universities to teach our students".

204 ...

205 **YL:** By the time I graduated, there was no such thing like 985 or 211 universities.
206 Does that mean we don't need to find a job? And this is not said by students, this is
207 said by someone in power. So you see...

In terms of recruitment for local teachers, *Extract 6.26* reflected a very extreme point of view about teachers' qualification. In China, if the university is named as one of the 985 universities, the university enjoys a high reputation and stays at top tier. According to the information YL passed on, if the teachers graduated from 985 universities, they would have an important job qualification. In another word, it was seen as the evidence that the candidates were qualified for teaching at a 985 university. It was worth mentioning that to be able to graduate from one of the 985 universities, one had to gain good marks in national entrance examination in all subjects, including English. This suggests a very strong belief in test evaluation which is NS based. YL also emphasised that that '*horrible comment*' (line 207) was made by the authority, not students. In one way, she thought it was improper for people in authority to make such a comment, and in another word, she also foresaw what was encouraged and promoted from the top. Although that '*horrible comment*' mentioned by YL was indirectly conveyed to the researcher, which might be overly interpreted subjectively by the interviewee herself, it still somehow reflected the intention that authorities of the institution preferred.

Having discussed what was expected from the authority in the two extracts, teachers' proficiency in native English appeared to be the compulsory qualification to enter into university. This was in accordance with what has been discovered in document analysis, specifically that NESs have been set as the first important qualification. The gatekeeping practice for teachers delivered a clear embodied language ideology from intuitionist authorities. That is, the inertial thinking of superior status and the authority of standard native English has deeply ingrained in their mind. The legitimate status of NNSE has not been recognised by most of them. This, somehow, would impact on teachers' language preference, as all of them have been educated and grown up in an environment where ENL was taught and learned for formal education; living in the society where the standard native English was regarded as the more correct and better language, evaluated by the NS-based tests. In light of this, though some participants demonstrated their awareness and acceptance of ELF in theory, they tended to view non-native speakers use of English as defective.

6.3.3.2. Self-experiences of Teaching and Using English

After discussing the factors that impacting on teachers' beliefs from the top, e.g. language policy, education systems, and gatekeeping practices, this section will particularly focus on

individual experiences as the bottom-up factor and how it will impact on participants' beliefs about ELF. In it, the issues like exactly to what extent that the importance of English for individual speakers and for non-English major students will be further evaluated. It should be noticed that this chapter only displays teachers' attitudes towards the importance of English to students, not students' attitudes. The information which is related to students' attitudes will be explored further in *Chapter 7, Qualitative Findings from Focus Groups*.

With respect to the importance of English for communication, two main attitudes were held by teachers. *Extract 6.27* displayed one of the common attitudes when discussing the opportunities for using English in the Chinese context for teachers and students. It is worth mentioning that similar discussions were noticed in all of the participants' interviews, which appeared to be the most common issues that all of the interviewed teachers were facing. *Extract 6.29* listed another less common attitude of teachers, which was the importance of English for intercultural communication. Please refer to the following *Extract 6.27 & 6.28*:

Extract 6.27

208 **R:** How often do you use English?

209 **YY:** In fact, teachers and students rarely use English except in class. This is why it
 210 is hard to learn a foreign language in China. You don't have the opportunity to
 211 speak. It would be weird if two Chinese people are sitting talking in English. For the
 212 majority, we use it only for watching movies, TV series, and for travel. We do not
 213 have that need.

214 ...

215 **YY:** So is English really needed for everybody?

Obviously, YY believed that English was not often used among Chinese people for communication. She also mentioned that not only students but also teachers themselves had rarely used English after class. She further made her points of whether it was really necessary to learn English for everyone at the national level due to the rare usage of English. From what she said, we could tell that her perception about the importance of English in the Chinese context was much related to her experiences of rarely using it for communication. Due to the fact in China, English was only used for intercultural communication, only the limited number of people would have such needs and experiences. Thus, individual's need of using ELF for intercultural communication would further decrease, let alone their

awareness of ELF. In this case, personal experiences of communicating with English would be one of the important factors that they have impacted on the participants' acceptance of ELF. Such an observation can also be further demonstrated in *Extract 6.28*. Different from YY, who noted that English was rarely used in the last extract, LAZ argued for the importance of English under the environment of globalisation with an example from her husband.

Extract 6.28

216 **LAZ:** With the globalization, English has become more and more important. My
217 husband, who is majoring in business, always says to me that he wishes his English
218 could be better. I ask him why, he says he always has the business negotiations
219 with companies, like India, Singapore, yeah, those who are from non-native
220 countries. But he cannot successfully communicate with them like his colleagues.

In LAZ's case, because her husband's work involved in communicating and negotiating with people whose L1 was neither Chinese nor English, it made her realise the importance of using English for the purpose of intercultural communication. LAZ also told the researcher that she had never realised that English had been much more used among non-native speakers of English before this interview. From what she told to the researchers, the researcher noticed that one's personal experiences of intercultural communication could be one of the most important factors that impacted on one's awareness of ELF. Teachers' awareness of the importance of functional and cultural factors of English were closely related to their personal experiences of intercultural communication as well. Compared with YY, LAZ obviously had sensed ELF usage as a linguistic phenomenon emerged, although her sense of ELF only remained at a practical level. After the researcher had introduced the concept of ELF theoretically and systematically, LAZ explicitly changed her attitude and showed her acceptance. In sum, from the two extracts above, ELF was found to have been more accepted by people who had experiences of intercultural communication than those who hardly had opportunities to use English as the only medium of communication.

In addition to the above two common attitudes, one more typical perception about the current ELT is worth highlighting. As the interviews were mainly conducted with ELT teachers teaching general major students, almost all of the participants believed, with ELF being of greater applicability to non-English major students, it was good to teach English on the basis

of individuals' aim and need. Please refer to the following extract which is a very typical example:

Extract 6.29

221 **YL:** One day the whole class of students were all late running into the classroom
 222 due to a failure experiment on (...). That experience has left me a strong
 223 impression. That was what they enjoyed doing, which was more interesting, more
 224 significant for them. I have also realized that there are more choices than English in
 225 life.

226 **R:** Do you mean English is not that important for those general major students?

227 **YL:** I mean I need to reconsider what is really important for them (general major
 228 students). For them, their experiment is certainly more important than English,
 229 memorizing vocabularies.

230 **R:** And has that experience impacted on your future teaching?

231 **YL:** Sure, I mean, different requirement, not only requirements, everything can be
 232 different, more or less. What you said about ELF may be also a good idea.

YL was a teacher teaching *Translation* to both English and non-English major students. It was worth taking into account her perceptions about students' needs from different majors. She told the researcher that these two groups of student's motivation, focus, aims of learning were much more different. This made her think what was really important for general major students. And compared with students' major subjects, she believed English for current ELT classes should be taught differently. To general major students, major-relevant modules were believed to be more important for students' career-development by her. English, on the other hand, should be learned on the basis of self-development, e.g. looking for a job, continuing to further study etc. It should be noticed from lines 227-229, when the researcher asked whether she thought English was not important or not, she answers by comparing students' biology experiment, and believed their experiment '*more important than English*' (line 228). Her perception about 'English' is in the reference of the English that was taught in currently ELT class. And it was this kind of 'English' should be reconsidered (line 228). She further admitted ELF could be a good option. YL's experience of teaching different groups of students had offered her insight into students' needs and interests in learning English. According to YL, for general major students, English would be more frequently used at the practical level, e.g. communications, information exchange. ELF was more applicable to general major students. However, for English major students, English sometimes was linked

with their identity and demonstrated their abilities, which was also related to their career development. So it was hard to challenge the situations. It was clear that YL had sensed the practical usage of ELF in intercultural settings, but the symbolic power of native Standard English somehow hindered her decisions on putting ELF into practice for English major student.

6.4 Discussion

6.4.1. The Lack of the Knowledge about Language Policy

After having gone through the qualitative interviews with teacher participants from the three universities, one of the most common issues which was discovered unexpectedly, needed to be explored further in the section of Discussion. That is, among the interviewed teachers from all the three universities, quite a number of participants were unaware of the objectives of *College English Teaching Requirement*. Neither of them was aware of the objectives of modules that they were currently teaching. For example, the following *Extract 6.30* cited one of the teacher's answers to the researcher's question about current version of official's document of language policy statement.

Extract 6.30

233 **R:** Do you know which version of language policy that your university is using as a
234 guide?

235 **J1:** I'm not really sure about it, but I know there is a curriculum existing out there.
236 And I know it is separately published for both English major and non-English
237 majors.

238 **R:** Would you show me?

239 **J1:** I just don't know!

240 **R:** How about the one for your modules?

241 **J1:** Just objectives, the ones that are published publicly with the textbook. Well, I
242 can ask about it for you. maybe our supervisors have it.

As shown in the conversation above, JI mentioned that he did not have the knowledge about which document was used as a reference for college English teaching several times during the interview. What's more, his answers to the questions which were related to the

information of language policy statements were ambiguous. The only thing JI could recall was the objectives that the textbook claimed to achieve. It suggested that he knew a little about the pedagogy objectives of the module that he was teaching. Similar results were also found in an interview with HX. She mentioned that they had never been asked to learn about policy information by their supervisors. Without knowing objectives and the curriculum they were teaching, they could only follow the textbooks. Please refer to the following *Extract 6.31*:

Extract 6.31

243 **HX:** I don't know. They have never asked us to learn about it. Nowadays, we
 244 basically follow what was structured and designed by the (textbook) publishers.
 245 They also provide us with ppt slides for each class.

HX and the other two participants (e.g., JL & JI) also mentioned nowadays, with greater competition among textbook publishers, more and more textbooks were written with lesson plans, classroom materials and PowerPoint slides, ready for teachers to use directly in class. These save time and efforts for teachers, with the key points for each lesson summarised in a well-organized structure. Therefore, syllabus or curricula were not as important as before. Furthermore, their supervisors or directors did not ask them to submit curricula or syllabuses. With such facts, it can be seen that textbooks now are playing an influential role in language education system in the way of how and what content are to be taught, and what purpose are expected for students to achieve. Moreover, JI further mentioned that due to the fact that syllabus, lesson plans, and curriculums were totally made by themselves and not required to submit to their supervisors, the classroom teaching practice depended on teachers very much. Given these, the textbooks became the major resources for classroom input, which was NS norms based. Teachers were encouraged to teach what was considered as authority although they were in the position to make decisions about classroom teaching.

6.5 Conclusion

To conclude, in this chapter the researcher discussed qualitative findings from the interviews with 21 teachers from three universities, University A, B and C. Participants' beliefs about the English language, English teaching/learning and using in practice have been of particular focus. Generally speaking, the findings have demonstrated that most of the teachers were

lacking knowledge of ELF concept, while the mainstream beliefs about English were still on the basis of viewing and teaching English as a foreign language. Moreover, contrary to its dynamic and fluid nature, native English was believed to be the fixed standard, with conformity to native standards has been emphasised by most of the teachers. Anything different from NS norms were considered as errors which should be corrected so as to make progress. Yet, other than the mainstream beliefs, NNSE was found to be an optional classroom input; linguistic knowledge has not been overemphasized anymore; and a group of participants have accepted that non-native speakers of English have the equal right to claim their ownership of English. Although those intentions were still being impacted by some hesitations, evidences have showed that the participants have sensed unfairness while being judged by NESs. As for the impacting factors, Non-recognition of ELF in language policy and in teachers' personal experiences have been found to be the largest two factors of impacting on participants' beliefs.

In the light of this, more analysis is waiting to be done to take other classroom participants' points of view to draw the conclusions to answer RQ2 & 3 of the research. In the next chapter, qualitative findings from students' focus group will be demonstrated in order to complete the picture of classroom participants' ideology about English and English teaching/learning in practice and exactly to what extent that they are aware of ELF.

Chapter 7 Qualitative Findings from Focus Groups

7.1 Introduction

In order to answer Research Questions 1 & 2, the previous two chapters have investigated qualitative data that collected through documents and interviews. Language ideologies that were embodied in official documents of language acquisition policy were explored explicitly and implicitly, while teachers perceptions of the embodied language ideologies in language policies were evaluated. In addition, teachers' attitudes, beliefs and ideologies towards ELF were of particular focus. In this chapter, attention will be paid to answering RQ2, e.g., students' explicit perceptions of ELF and their reactions to English teaching/learning in practice. In contrast to interviews with teachers, attention will be paid to the development, changes and amendments of students' beliefs, ideologies and attitudes towards ELF.

7.2 Procedure of Focus Group

Six focus groups were conducted in this research. As the aim of the research required the researcher to focus on details and interactions among language policies, practices and ideologies, 4-5 students were selected for each group as large group size might cause me to ignore relevant details, compared with those smaller sized groups (Bryman, 2001, Hennink, 2007). All of the group members were selected from the first and second year undergraduate community with both English & non-English major students included. It needed to explain especially there, although this research mainly focused on non-English majors, some of the English major classes were open to select by both English and non-English major students as either compulsory or elective. For example, *Interpreting and Translation*. In such classes, it was frequent that students were given classes together by the same ELT teachers. In this way, although the target student participants were general major students, English major students were not ruled out when the researcher selected the participants, as they were all sharing the same knowledge of the teachers and classes, and also the same experiences of classroom practice. Moreover, to some extent, students from English major and non-English major were no doubt had different interpretations or attitudes towards the discussion topics. By observing their dynamic discussions especially on how group members impacted on each other, it could provide me with unanticipated insights into further understandings of their

attitudes towards research questions. Detailed information of participants from each group is presented in *Appendix 6*.

Each focus group lasted for 45-90 minutes in public places. Two of them were organized at campus café. Three of them were conducted in a classroom. One of them was conducted in the lobby of the university library. At the beginning of each focus group, a brief presentation on introduction of English as a Lingua Franca was given to them (see *Appendix 7*), and then several discussion topics were given. The design of focus group is presented in *Appendix 5*, and is grounded on three aspects. Firstly, the students' general attitude towards the role that English played in the Chinese context; secondly, students' perceptions of language acquisition policy and ELT practices; and finally, students' attitude towards English as a *lingua franca*. The group discussions followed my presentation of the ELF concepts, which was drawn from Jenkins (2015) (see *Appendix 7 for Sample Presentation for Focus Group*).

As a moderator, the discussion questions were clear, short and simply stated, trying to avoid jargon and specialist terminology, and used one-dimensional and phrased in an informal conversational style in order to promote discussions. Besides their discussion content, I specially paid attention to silences, emphasis, rise and fall of sounds and the interrupting as well to evaluate what was their meanings behind the sentences, and how their attitudes, beliefs or ideologies affected on each other's. Both Mandarin Chinese and Cantonese were used as the main communication languages depending on what was the group members' first language. Audio-recording was taken throughout the whole process of the focus groups discussion. After each of the focus groups, I also exchanged my contact information with the participants to develop long-term relationship and for future discussions.

As discussed in Chapter 4, it was better to select the participants of each focus group from the same class to ensure that they had the same degree of shared experience in discussing topics. Nevertheless, due to the large number of students in China, students were usually taught first in a large lecture class. Then they were divided into small parallel classes depending on the proficiencies of individual students at the basic, intermediate or advanced levels. Finally, members of each focus group were selected and organized based on the two conditions. One was concerned with students from the same big lecture classes, their

behaviours in both lectures and different parallel classes; the other was chosen depending on the relevant points that teachers made in the interviews, which were worth exploring further the students' responses.

As for the data transcriptions in FG, the process, on the one hand, was similar to the transcription of the interview data. The researcher recorded and interpreted what was happening during the discussions. And on the other hand, different from the interview data, the researcher particularly focused on the agreements and disagreements among members in the process of their group interactions, in order to explore issues that impacted on the directions of the group discussions. Greater attention was paid to each turn that a participant took as to how a participant supported or challenged each point of view, and how a participant maintained or changed his/her own arguments across different turns. The researcher also focused on the particular discourses that were used by the student participants, as to gain deeper unset understandings of their implicit attitudes towards discussion topics. Through this, the analysis was generally a data-driven process. Bearing the researcher's focus in mind, the thematic framework for focus groups was developed as follow:

- **Developing the Thematic Coding Framework (RQ3)**

In this Chapter, I considered the participants' reflection on each other's attitudinal development, and identified contributing factors for their attitudes and beliefs. Through this, the thematic coding framework was generated into two main categories. One framework dealt with group decisions that were generated with attention paid to "what" perceptions were co-constructed in different groups. Firstly, attention was paid to students' attitudes towards native English and Standard English. It allowed the researcher to gain insight into their understanding of the dynamic and diverse nature of English looking at their perceptions about native, standard or non-standardized English. In addition, as discussed in both Wang (2015a) and Sifakis (2017), how students enacted their identities in the process of learning was one of the major components of evaluating their awareness of ELF. Thus, students' identities of being ELF users or NSE learners are focused as subthemes of this category.

The other framework focused on influencing factors behind attitudinal development with focus on "how" group decisions were made through group negotiations and interactions. I

identified the factors that they came into play in the participants' attitudes and identities. I observed how participants' attitudes and identities were developed, amended or consolidated during the course of the FG discussions. As a result, their being lack of knowledge about ELF theoretically appeared to be the most influential one. Other than this, how the role that English had played as a gatekeeper also impacted on students' attitudinal development. Furthermore, the impact of classroom teaching practice, especially teachers' language practice and textbook-related practice could not be ignored as well. Last but not the least, personal experiences of using English for intercultural communication was a crucial factor that had contributed to the development of students' language ideologies and identities.

Table 7.1. Coding framework for Focus Groups

7.3.1. Common Co-constructed Perceptions:

7.3.1.1. Attitudes Towards Native and Standard English

7.3.1.2. NSE Learners vs. ELF Users

- Sociolinguistic Reality vs. Classroom Learning Materials
- Effective Communication vs. Correctness
- The Considering of Cultural Factors
- The Acceptance of Chinese Speakers' Use of English

7.3.2. The Factors of Impacting on the Development of Different Attitudes

7.3.2.1. Lacking knowledge about ELF

7.3.2.2. Concerns of Gatekeeping Practices

7.3.2.3. Teachers and Textbooks' Language Practices Impacting on Students

7.3.2.4. Self-experiences of ELF Use

It should be noticed that, in Chapter 6, the focus was mainly on teacher participants' awareness of ELF, in the reference of the components of awareness of instructional practice, as mentioned by Sifakis (2017). In this chapter, in order to display the findings well, students' awareness of ELF was evaluated on the basis of aspect of learners in language education as emphasized in Wang (2015a).

7.3 The Findings from Students' Focus Groups

7.3.1. Commonly Co-constructed Perceptions

This section displays commonly co-constructed perceptions that have been collected through the six student's focus groups. There were two major issues. One was related to the complex attitudes that student participants had about native/non-native and Standard English. The other was concerned with how students were positioning themselves, as NSE learners? or as ELF users? It was noticed that students were aware of the gap between the sociolinguistic realities and the classroom learning environment and worried about their ability of communication in real life situation. Moreover, they noticed the important role that cultural factors had played in the process of communication in the intercultural settings. In addition, they also expressed the acceptance of Chinese Speakers' Use of English.

7.3.1.1. Native/Non-native and Standard English

As one of the key issues related to language ideologies in ELF research, participants' attitudes towards Standard native English was particularly paid attention to by the researcher during students' interactions of focus groups. It offered an insight into how student participants conceived 'English' in terms of its dynamic and diverse natures. It was found that although students' perceptions about SE or non-SE were different, more or less, several perceptions were co-constructed. Firstly, Standard English referred to a default and official set of fixed codes, e.g. American English, or other native speaking countries use of English; to reach a common ground, everyone should refer to it. Thus they believed that there should be one kind of English existing for people to communicate, although they were not quite clear about what was called as Standard English. Secondly, SE was seen as the most authority one while other Englishes were not. Thirdly, students' attitudes towards his/her language were sometimes impacted by the speaker's identity. Thus, even if students accepted that SE was not necessarily required for everyone, non-standard English output, was not preferred by most student participants to learn and speak. SE was still put at the first place. Please refer to *Extract 7.1* for further information.

It should be noticed that the letter "A", as shown in SA1, stands for student participants from Focus Group A. The number 1, 2, 3, and 4 refer to four different group members. This applies to all other groups as well. For example, SB3 refers to the third student participant of Focus Group B and SF4 refers to the fourth student participant of Focus Group F.

Extract 7.1:

1 **SA1:** English also has dialects, right?

2 **SA2:** Too many.

3 **SA1:** English dialects and English... er... How to say, the English we are learning is
4 the same or different?

5 **SA3:** Do you mean Standard English?

6 **SA1:** Yeah, I understand Standard English, but can I understand English dialects?

7 **SA2:** A few?

8 **SA4:** What is SE anyway?

9 **SA1:** ...

10 **SA3:** I don't know, either.

11 **SA2:** SE is...based on the dictionary? Or based on the phonetic symbol of American
12 English? Or British? I don't know...based on the official decision?

13 **SA1:** I don't know American English, either (LAUGH).

14 **SA3:** It sounds like a default language recognized by the official.

15 **SA2:** So they are (SE and dialects) like mandarin Chinese and Cantonese.

16 **SA1:** Do they also have proficiency test, like Putonghua Proficiency Test?

17 **SA3:** I don't know

18 **SA2:** Like IELTS?

19 **SA4:** Like IELTS...but speaking test also have examiners from other countries.

20 **SA1:** Yes, but they are (examiners) all from English speaking countries.

As shown in the extract above, all of the student participants were confused with the term 'standard English'. When SA4 asked what SE was, all of the students became quiet. SA2 later answered with a degree of uncertainty that SE referred to a set of codes or phonetic symbols based on American or British English (line 11-12). When SA3 said that SE had been set as '*default*' and '*recognized by the official*' (line 14), SA2 reacted quickly and made additional remarks by illustrating the example of the relationship between SE and other English dialects being "*like mandarin Chinese and Cantonese*" (line 15). As mandarin Chinese was codified by the government while Cantonese was used as a dialect only, SA2 implicitly agreed with SA3. In this way, his discussion about Standard English suggested that he believed Standard English was in the reference of '*American English or British*', and

his agreement with SA3, suggested SE was viewing as '*default*' and '*recognized by the official*' by him. Hence, such discussion suggested that he believed American and British English referred to the default and official language, which was set as SE. His discussion was not probed by the other participants. It suggested that SE was interpreted as officially recognised English that has been used in native speaking countries.

Next, student participants tended to distinguish SE from the other English dialects (line 3-6). Considering their co-constructed perceptions about SE in the paragraph above as officially recognised native English, SE was seen as the most authoritative style while others were not. In the meanwhile, their concerns of whether they could understand other English dialects produced by native speakers implicitly indicated that the target interlocutors are still perceived as NESs. Their recognition of the diversity of English was limited to native speaking countries only, such as SE and other dialects used by native speakers. Non-native speakers' use of Englishes was clearly ignored by students.

Thirdly, the students believed that the language they learned in class was SE and were worried about whether people still could communicate with each other without Standard English. For example, SA2 mentioned that maybe only '*a few*' could be understood (line 7), if their interlocutors spoke other dialects. It was quite obvious that both SA1 and SA2's understanding of English was still based on the traditional view of English, that is, viewing English as a set of standard fixed codes. This overlooked the fluidity and dynamic nature of English, and suggested that to reach a common ground, everyone should refer to one set of standard fixed codes coming from native speaking countries.

Given these, as mentioned by the students in *Extract 7.2*, Standard English was believed to be '*as a right direction*' that everyone should aim at (line 21). Although the students also mentioned that the outcome might be various due to the individual difference and a lot of objective factors, without a standard, they believed that it would be '*in chaos*' and the communication would '*fall apart*' (line 22).

Extract 7.2:

21 **SE1:** This is a right direction...

22 **SE2:** If you don't, it would be more in chaos. And eventually fall apart.

23 **SE1:** There is a standard for everyone to achieve. Although everyone is different, we
24 have common ground to achieve. If we don't have this standard, the outcomes would
25 be...

26 **SE3:** Everybody speaks differently, then communications will become even harder.

In *Extract 7.2*, SE was seen as the basic factor to ensure successful communication. All three students (SE1, SE2 and SE3), who took part in the discussions believed that it was necessary to have a standard for communication and a need to set up a standard for everyone to aim at. The extent that the standard was conformed to was not a matter of consideration for individual students. Implicitly, their attitudes suggested that the students allowed learners' non-standard English output given their individual differences; meanwhile, SE was needed as the reference for student to learn. Without a reference, students would lose their learning direction. It also suggested that students' learning process was directed by native speakers' competence. The role they played was more like NSE learners rather than ELF users.

More attitudes were found regarding non-standard English output and the necessity of insisting on SE in *Extract 7.3*. The students in Group D also had a conversation about what was defined as SE. SD3 argued that it was unnecessary to give a definition to SE so long as people could understand each other (line 28-29). Please have a look below:

Extract 7.3:

27 **SD1:** But...I think what we are learning in class is Standard English.

28 **SD3:** I think it is not necessary to give a definition to SE. as long as people understand
29 you.

30 **SD1:** But quite a lot people want their English to sound like standard most.

31 **SD2:** I actually don't think this is (English learned in class) the most Standard
32 English.

33 **SD3:** Yeah I read an article somewhere, that there are a lot of different Englishes
34 spoken by TV host and ordinary people. There is no standard united version of
35 English.

36 **SD1:** Speak of this, you should listen to English spoken by one of my classmates
37 from Dongbei province. His accent was like "I think..." (Imitating accent)

38 **SD2:** Oh come on, he was not like that, you are over reacted.

39 **SD1:** His accent was! All of us did not understand him, even our teacher.

40 **SD4:** Okay, did you all laugh at him?

41 **SD1:** Certainly not. Everybody suddenly kept quiet.

42 **SD2:** You cannot say that. A lot of Cantonese speakers have strong accent as well.

43 **SD1:** ...true, true.

44 **SD4:** I feel the same. I don't know what's wrong, it's just bad.

In the extract above, it could be observed that during the conversation, SD1 imitated one of her classmates' dialect accents to prove that non-standard English was unintelligible. SD4 also expressed his agreement with SD1 and mentioned that he felt the same by saying that he didn't know what was wrong, but it was just bad. SD3 held different attitude towards SD1's imitations of Dongbei accent. She felt it was impolite to make fun of other's English. SD3 also believed SD1 was overreacted, mostly because the speaker was from Dongbei province. Thereby, SD3 argued that Cantonese speakers (SD1 was a Cantonese speaker) also had a strong accent. Her argument suggested her acknowledgement of one's attitude towards his/her language was sometimes impacted by one's attitude towards its speaker's identity. This applied to SE as well. One might be judged by his/her background because of using non-standard, namely, non-native Englishes, however one could never be complained as unintelligible for using SE. SE therefore enjoyed a high status in the minds of the students; this too had been acknowledged by the students.

From the student discussions in the previous extracts, some concepts of English were co-constructed by students. Firstly, they were confused about what was called as Standard English, tending to interpret Standard English as native English. Secondly, the existence of fixed standard was seen as compulsory in order to maintain the right direction of teaching/learning English to reach common grounds for communications. The diverse and dynamic nature of English was not reflected through these discussions. Thirdly, SE was considered as the most prestige variety while other English dialects were not. Thus, the attitudes of students towards the speaker were sometimes impacted by their use of non-native like language output. Meanwhile, students' attitudes towards his/her language output would also impact the speakers' identity. Given such facts, the concept of English was still

perceived on the basis of traditional EFL points of view. Standard native-like English was still targeted to learn and to use for communications by most of the student participants.

7.3.1.2. NSE Learners vs. ELF Users

Section 7.3.1.2 recorded how students positioned themselves as NSE learners or as ELF users. *Extract 7.4* was also a conversation among the students from Focus Group D. They were discussing whether it was even possible to be native-like after years of learning English. Their co-constructed attitudes towards NSE and NNSE suggested their NSE learners' identities. Please have a look below:

Extract 7.4:

45 **SD5:** Is it even possible to be native-like?

46 **SD2:** But a lot of actors or actresses speak very fluently and they speak Standard
47 English when they play in the show.

48 **SD3:** Do you think so? But I don't think native will feel the same. It seems to them
49 our English still sounds non-standard.

50 **SD2:** Emmm, maybe you are right. Our way of speaking, more or less, has some
51 features of our mother tongue.

52 **SD4:** It's pity! I mean, it is really embarrassed when foreigners judge our Chinese
53 English.

54 **SD1:** No, I am so proud of using Chinese English. I am a China...en, no, a
55 Chinese.

56 **SD2:** It is hard to say what my English is. They are mixed?

57 ...

58 **SD4:** ...I really expect my English sounds like British accent. But I cannot achieve
59 it.

60 **SD5:** Certainly, we cannot.

61 **SD2:** American accent sounds like very standard. But the British accent is unique.

62 **SD1:** I don't really know what the difference between British or American accent is.
63 And I don't think it matters.

64 **SD3:** I agree. I just care about what we are taught in class. And what are we going
65 to be tested.

66 **SD1 & SD2:** Hahaha, you are right.

In *Extract 7.4*, it was found that all of the students were aware that it was impossible to be native-like. Although SD5 raised the question, she asked with doubtful tongue. Yet, even if the students were aware of such a fact, most of them (SD2, SD3 & SD4) explicitly and implicitly expressed '*pity*' attitudes. For example, SD4 made it clear (line 58) that he would like his English sounded like British even if he knew that he could not achieve eventually. He particularly mentioned it was a pity that his English sounded like Chinese English to native speakers (line 52). In his discussion, he used the word '*pity*' to suggest firstly, he was pity and unsatisfied with his non-native-like '*Chinese English*'. Secondly, SD4 felt less confident because of being judged by NESs. Such intention suggested a strong belief in conforming to Native English norm and tending to rely "on the imposition of arbitrary norms of usage by authority" (Voloshinov 1929 in Wright 2003, p.53) in the top-down process of a 'highly political and ideological' language standardisation (Voloshinov 1929 in Wright 2003, p.53). Similar to SD2 and SD3. In SD3's discussion, although she didn't mention '*pity*' explicitly, she tended to refer to '*native will feel...*' about her language (line 48-49). It suggested that how NESs thought was important to her. SD2's response to SD3 also indicated his opinion by agreeing SD3's discussion about NESs' feelings about their non-standard English (line 50-51). In a word, whether it was possible to be native like or not, most of the students wanted to be as close as to be native-like, and thought their non-native like English was '*embarrassed*' (line 52). Chinese, as their L1, was seen as a negative transfer and their non-native like English was considered as '*embarrassing*' and '*pity*'. With the exception of SD1, who was aware that her linguistic features of English were connected with her identity of being Chinese speakers of English, other students all believed that as learners of NSE, Chinese as their L1 had negative transfer in their process of learning English. As how native speakers thought of their English, it could impact on students' perceptions of their own language performances. Their use of non-native-like Chinese English were less preferred. Thus, students enacted themselves as NSE learners instead of being ELF users.

- **Sociolinguistic Realities vs. Classroom Learning Materials Environment**

Initially, it was commonly observed that students were aware of the existing gap between classrooms learning materials and the English that student were exposed to be in the outer sociolinguistic context. This also became one of the major concerns that students had for their English learning in the later discussions about effective general communications.

Moreover, it was also an important factor that had effect on students' perceptions about ELF. The extract below displayed the interactions among students from Group E when discussing classroom input.

Extract 7.5:

67 **SE4:** We always focus on reading literatures. Very little attention is paid to general
68 communications.

69 **SE5:** Those literatures are all written in English. The words they used were really
70 difficult and rarely used in daily communications.

71 **SE1:** So this has caused a lot of barriers in the process of English learning.

72 **SE5:** Right. The things we are expected to learn, and the materials we are supposed
73 to read, and the English language we will need for everyday communication are
74 completely different. So I can foresee a lot of difficulties in the future if we plan to
75 go overseas.

As shown in *Extract 7.5*, '*a lot of barriers*' (line 71) between classroom input and social communications were recognised by SE1, SE4 and SE5. SE5 explicitly agreed with SE1 and pointed out that he could '*foresee a lot of difficulties*' in the future (line 74), because the learning materials for ELT class, the purpose of leaning and the actual English that they needed for social communication were completely different (line 72-75). SE also mentioned that the focus for classroom teaching was different from general communications. According to SE4 and SE5, in a word, they disagreed with the fact that knowledge that students learned and taught in class was not taken real life communication as the aim of teaching and learning. It could tell that students was aware the gap and barrier that current ELF classes were facing. And they had also acknowledged that the communication in sociolinguistic context was more important than acquiring linguistic knowledge in class. Their awareness further impacted on their language practice and perceptions about communicative effectiveness. This will be discussed in the next point, specifically that effectiveness is more important than linguistic performance.

More evidence was found in another group of students in *Extract 7.6*, which listed the discussions of 5 students from two different parallel classes led by two different teachers. Compared with teachers' teaching practices, their acknowledgement of the existing gap was

noticed. Moreover, majority of them made it clear that what was said in the textbook was not their interest. Please refer to the following extract:

Extract 7.6:

76 **SF5:** Our teacher is not that strict. She asks us to give a presentation each class. She
 77 doesn't require us to memorize vocabularies, or give dictation tests or writing. She
 78 just asks us to comprehend the passage and be able to summarize those key points
 79 in our own words.

80 **SF1:** We have all of them! Oh...all of them. All!

81 **SF5:** So your teacher is quite high school style.

82 **SF1:** Er... She just can't stop analysing the whole passage sentence by sentence.
 83 We are so sleepy!!!...and our class is like, for example, first week, Unit 1, second
 84 week, listening and speaking for Unit One; third week, Unit Two...and then
 85 listening and speaking for Unit 2. No changes at all!!!

86 **SF2:** Won't you guys have problems if she teaches so flexible?

87 **SF4:** I don't. I actually don't care about what is the textbook about. Although we
 88 have exams, they are not hard to pass anyway. What are we worried about is the
 89 future use.

90 **SF5:** Yeah, I don't care about textbooks, either. I mean, we can learn it by ourselves
 91 if we want. I want to know more about what we cannot gain from the
 92 textbooks...Something that is really useful or interesting to me.

From their conversations, it could be seen that the way that the teachers of SF1 and SF5 were giving the classes differently. All of the students held positive attitudes towards flexible way of teaching except SF2 who questioned about the 'flexible' style of SF5's teacher. This was for two reasons. One was concerned with the content of learning materials. SF5 mentioned that their teacher was quite flexible in selecting classroom input from the textbooks. Vocabularies, grammatical rules and fixed expressions were not emphasised (line 76-79). Instead, attention was paid to comprehending the passage. SF5 also showed his willingness of leaning additional knowledge from his teacher which had been excluded from the textbook (line 90-92). This, more or less, suggested that SF5 believed that something really interesting or useful could not be acquired only from the textbooks. It was similar to SF4's point of view. SF4 mentioned that although exams became one of the reason that they had to pay attention to what has been taught in the textbook, learning English for '*future use*' (line 89) was what the students should be considered. Accordingly, the acknowledgement of

the gap in and out of the classes was obviously sensed by SF4 and SF5, while learning English for communication in social life was more important to them.

Different from SF5's class, SE1 was taught in '*high school style*' (line 81). SE1 didn't like her teacher's way of teaching vocabularies, grammatical rules. And she had no motivation to follow her teacher's instructions in class, saying that she could fall asleep. She clearly held a strong negative attitude towards her teacher's instruction and classroom teaching practices. She even expressed her envy to SF5's description of his class several time explicitly during the talk. Her reaction to different classes suggested her attitude was the same as SF4 and SF5.

In sum, most of the students in Group F preferred '*flexible*' style of teaching, taking effectiveness in social reality as the major focus. Yet, students' attitudes were various even if they were in the same class. For example, SF2 had a different attitude, although she was in the same class led by the same teacher as SF1. She did not show too many disagreements with her teacher's '*high school style*' instruction but she asked surprisingly if others were ok with this '*flexibility*'. This, more or less, suggested that she had not adjusted to the way that her teacher was flexible in deciding classroom input.

- **Effective Communication vs. Correctness**

In discussing communicative effectiveness, many issues were mentioned by the students from different groups. *Extract 7.7* was mainly about students' purpose of learning English. To be more exact, it was mainly about the aims of his/her wanting to achieve at the end. *Extract 7.8* looked at students' reactions to teachers' mistakes. Please have a look carefully at the extract below for further details.

Extract 7.7:

93 **SB5:** I have a definite purpose of learning English, I just want to be able to
94 communicate with people in English, like what we are doing right now. That's all I
95 want.

96 **SB1:** Like us?

97 **SB4:** Yeah, I understand what people say, just as we have a conversation in Chinese
 98 without any gaps, without thinking about vocabularies, tense and...

99 **SB3:** Then you have to practice with people.

100 **SB4:** I really cannot find... I have to look for some listening materials like VOA.

101 **SB1:** Same, I watch American TV series.

102 **SB4:** Yeah, and English music!

103 ...

104 **SB1:** Of course! I really learned a lot from English subtitles, vocabularies, sentences
 105 patterns and fixed expression.

106 **SB5:** Yeah yeah, that's effective, but I also forget them, just rarely use them.

107 **SB3:** See, still! You have to use it.

According to the extract above, ELF-oriented description was found when SB5 mentioned that his purpose of learning English was to be able to communicate with people effectively in English, as well as to talk with Chinese speakers without any gaps. Communicative effectiveness was clearly the only and most important aim for SB5. The aim suggested that SB5 believed that learning grammatical forms and vocabularies couldn't help him achieve what he wanted. In his following discussion, he also made it clear that he did not want to consider too many vocabularies and tenses while communicating in English. In this case, SB5 was aware of the importance of not only communicative effectiveness but also moving beyond the forms and functions to construct language on the basis of meanings of communication. The communication factor was recognised by him.

However, a co-constructed problem was mentioned by all the students of Group B during the discussions. There were a shortage of opportunities and resources available to the students who took communication effectiveness as their learning aims. For example, VOA, American TV series, English songs or pop music, as mentioned in the extract, were all NS norm-based materials coming from English speaking countries. Learning '*English subtitles, vocabularies, sentences patterns and fixed expressions*' (line 104) that were produced by NESs implicitly reinforced their Standard English ideology. Worse still, even if there were such NS based materials as the reference, students still could not find opportunities to put them into practice. This echoes the conclusion by SB3 that, after all, '*you have to use it*' (line 107). By emphasising '*use*', this group of students apparently valued functional features of

English more than acquiring knowledge. This also suggested that students had realised that there were gaps between what was learned in classroom and what was needed for social communications, as discussed in the previous point.

Similar perceptions were also found in another FG discussion, in which students were talking about the requirements by teachers on their language performance. All four students deemed it was unnecessary to always correct their errors. Please refer to *Extract 7.8*.

Extract 7.8:

108 **SB1:** My teacher place emphasis on sticking to standard and correct students' errors
109 in class sometimes but not always...I don't really care.

110 **SB2:** Right, it was unnecessary!

111 **SB1:** Well, they teach you the pronunciation, then what? You can pronounce it
112 properly like native speakers? No, I don't think so. But we still communicate.

113 **SB4:** Teachers themselves cannot speak Standard English properly anyway.

114 **SB2:** And they made mistakes.

115 **SB3:** (LAUGH) I'll pretend I don't know if they make mistakes in class.

116 **SB4:** Me too, but someone likes to correct teachers.

117 **SB2:** Yeah, some people would like to.

118 **SB4:** (LAUGH) they are just like "oh, I'm sorry, did you just mention... bla bla
119 bla"

120 **SB2:** They (teacher) sometimes correct themselves if they realize it. This morning,
121 our teacher saw a word she couldn't recognize when she was reading a
122 passage...she just stopped there and tried to pronounce it based on phonology
123 symbols. I didn't know whether it was right or wrong anyway. But who cares, no
124 one said anything about it.

125 **SB1:** It's normal! That's not our L1 anyway. Native speakers themselves make
126 mistakes as well!

Extract 7.8 recorded students' perceptions about teachers' corrections on their language performances. From the above extract, all of the students from Group B admitted the fact that teachers tended to correct their errors and emphasised on sticking to the standard, in front of the class. However, all of the students seemed to hold negative attitudes towards such a fact. SB1 and SB2 explicitly expressed their disagreement in line 108-112. SB1

further defined himself by saying that even if the standard pronunciation was taught, it did not mean that students would acquire and pronounce it like native speakers. This did not affect communication either (line 111-112). His discussion, in one sense, suggested his understanding of linguistic accuracy, was not the only way to ensure a successful communication. In another sense, he didn't think that English should be taught as a knowledge-based subject. One's language ability could not be improved by accumulating knowledge only. More importantly, he was implicitly aware that it was impossible to be native-like no matter how they were taught.

However, different from SB1's discussion, SB4 laid emphasis on teachers' non-standardised language output. The reason why he did not care about the standards and mistakes was not that he thought it was unnecessary, but rather that he believed that teachers themselves '*cannot speak Standard English properly*' either (line 113). In stressing '*themselves*' and '*anyway*', he believed that teachers' non-standardised language output made them lack authority to correct students' errors or mistakes. His comment suggested a strong belief in NS norms and his identity of being a NSE learner.

In the later on discussion, the focus changed to talk about teachers' mistakes while they were giving the instructions in classroom teaching. The situation was quite different from students' mistakes according to the participants' discussions. From SB2's words that teachers cared about what was considered to be correct, and believed it was their responsibility to teach their students correctly. As for the students' perception about teachers' corrections, the students seemed to tolerate them. SB1 further expressed his tolerance by taking NESs as an example, saying that they made mistakes as well. For Chinese students, as non-native speakers, making mistake was rather normal. Other students did not show considerable disagreement with SB1, but did mention that there were a few students insisting on correcting teachers' mistake in class. This suggests that student attitudes towards error correctness can be various. A wide range of factors can impact students' attitudes. Further information will be displayed in Section 7.3.2. *The Factors of Impacting on the Development of Different Attitudes*.

- **The Considering of Cultural Factors**

As improving one's cultural awareness was set as one of the major teaching objectives in *Requirements (2007)*, the researcher's attention was paid to observing discussions which were related to cultural awareness as well. *Extract 7.9*, displayed students' arguments about the appropriateness of teaching traditional Chinese literature e.g. *Dream of the Red Chamber* (红楼梦) through EMI. It seemed that students believed that learning local and target cultures were equally important to learn the target language. Let's have a look at them one by one in the following extracts.

Extract 7.9:

127 **SC1:** Do you know why Chinese culture is taught by English medium instruction. I
128 really don't get it.

129 **SC2:** Huh? Do you have international students in your class?

130 **SC1:** No. That is why I really don't get it why it has to be taught in English. I am so
131 struggled to understand those terminologies! I mean, why? It is not necessary.

132 **SC2:** Right! If it were British culture, ok, I could get it. But, Chinese culture...

133 **SC4:** Ah-huh! Our teacher used to teach *Dream of the Red Chamber* (红楼梦) all
134 in English! Can you imagine?

135 **SC3:** Haha we also have a Danish teacher teaching intercultural communication
136 module. This is weird, I mean, does she know Chinese cultures? And she is not
137 even a native speaker.

138 **SC2:** But if she is Danish, I get it why she uses EMI.

It is evident from *Extract 7.9* that all the students explicit or inexplicit questioned the necessity of teaching Chinese culture with EMI. SC2 showed his surprise as he thought there were international students in class. So it would be understandable to teach it in English as that was the only way for them to understand. SC2 further mentioned in the last sentence that because of the teacher was Danish, English was not the teacher's L1, so he could understand why the class was given in English. Irrespective of whether his attitude towards EMI was right or wrong, his comments clearly showed an understanding of the situation in which ELF was necessary. That is, English was used as a contact language among speakers whose L1 was different (Jenkins, 2015), although ELF had not been acknowledged and realised theoretically by students from this FG group.

Moreover, the cultural factor was considered. SC4 gave an example that in one of his classes, *Dream of the Red Chamber* (红楼梦) was taught and analysed in English by his teacher who was Chinese. He used the words ‘can you imagine’ (line 134) to express his disagreement and unintelligible attitude. Using English as the only medium of instruction, a lot of terminologies (SC1’s point), habits and manners of Chinese culture could not be appropriately explained. It is also noted by SC2 that if the module was about British culture, where English originated, it would be understandable to use EMI. Furthermore, from line 135-137, when SC3 was talking about that he was taught by a Danish teacher in *Intercultural Communication*, he doubted one could teach *Intercultural Communication* in the Chinese context when she was neither a Chinese speaker nor a native speaker. Although the discussion with SC3 reflected his limited understanding of what was standing for intercultural communication, his point of view suggested that he believed without being equipped with local and target cultural knowledge; learning outcomes would not be good. Besides, as he particularly mentioned the teacher was not ‘even a native speaker’ (line 137), a belief in native speaker authority was noticed. Thereby, local, target cultures and NSE were seen as basic for SC3 for intercultural communication.

Similar points were also made among the student participants from Group B. *Extract 7.10* displays the students’ discussions about translating cultural-related information from Chinese to English. It was believed by all of the students that translation from one language to another was difficult, particularly when it crossed cultural issues, e.g. interpreting an ancient poem from Chinese to English. Please have a careful read below:

Extract 7.10

139 **SB5:** Eh, did you feel the same? There is always something that we understand the
 140 meanings, but if we are asked to repeat it with our own words, there was a moment
 141 that we really don't know how to say it clearly.

142 **SB3:** Come on! It comes from different culture and context. How can you explain it
 143 in another language? The language is formulated with different patterns of thinking
 144 and speaking.

145 **SB1 & SB5:** It could only be unspeakable (只可意会不可言传).

146 **SB4:** So to be a translator or interpreter, he/she must be good at Chinese culture,
 147 English and target culture as well.

148 **SB2:** See! That's why it is so difficult to become a competent translator.

In the extract above, based on his own experience, SB5 noticed that it was hard to translate sentences with one's own words in another language even if he/she understood the meanings. SB3 agreed with him and recognized that a language was formulated with different patterns of thinking and speaking coming from a specific culture and context (line 142-143). In this way, it was difficult to explain cultural issues in another language. SB1 and SB5 even used the word '*unspeakable*' (line 145) to illustrate the cultural issues as an existing gap. Thus, the same comment as SF3 in the previous extract was made by SB4. He believed that to be able to translate or interpret properly, one should be good at not only Chinese culture, but also English and target language cultures. The conversation suggested that the students had acknowledged the relationship between the language and culture, and the importance of cultural factors in communication. In the meantime, students were also aware that it was not enough to just learn the cultural differences to understand the information delivered by different languages. However, there was still something that all of the students were confused about as to how to be able to deal with such difficulties. That's why student (SB1 and SB5) used the word '*unspeakable*' to describe their confusions.

Briefly speaking, although students showed their understandings of the situation in which ELF was necessary and the importance of cultural factors for communication among speakers with different L1, they believed effective communication was made only when the interlocutors were equipped with local and target cultural knowledge, as well as NSE. They tended to link cultures and languages to the countries where they originated. The transcultural flow had not been acknowledged by them. Thus, they were confused about which ways cultural differences should be dealt with.

- **The Acceptance of Chinese Speakers' Use of English**

During the observations in the student focus groups, Chinese speakers' use of English was found to have been commonly referred to in all the six groups. Thereby, in this section, the students' perception(s) of Chinese speakers' use of English were paid attention to. There were three major points reflected through students' interactions. Firstly, all of them thought that

Chinese speakers' use of English was easier to understand than native speakers' English or the other non-native speakers' Englishes. The reason, as mentioned by them, was that the interlocutors shared the same context and knew how to accommodate with each other. Furthermore, although the students believed that Chinese speakers' use of English was more useful in communication, it was still not preferred, as it sounded 'weird', compared with UK or US accent. And thirdly, the majority of them believed they didn't mind being judged by their features of Chinese ways of using English, as that meant their English could be understood by their interlocutors. Please have a look at the following *Extract 7.11, 7.12 & 7.13* for detailed information:

Extract 7.11

149 **SA1:** I think English spoken by Chinese speakers is easier to understand than the
150 speakers of other languages.

151 **SA2:** Because you are in the context...

152 **SA1:** No...they speak very clearly and slowly when they come to the key
153 information. They know which part of the information is easy to be ignored.
154 Basically, I can understand it word by word. It is different from listening to native
155 speakers.

156 **SA5:** Because your interlocutors think and speak in the same way as you do, and
157 even your teachers have the same accents. So you feel more comfortable.

158 **SA3:** But foreigners may find it is (Chinese speakers use of English) hard (to
159 understand). They will still think your English is bad.

160 **SA1:** Foreigners' English is really hard to understand, it's so fluent and so quick.

161 **SA5:** It is like, er...how to say...I am a Cantonese speaker, I found it is easier to
162 understand Cantonese speakers' English than mandarin speakers.

163 **SA4:** Is that so?

164 **SA5:** I'm not used to their ways of speaking. It is very hard to match their words
165 and actual meanings.

Extract 7.11 was students' discussions about Chinese speakers' use of English in Group A. It was commonly found that all the students felt Chinese speakers use of English was easier to understand than the other kinds of Englishes, whether they were native or non-native Englishes. The reasons that were mentioned in *Extract 7.11* were involved in the following issues. First of all, as believed by SA2 and SA5, as Chinese speakers of English, they shared the same context as the other Chinese speakers, which made their English is easier to

understand by other Chinese speakers as well. SA5 also took her identity of being a Cantonese speaker as an example to explain that she always found Cantonese speakers' use of English was easier to understand than mandarin speakers' use of English. At the same time, SA1 showed his agreement and remarked that Chinese speakers' use of English was more intelligible. Because they knew how to accommodate with each other when communicating in speed, and with different vocabularies, especially when coming to the key information (line 152-154). SA5 even emphasised that without the shared understanding of context, '*it is hard to match their words and actual meanings*' when communicating with NESs (lines 164-165). Such discussions reflected students' positive attitudes towards Chinese speakers' use of English. It suggested that the importance of cultural issues, communication and accommodation strategy had been noticed by the students, more or less, in the process of communication, instead of over-emphasising the language itself.

However, different opinions were discovered. In response to SA1's viewpoint, SA3's attention was paid to differently. SA3 believed although Chinese speakers' use of English was easier to understand, foreigners might find it was hard to understand. Although SA3 did not show any disagreement with SA1 directly, it was still important for her to gain praise from foreigners. Yet, praise could not be gained by using CHE. Her hesitation that foreigners would think Chinese speakers' of English was bad, implied a strong negative attitude towards Chinese speakers' use of English. It also indicated that she strongly believed that native speakers had the right to decide whether her language was good or not.

After discussing the intelligibility of Chinese speakers' use of English, further discussions about whether Chinese speakers' use of English was preferred or not were recorded in the following *Extract 7.12*, please have a look:

Extract 7.12:

166 **SD1:** I prefer Chinese accent. It is more understandable. But I don't think it sounds
167 great. I like UK or US English. They sound very fluent.

168 **SD2:** I like British accent.

169 **SD4:** Well, if a Chinese speaker also speaks English quite fluently, then how do
170 you feel about it?

171 **SD1:** Er...His/her English is great? I still think UK or UK accent sounds more
172 comfortable.

173 **SD2:** Hmm... (UK or UK accent) hard to understand

174 **SD1:** Yeah, I don't understand, either.

175 **SD3:** Chinese English is understandable, but it sounds weird.

176 **SD4:** No, actually, if one speaks Chinese English very fluently, it is also difficult to
177 understand.

It was noticed that, even if Chinese speakers' use of English was more understandable and effective in the Chinese context, Chinese speakers' use of English still sounded 'weird' to the student (line 175). Compared with Chinese speakers' way of speaking, the UK and US accent were hard to understand. However, SD1 and SD2 explicitly expressed their preference of UK and US English in the process of group interactions. Just as SD1 said he preferred UK or US English due to the fact that '*they sound very fluent*'. Yet, SD4 seemed to have the different point of view. He didn't think that students who had their preference of native English was the cause of the level of fluency, as SD1 claimed. He further argued that if Chinese speakers could speak English with a certain degree of fluency, he/she would also be hard to understand. Implicitly, he believed that the reason that Chinese speakers' use of English was less preferred was neither linguistic performance nor the language itself. Though he did not further explain why, his attitude implicitly indicated the symbolic meanings of Chinese speakers' use of English had impacted on its acceptance by students themselves.

A similar topic was also discussed by the students in Group B. Their attitudes towards identities of being a Chinese speakers' of English were found in the following *Extract 7.13*. Surprisingly, majority of the students claimed that they didn't mind being judged by their Chinese English. Let's have a look for more information.

Extract 7.13

178 **SB1:** I don't feel I am being judged if someone thinks I am using Chinese English
179 or Chinglish.

180 **SB2:** I don't feel it, either.

181 **SB3:** I'll take this as a compliment. It means that I am understandable.

182 **SB2:** Yeah, the purpose of communication is to be able to understand each other.

183 **SB4:** Even if you are judged by them, they won't let you know anyway.

184 **SB1:** How do foreigners feel about our ways of speaking anyway?

185 **SB4:** Like when you hear about Indian people speak Indian English.

186 **SB3:** There is a lot of differences. I mean, like Americans who were born in China,
187 their English is good, but their English is different from Native Americans.

188 **SB2:** For example, in academia, if the paper were written by non-native speakers, I
189 would know! Because it would be easier to understand than it written by native
190 speakers.

191 **SB4:** It is because of the way they formulate sentences and choose vocabularies.

192 **SB3:** Yeah, they are clearly different.

First of all, SB1, SB2, and SB3 claimed that they did not feel that they were being judged if people thought that they were using Chinese English or Chinglish. SB3 even said that she would take it as a compliment because it meant that her English was understandable. Clearly, this suggested that she thought that Chinese speakers' use of English was easier to understand like the students in Group D. However, when SB1 mentioned that he did not mind being judged, in the following discussion, he raised a question about how foreigners would feel about the way of their speaking (line 184). That question, somehow suggested that he still cared about how native speakers thought of his English. Thus, deep inside, Chinese speakers' use of English, as the matter of fact, is less preferred by him, and he cared about how people, especially native speakers, perceived him.

Furthermore, it was noticed by the students that there were different Englishes spoken by native and non-native speakers. SB3 mentioned that there was quite a difference between the times when English was spoken by Americans who were born in China and by Native American although both of them spoke good English. SB2 also said that it was easy to tell whether an academic article was written by NESs or NNESSs, because the way they formulated sentences and the way they chose vocabularies were quite different. They were much easier to understand than they were written by native speakers. Thus, it suggested that as non-native speakers of English, students had acknowledged the intelligibility of non-native Englishes, which had been used more frequently.

Generally, from what has been discussed about Chinese speakers' use of English, non-native's use of English was more understandable than native speakers according to the students. And compared with other non-native Englishes, Chinese speakers' use of English was more effective. In a sense, they were sharing the same understanding of culture and context. In another sense, Chinese speakers know how to accommodate with each other while they were talking. Given such facts, the importance of cultural factors and accommodation strategies for effective communications were preferred to instead of over-emphasising the language itself. Yet, students also made it clear that although Chinese speakers' use of English was effective, it was not preferred compared with native English. The symbolic meanings of native and non-native English had impacted their perceptions.

Though NSE learners' identities were identified through students' discussions in the extracts above, a number of features of ELF emerged as well. Apart from taking NSE as a target language and learning English towards native speakers' competence, student participants were worried about the awareness of the gap between sociolinguistic reality and classroom learning material. Instead of linguistic performance, their motivations of learning for effective communication became the major concern. Moreover, the researcher was surprised that Chinese speakers' use of English had been accepted by most of the participants. And it was even perceived as more effective than native English. In addition, the considering of cultural factors in communication had also been noticed by students. All of the above features suggested that they were, as the matter of fact, ELF users. As mentioned by Seidlhofer (2011), learners of EFL classes are actually users of ELF as well. However, this is always unaware by teachers, students themselves, and textbook publishers, testers and policy-makers (Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2011, 2015; Sifakis 2009), who have 'a priority in ELF awareness' (Sifakis, 2017, p.5).

7.3.2. The Factors of Impacting on the Development of Participants' Attitudes

After presenting students' co-constructed perceptions in the previous section, this section mainly focused on various factors that had contributed to constructions of students' beliefs about English, among which four main factors had been discovered. First of all, it referred to students' lacking knowledge about ELF, such as being unfamiliar with the terminologies; not recognizing the fact that NNESSs outnumbered NESs and the legitimacy of NNE; NES ownership of English and so on. Furthermore, it was the concerns of the gatekeeping

practices of English. In addition, it was involved in the teachers' and textbook's language practices impacting on students. And last but not the least, it was self-experience of using ELF for intercultural communication.

7.3.2.1. Lacking Knowledge about ELF

In discussing the factors that impacted on students' perceptions about English, lacking knowledge about ELF appeared to be one of the most obvious factors that should be particularly mentioned. Other than that, it was also observed that students were not clearly aware of the differences between terminologies like EFL, ENL and ELT etc., in theory. The term of ELF, therefore had been even less recognised by the students. Further up, in discussing Chinese speakers' use of ELF with students in the previous section 7.3.1., it was evident that majority of the students were even unaware of how to describe the kind of English they were currently acquiring from ELT classrooms in university. They did not distinguish what was Chinese English or Chinglish and tended to use them to refer to their own use of English. However, students' being unfamiliar with the terms did not mean that they were not aware of such issues. In the next parts of this section, transcripts that were relevant to the key issues of understanding of ELF will be further discussed.

Extract 7.14, was the students' conversation about their experiences of being volunteers as interpreters at *China Export Commodities Fair*. In it they discussed their attitudes towards NNESSs use of English. Their perceptions about non-native Englishes and speakers of non-native Englishes were also recorded. Please have a look below:

Extract 7.14

193 **SC1:** Did you go to *China Export Commodities Fair* as a volunteer last week?

194 **SC3:** Yes, of course. All of us went.

195 **SC2:** There were not many native speakers. The people I mostly communicate with
196 were Indian speakers and Singapore speakers.

197 **SC1:** Yeah! Yeah! I was about to ask you that. I thought it was only me.

198 **SC4:** Where did all these Indian speakers come from? There were a lot of them.
199 Oh...and there were a lot of Japanese speakers I also ran into.

200 **SC3:** Their English was like... (Imitate Japanese speakers' speaking)

201
202

SC4: (Laugh), and Indian English sounded so weird, they were using very non-standard English. It was so hard to understand them.

On the one hand, students were surprised that most communications that they made were with non-English speakers of English, especially with Indian and Japanese speakers. They also found that it was quite unexpected that the majority of their interlocutors were NNESSs. Students' reactions suggested they did not recognise that NNESSs outnumbered NESs. On the other hand, the students' attitude towards Indian and Japanese speakers' use of English appeared to be negative. SC4 even imitated and made fun of other NNESSs, which indicated that, non-native speakers' English was '*non-standard*' and '*hard to understand*' to them. Their beliefs in NS norms were found obviously in their discussions. At the same time, their making fun of NNESSs could tell that NNESSs were viewed as deficient native English users, who produced non-standard English to the students. The assumptions about NNSE and NNESSs suggested the fact that students were unaware of the development of English as a lingua franca in social realities. The dichotomy of native and non-native speakerism was still viewed on the basis of traditional EFL, that is, the use of prefix '*non-*' implies some sort of negative meanings.

The second issue indicating students' lacking knowledge about ELF was concerned with their beliefs in NES ownership of English and their beliefs in NES authority. The evidence could be found in *Extract 7.13*, and *Extract 7.11*. As shown in these two extracts, SB1 and SA3 cared how '*foreigners*', namely, native speakers of English thought of their language performances, which was important and further impacted on their language practices. No one seemed to question about NES authority in judging and deciding whether their English was good or not. Apparently, NES ownership of English had been deeply accepted by them. More relevant interactions were found in *Extract 7.8*. In it, SB1 mentioned teachers themselves could not speak Standard English properly. It implicitly suggested, to him, teachers, as non-native speakers of English, who spoke non-standardised English, were not entitled to correct students' errors. SB2 also remarked that teachers made mistakes as well. By emphasising '*mistakes*' and '*non-standard English*', SB2 believed language output that was different from Standard English were mistakes. Furthermore, such an intention suggested that, SB2, teachers, who were non-native speakers of English, had no power to make changes.

To sum up, the beliefs about ‘non-native speakers of English had no power to make changes’; it was important in how native speakers of English thought of students’ language performance; and no one questioned about NESs’ authority in judging and deciding, suggested NES ownership of English had been deeply accepted by the student participants. And the beliefs in NES ownership of English had resulted in students’ conformity to NS norms and viewed English as a fixed standard. This had also impacted on their positioning themselves in the process of learning as ELF users. Thus, due to the assumptions that mentioned above, although the students were ELF users, they still enacted themselves as NSE learners.

7.3.2.2. **Concerns of Gatekeeping Practices in China**

Concerns of gatekeeping practices in China were another common factor that played an important role in shaping students’ language ideologies. So in this section 7.3.2.2, students’ discussions about testing and evaluations were collected. National proficiency tests, such as CET Level 4 & 6 was particularly mentioned by students. *Extracts 7.15 & 7.16* were reflections of CET tests from the students in University A.

Extract 7.15

203 **SD1:** Do you guys know we will have an English contest in our university.

204 **SD5:** We’ll have?

205 **SD1:** Yeah, but you have to get 7 for IELTS, or passed CET 6...

206 **SD4:** Then what? Win?

207 **SD1:** You are in your dream...to be qualified for the preliminary contest only.

208 **SD4:** ONLY the preliminary contest?

209 **SD5:** It’s absurd.

210 **SD4:** OMG!

211 **SD1:** Or you are in class A.

212 **SD4:** ONLY qualified!!!

213 **SD1:** ONLY qualified.

214 **SD4:** To take preliminary contest...

215 **SD5:** It's horrible, so competitive in our university.

216 **SD4:** But ability and testing results, they are two different things.

217 **SD1& SD5:** Yeah...

Extract 7.15 recorded the students' discussion about an announcement of an English contest that they heard on the day. It was incredible for them after they were aware of the entry condition by saying '*absurd*' (line 209), and '*horrible*' (line 215). As only the students who had got 7 score for IELTS, or passed CET 6 or in Class A were qualified for the preliminary contest. This entry condition reflected a common situation that majority of students would have to face, e.g. gatekeeping practices. Students could not even get the opportunity to participate in the competition if they didn't get high marks in NS based examinations launched by NESs.

Moreover, SD4 believed that actual ability and testing score were two different things, which could not stand for everything. Both SD1 and SD5 agreed with him. By saying '*only*' and '*horrible*' in an incredible tone, students' negative reactions to the entry condition were very strong. Their comments suggested that they did not agree with the university that one's English proficiency should be evaluated only depended on examinations. They also did not believe that testing results could reflect their abilities. Yet, due to the university's regulations about the contest, they could do nothing about it and did not seem to change the situation. Although, students did not make explicit comment on test standards which was NS based, and showed unwillingness of taking such tests, conforming to the ideology of the test was their only option if they wanted to gain the opportunities. Their language choice would be surely impacted.

Extract 7.16 was recorded when the same group of students were talking about their IELTS scores. As they did not mention too much about NS norms in the previous extract, in this one, attention was paid to uncovering their implicit beliefs about NS norms test.

Extract 7.16

218 **SD5:** I really thought about going aboard. But my English is so bad.

219 **SD1:** I just got my IELTS result, 6. I think it is quite bad.

220 **SD4:** 6 is bad? Don't tell me you want to get 8.

221 **SD1:** Not really! But it would be better if I can reach 7. Why is it only 6? 6 is really
222 bad.

223 **SD3:** Why you want to get 7 so badly? 6 is not bad.

224 **SD1:** At least 7 is capable of applying for good universities. 6 is acceptable for
225 some of them, but if you got 7, you are qualified for most of them.

226 **SD4:** How can they decide to give you the mark? I mean the scores from 1-9.

227 **SD1:** So complicated. You see, reading, listening, speaking, and writing. For
228 writing, they marks are very strict. So is speaking. The rest of reading and listening
229 draw back the margin of everyone score. Listening and reading can buy you some
230 marks, but the other two, ohhh...too horrible! I thought I was prepared! But who
231 knows my writing and speaking can be so bad?

It was noticed by the researcher that although SD1 expressed her disagreement with entry condition strongly in the previous extract, she seemed to agree with SD4 that ones' language ability should not be only evaluated by a test. But in this extract, she did not show her understanding consistently. Instead, she was very keen on getting good grades in IELTS test. For example, between line 219 and 223, SD1 kept saying that her IELTS result '*is quite bad*'. And it would be better if she could reach 7. In line 229-230, she also mentioned '*reading can buy you some marks*'. All of these details suggested, in one way, she refused to be evaluated by the test given by others (see *Extract 7.15*), and in another, she tended to evaluated herself with the same standard.

The main reason why she tended to gain a good grade in IELTS test, particularly, 7, was that the university application requirements for language proficiency. The gatekeeping practice of English was an important factor that had impacted on SD1's language practice although she did not really even know the proficiency difference of what Score 6 and 7 stood for. The only thing she knew was that more opportunities would be offered to her if she could get 7 instead of 6. Besides, unlike what she claimed her disagreement with the university's regulation to examine students' English proficiency by marks in *Extract 7.16*, she herself still tended to evaluate her English ability by NS-based examination. As she complained, she had never realised her '*writing and speaking can be so bad*'. Obviously, she made her judgement on her writing and speaking ability on the basis of IELTS scores unconsciously, which was inconsistent with what she claimed in the previous extract that examination results could not speak for the real abilities.

7.3.2.3. Teachers and textbooks' Language Practices Impacting on Students

As motioned in the previous section, the gap between classroom learning materials and what was needed for social interactions had been acknowledged by students. And teachers' ways of making use of different contents were different. This had, more or less, impacted on students' attitudes towards English. In a word, the teachers' decisions on how to make use of learning materials available to students was a crucial factor that had impacted student perception. *Extract 7.17* listed the students' comments about classroom input in Groups A. In it students believed that the differences of classroom inputs among Classroom A, B and C, were mostly because the teachers' decisions on what was important for classroom teaching. Please have a look below for detailed information:

Extract 7.17:

232 **SA1:** Class A depends too much on what their teachers give to students.

233 **SA2:** Yeah, Class A have different ppt because of the different textbooks.

234 **SA4:** Right, we don't take the same exams as Class B and C. It depends on
235 individual teachers.

236 **SA3:** How about Class B and C, are we the same?

237 **SA1:** No I guess?

238 **SA5:** Yeah, (Class B and C) there are also a lot of differences... We learn the same
239 content, but it...

240 **SA1:** So it also depends on teachers' decision.

241 **SA4:** Some teachers won't even require you to take the exams, just finish the
242 assessments.

243 **SA2:** No, that's only the teachers who teach Class A.

As mandatory by *Requirements (2007)*, teaching requirements were set at three different levels. Students were all divided into the three levels of classes: basic (A), intermediate (B) and advanced (C) levels. As shown in this extract, SA2, and SA3 were in Class B, SA5 were in Class C, while SA1 and SA4 were in Class A. While SA2 mentioned that the difference of classroom input depended on textbooks, SA1 and SA4 pointed out that the differences were also on individual teacher's decisions. SA5 further argued that even if there were the same learning materials, classroom input always depended on decisions made by teachers as

well. Therefore, not only the textbook, but also the role that teachers played in the process of education had been noticed by the students. They were explicitly aware that it was teachers' decisions that certain materials were taken as classroom input. It was also their decisions about what types of assessments that were given to students as a part of evaluations methods. More evidence could also be found in the following extract in which the students had been implicitly impacted by the teachers' and materials-related language practice, please read carefully.

Extract 7.18

244 **SA1:** I just use it (English) in class (laugh).

245 **SA2:** In class. Yeah, just read, read and read. Papers and articles.

246 **SA1:** And teachers usually encourage us to read English literatures instead of
247 Chinese literatures.

248 **SA3:** I used to read Chinese only, they (English literatures) are difficult.

249 **SA2:** But they are more convinced.

250 **SA3:** True. They are advanced in content. And in language.

251 **SA4:** Yeah, the same as our teacher. So now I use English for academic reading
252 only.

Extract 7.18 was also a conversation among four student participants from Group A. They were selected from different parallel classes of the same module *Comprehensive English* led by different teachers. One of the major points in which all four students agreed on was that English was rarely used except English classes. And even if English was only used in class, it was usually the reading skills that were emphasised. Because '*English literatures*' were encouraged by the teachers more than the literatures written in Chinese. It was believed to be '*more convinced*' according to SA2. Nobody seemed to question the importance of reading and understanding English literatures. And no one seemed to challenge the status of literatures written in English was '*more convinced*'. Especially for SA3, who used to read literatures written in Chinese only, tended to agree that English literatures were more convinced in both content and linguistic aspects. SA4 then responded directly afterwards that as English literatures were encouraged by teachers as effective target input, his exposure to English was limited to focusing on academic reading only.

Apparently, what was encouraged by teachers could impact on students' language practices explicitly and implicitly while students were aware or unaware. Taking the materials with different kinds of language as target input, students' perceptions about such language would gradually change as well. This is in accordance with what has been discussed in Chapter 2, teachers and textbooks serve as mechanisms that effect on students' language beliefs or ideologies and further impact on the *de facto* language practices. It also echoes the importance of awareness of instructional practice, such as what teachers do and believe as proposed in Sifakis (2017).

7.3.2.4. **Self-experience of Learning and Using English**

In addition to teachers and textbooks language practices, there was one important factor that should not be ignored: individual experience of using English for communication. Two common issues were picked up among the six groups. One was that due to lacking opportunities for students to communicate in English, lots of students were learning English for academic purposes. And the importance of English for communication had been questioned by some of students' participants. The other was the experience of intercultural communication impacting on individual speakers' language attitudes, beliefs and ideologies.

- **Lacking Opportunities to Communicate in English**

In discussing the students' own experiences of communicating in English, *Extract 7.19 & 7.20* displayed two different groups of the students from two universities discussing their purposes of learning and using English in class and in their everyday life. In *Extract 7.19*, the students believed that English was important for general major students, mostly because they had to read their own major knowledge-related literatures. No one mentioned about other skills except SC4 (line 256). She believed that listening skill was also important if he/she planned to study overseas.

Extract 7.19:

- 253 **SC1:** I really feel that English is important.
- 254 **SC2:** I feel the same here, for academic readings.
- 255 **SC3:** Yeah, especially our major is biology. We have to read literatures.

256 **SC4:** And, and listening and speaking are also important if you want to study
257 overseas.

258 **SC1:** Emm, yeah... but listening and speaking are not too much worried by me. At
259 least we have been taught English for, let me think, 11 years in school?

260 **SC3:** En, right, we can cope with general communication, defiantly. You have to
261 admit, although the thing we learned in school was not practical at all, at least...

262 **SC1:** At least we learned the most Basic English to deal with the most basic
263 situations! Leave difficult thing to English major students (Laugh)

264 **SC4:** Really? I can cope with listening, but speaking...the lack of opportunities to
265 speak. And where are the interlocutors?

266 **SC1:** Right! How silly you are if you keep talking in English with me!

267 **SC4:** (laugh) Foreigners also use Chinese when they buy food in the canteen. They
268 don't want to speak English with you, either.

269 **SC2:** Right, they want to learn Chinese.

270 **SC1:** Yeah, yeah.

271 **SC4:** Just as we want to speak English when we see foreigners, so they also want to
272 speak Chinese when they see us.

273 **SC3:** It's just because of the context.

274 **SC2:** Yes, because they are in China, Chinese people are all using Chinese.

In the above extract, both of the students acknowledged the importance of English for academic purposes, particularly in reading and comprehending their major-related literatures. Yet, at the same time, the communication factor of English had been less recognised. SC1 agreed that it would be awkward to communicate in English among Chinese speakers. Even if the students themselves might have some different dialects, they could still communicate with each other in mandarin Chinese. English was not necessary. As for international students, SC4 also noted that even if there were a lot of international students whom he could often ran into every day at the campus, the international students were much eager to speak and practice Chinese, just as Chinese students wanted to practice English. So it was unlikely to always use English for communication with them, either. Hence, English was used by students to communicate neither with Chinese students nor with international students within a higher education context. SC3 and SC2 then drew the conclusion that because of the context in which majority of Chinese people were all using Chinese for communication, except the students who had planned to study overseas, they rarely had opportunities to use English for general communication in China due to lacking

opportunities and interlocutors to speak with.

Students further mentioned listening and speaking skill was related to the individual's need of communication. For example, both SC1 and SC3 believed that they were not worried about listening and speaking for general communication, and believed that they were capable of everyday communication after years of learning English through formal education. On the one hand, they specially mentioned that the classroom input was '*not practical at all*'. On the other hand, they thought what had been taught was necessary because it had covered the most basic knowledge that they would needed. They clearly lacked knowledge about ELF, macroscopically, the importance of communication factor of English had been overlooked as the development of English in the sociolinguistic context. And at the microscopic level, other than language, other components of gaining successful communication had not been acknowledged.

• the Use of ELF for Intercultural Communication

As mentioned above, based on students' experiences of using English, majority of students lacked opportunities to communicate in English, which led to students overlooking the importance of communication factors of English. With such fact, their need of ELF decreased as well. Yet, a number of students who had experiences of intercultural communication with foreigners had sensed differently. Please refer to the following *Extract 7.20* for details:

Extract 7.20:

275 **SE1:** I want to go abroad, but I'm afraid that when I get there, everybody's English
276 is very good, and I will be completely lost and filled with mistakes.

277 **SE2:** Yeah, I'm afraid of making mistakes.

278 **SE3:** Well, it's alright. I remember when I first met a foreigner. It was really the
279 first time that I got an opportunity to communicate with foreigners. At the
280 beginning I talked with him in Chinese, he couldn't understand, so he asked me to
281 speak English. Well, my English was very poor at the time, so I basically talk to
282 him literally. He then understood me, but didn't say anything.

283 **SE4:** The same to me here. I ever met one who asked me how to buy food from the
284 college canteen with campus card. I didn't know how to speak to him, and then I
285 had to let him follow me. (Laugh) and on the way to the canteen I met one of the

286 students who maybe was in Class A, and his English was amazing, he explained it
287 to the foreigner.

288 **SE3:** It seems to me that foreigners are not likely to judge you grammar or accent.
289 But in class, teachers tend to correct us all the time.

290 **SE1:** Grammar, usually, but not accent.

291 **SE2:** No, teachers do not correct errors for oral English. In writing they will
292 correct grammatical errors, but not in speaking.

It was interesting that in *Extract 7.20*, the student who had experience of intercultural communication with foreigners seemed to be careless about making mistakes. For example, SE1 and SE2 explicitly mentioned that they were eager to practice their English, but afraid of making mistakes. SE3 and SE4, on the other hand, shared their experiences of using English with foreigners, and believed that in reality, people did not usually correct each other's mistakes as long as they were understandable. It was obvious that the students who had experiences of intercultural communication were more confident to use English.

Yet, another issue occurred subconsciously. Students were unaware that they were actually using ELF for intercultural communication. By mentioning '*at that time my English was poor*', it suggested that the student still believed making mistakes made her a deficient English user. Although she became confident in using ELF subconsciously, the '*poor*' English, namely, her non-native like English had still been considered as the deficient use of English by her.

In sum, based on the students' discussions about their experiences of learning and using English, it was clear that the students believed that in the Chinese context, there were no chances of using English for communication with Chinese speakers and non-Chinese speakers. Because of the context, speakers of other languages were much more willing to use Chinese for communication. However, English was still important for them to learn knowledge and information that was published in English for care-development. It was also important for general communication if he/she planned to study overseas. Given these, to the majority of students, the need of ELF for intercultural communication decreased. As for those who had experiences of intercultural communications, they were more confident, and

recognized the importance of communication factor of ELF although they were unaware of being ELF users.

7.4 Discussion

In addition to students' co-constructed perceptions about English and factors that they impacted on the development of their perceptions, there were some more findings that were unexpected which emerged during the process of observing focus groups. For examples, students' were unaware of the current language acquisition policy. *Extracts 7.21, 7.22 & 7.23* displayed the students' discussions about the content and information of their program handbook and textbooks in Group C & D from University B. Generally speaking, all of the students seemed to be lacking knowledge of the program that they were enrolled in and the information about English-related modules. Some of them could not even remember the name of the module and textbooks that they were currently enrolled in. Please refer to the following extracts for more information:

Extract 7.25:

293 **SC1:** We have this...er... small handbook, called "education plans". It has all the
294 information we need to know. And... (...look at Student B)

295 **SC2:** (Laugh...) don't look at me, I've never read it.

296 **SC3:** Are you all in Class B? I'm in Class C. So I guess our plan is different.

297 **SC2:** No, I'm in Class B.

298 **SC3:** What! So great!

299 **SC1:** Yeah, I'm in Class A, but I don't know what is the different.

Extract 7.26:

300 **SD3:** Do you remember what our module is called??

301 **SD5:** Don't know the name... (Laugh)

302 **SD1:** (laugh) I don't know... Is it called college English or advanced English?

303 **SD4:** OK. It doesn't matter anyway. Those are perfunctory. Also the materials, they
304 are printed by teachers themselves. We don't have examinations, either, just
305 homework and presentations.

306 **SD1:** You are right...I really don't know what we have learned so far in class because
307 of such few class hours per week.

308 **SD5:** Yeah, and I usually forget about what we learned last week in this week's class.

It was clear that in *Extracts 7.21 & 7.22*, both students explicitly and implicitly expressed their lacking the knowledge of education plans and module information. Even if there was a program handbook of English education plans, as mentioned in *Extract 7.21*, the students (SC1 & SC2) seemed to have never cared to read it. Similarly, in *Extract 7.22*, SD1, SD3 and SD5 all forgot the name of their English related modules. SD1 and SD5 both mentioned that they could not even remember what was taught in class due to the few class hours per week. Although SD4 didn't express his opinion explicitly, he said that learning materials were printed by teachers themselves, so he did not know it, either, and believed '*it doesn't matter*'. Similarly in *Extract 7.23*, please have a look:

Extract 7.23:

309 **SD5:** New what...I don't remember...

310 **SD4:** (Laugh)...

311 **SD5:** I don't remember (embarrassing...)

312 **SD1:** New standard, a green cover page...I don't bring it with me. But we use
313 different ones, Class A, Band C. I'm in Class B.

314 **SD5:** Some books are not required for the students in Class A.

315 **SD1:** Work load for students is also different from Class A.

316 **SD4:** Their English is better than us. I read their textbook, basically all readings are
317 fictions, just narratives. They have two books in total. Our Class B has four books.

Given the common reactions of student participants, it is easy to figure out that no matter which level classes students were enrolled in, there was a lack of knowledge about relevant information for their respective modules, and that they did not pay much attention to it.

How students were '*divide(ed) into different class (es)*' was also discussed in all of the three extracts above. It was observed that even if student participants did not fully comprehend the differences among different levels of classes, the students tended to make comparisons, believing that the students in Class A were better than them. It was commonly discovered

that their attitudes towards multiple teaching requirement were negative. Using such standards to divide them into different classes, on the one hand, reduced their confidence in using English. And on the other hand, it reinforced their beliefs in NS norms by evaluating them with a NS norms-based evaluation system.

7.5 Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter evaluated students' co-constructed perceptions and the factors of impacting on the co-constructed perceptions to find out to what extent that the students were aware of ELF. It has been found that generally ELF theories have not been recognised by students systematically and theoretically. This appeared to be one of the most obvious factors of impacting on students' attitudinal differences in constructing their perceptions about English. Due to lacking the knowledge about ELF, student's perceptions about native and non-native dichotomy were still on the basis of EFL theories. The dynamic and diversity nature of English hasn't been acknowledged. For example, for student participants, SE referred to official set of fixed codes coming from native speaking countries; students' concerns about comprehending SE and other English dialects from native speaking countries, while NNSE were not even mentioned by the students. Moreover, NES ownership of English and not recognising that NNESs outnumbered NESs have been found deeply imposed, which has also impacted on students' perceptions. In addition to the lack of knowledge on ELF, the concerns of gatekeeping practices and self-experiences of using English for intercultural communication also played an important role in impacting students' language practice. All of the issues contributed to students enacting themselves to be NSE learners.

However, even if NSE learners' identities have been reflected, the features of ELF have also been discovered during the students' focus group discussion. For example, students demonstrated their awareness of the situation in which ELF was necessary for communication among speakers from different first languages; students were aware of the importance of cultural knowledge in the process of communication; their tolerance of errors and mistakes for effective communications; their acknowledgement of the gap between classroom environment and social realities; their acceptance of Chinese speakers' use of English etc. With this in mind, students were unaware ELF users as well. And considering

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the majority of student participants would go aboard for further studies, and only a few of them had experiences of intercultural communications. The importance of communicative effectiveness for intercultural communication which was emphasised by ELFers was decreased.

Chapter 8 Qualitative Findings from Classroom Observation

8.1 Introduction

This chapter will present the findings generated through classroom observations in all the three universities. It aims to record what actually happened in the observed ELT classes to answer RQ2 & RQ3. The focus was, on the one hand, to look into the effectiveness of policy implementation in order to seek an answer to RQ2. And on the other hand, it was to find out the classroom participants' language beliefs or ideologies so as to clarify their perceptions about ELF, and how their perceptions impacted on their language perspective, further on the effectiveness of policy implementation (RQ3). It is worth mentioning that implicit language ideologies of the classroom participants were particularly paid attention to in this chapter in order to examine whether the teachers and students' language behaviours were in accordance with what they have claimed and they believed in the previous qualitative findings from interviews and focus groups.

8.2 Procedure of Classroom Observation

There were 23 observational data collected in ELT classes in the three universities. All the observed classes were taught by the interviewed teacher participants. All 23 classes were selected from the first and second year undergraduate modules listed as compulsory and electives. Each class lasted for 90 minutes or longer depending on the timetable, as the students from different classes were sometimes taught at one time per week with the combination of class hours. The classes were observed before or after each turn of teacher's interview and students' focus groups. For the observed classes before the interviews, it was offered the common ground for the participants and the researcher. For the observed classes after the interviews, the researcher particularly focused on the relevant issues that had been discussed in other research approaches. Yet, as classroom participants were overlapped in different classes, not all of the classes were necessarily observed before the interviews and focus groups. It is worth mentioning that, some of the observed classes were parallel ones, which referred to the same content taught by different teachers and different classes of students. Thus, they were usually taught in different approaches with different supplemental

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materials used when the teachers shared the same syllabus and schedules for teaching given the large number of students. It offered insights into how teachers differently transmitted the same content in practice to their students. Detailed information of the observed classes was listed in *Appendix 3*. It should be noticed that, in order to gain an overall picture of each observation, not only the participants' performances, but also relevant documents, such as teaching courseware, textbooks and handouts etc., were observed as well. Particular attention was paid to how these were put into practice by teachers.

In University A, 8 different module classes form different teachers were observed while another 7 classes observed in University B. Among the 7 classes, *Translation* was taught in two parallel classes and it was observed twice. And *Business English* was not referred to teaching business in English. *Business English* there meant English class in which it contained knowledge of business. Besides, 8 classes were also observed in University C. Similar to what I explained before, *Business English/Educational English* in University C was referred to as ESP classes with teaching business/Education as the specific purposes. *Business English* was observed several times in parallel classes. So was *Interactive English*.

During the observations, all of the classes were observed with a number of issues in mind including the teacher's instructions, teaching approaches, in-class activities given by the teacher, teacher's use of textbook or other supportive teaching materials, teacher's reactions to errors and teacher's interaction with students etc. In the meantime, I was also open to possibilities to any unanticipated points that would emerge through the observations. In this way, for each observation, I arrived minutes early before each class to record the background information, such as the layout of classrooms, numbers of students or attendance, and teachers or students' preparation of the class. In most cases, both teachers and students were very willing to be observed and willing to give information if I asked. Students were usually told and explained for my appearance by their teachers before or at the beginning of class. I usually sat at the back seat, and tried to make myself invisible as much as possible during the class so that both teachers and students did not show any uncomfortably and acted as normally during the classes. After each class, I often collected handouts, materials or exercise papers that had been used in class for future analysis. I also waited for teachers to have small talk or walk talk after classes to deepen each other's familiarity. In some circumstances, students tended to ask questions after classes, so I also paid attention to how

teachers reacted to the questions, and what types of questions students tended to ask etc. Besides, voice recording and field notes were kept taking throughout the whole period of the observations. All dates, locations, time and length of each class were recorded so that I could track afterwards. And instead of interpreting and reflecting on different situations, I mainly focused on recording what was actually happening to avoid any wrong or subjective judgments in field notes.

Last but not the least, as discussed in the previous chapters, it was likely to be contradictory between participants' words and behaviours. Some were subconsciously produced. Others were said by the students and teachers on purpose due to the various factors. Thus, with the development of the coding frame, the contradictions and conflicts were gradually noticed. In terms of language accuracy, on the one hand, form-based and structural-based grammatical rules were emphasised in the learning process. On the other hand, it was noticed that the teachers and students were tolerant to errors and tended to use negotiation strategies for communication. As for language authenticity, in one way, English was taught and learned in the reference of NESs' context and NESs' real life situation. NEC was also learned as target culture input for intercultural communication. But in the meantime, NNSE was found as optional classroom input in the learning materials and in teachers' spoken English.

Thus, language accuracy and authenticity were generated as the first two themes. In terms of language accuracy, conformity to native standards, error correctness and negotiations strategies were particularly paid attention to. As for authenticity, the reference of NES's authenticity and NNSE as optional input were included. Besides, the third theme focused on students. English for special purpose was observed during the classroom observations. Students' local context was also engaged with among the teachers, more or less, during the classes. The coding framework was developed as follows:

Table 8.1. Coding Framework for Classroom Observations

8.3.1. Focus on Language Accuracy

8.3.1.1 Conformity to Native Speakers' Standards

8.3.1.2. Error Correctness & the Use of Negotiation Strategies

8.3.2.In the Reference of NESs' Authenticity

8.3.2.1.NES Idiomatic Expressions

8.3.2.2.NEC Awareness for Intercultural Communication

8.3.2.3.NESs' Contexts

8.3.2.4.NNSE as Optional Input

8.3.3.Focus on Students

8.3.3.1.English for Special Purpose/Occasions

8.3.3.2.Engage with Students' Local Context

8.3 The Findings from Classroom Observations

According to the themes generated in the coding framework in the previous sections, the major findings of classroom observations are going to be discussed in this section. Classroom input and teachers' instructions are going to be used as the example to explain the three main themes generated above. Firstly, focus on language accuracy; secondly, the reference of NESs' authenticity; and thirdly, focus on students' needs and local context. Among the three themes, the main focus of observational data is the participants' implicit beliefs.

8.3.1. Focus on Language Accuracy

8.3.1.1. Conformity to Native Speakers' Standards

Regarding to conformity to native standards, the teaching of grammatical rules and forms/structure-based learning process were noticed as the two obvious examples. Similar to the findings from teachers' interviews and students' focus groups, English was viewed as a set of fixed standards which had been widely observed in classroom observations as well. Take one of the most common procedures of classroom teaching for example. Please have a look at the following descriptions which was observed in *Comprehensive English class*:

At the beginning of the class, the teachers firstly asked the students to read the passage paragraph by paragraph loudly in front of the class, and asked them to make sentences with the newly-acquired vocabularies. Then, a number of questions were raised by the teachers, e.g. what the general ideas of the new passage was; asking the students to translate and

summarize the key information between Chinese and English. Afterwards, the teachers explained grammatical rules and linguistic points of the passage of the textbook. During the time the teachers explained the vocabularies and introduced some synonyms and approximate expressions. Teachers also taught grammatical rules and sentence patterns while the students tried to remember the structure (see *Extract 8.1*). They also helped the students to analyse the structures of some long and complicated sentences. In the last parts of the class, the teachers would go through the whole passage again and finished the exercises in the textbook all together. If time was allowed, a role-play would be done, reading and practicing the passage of the textbook.

Please refer to the following teachers' instruction in the class of *Contemporary College English*, and *Image 8.1* extracted from one of the PPT slides for example:

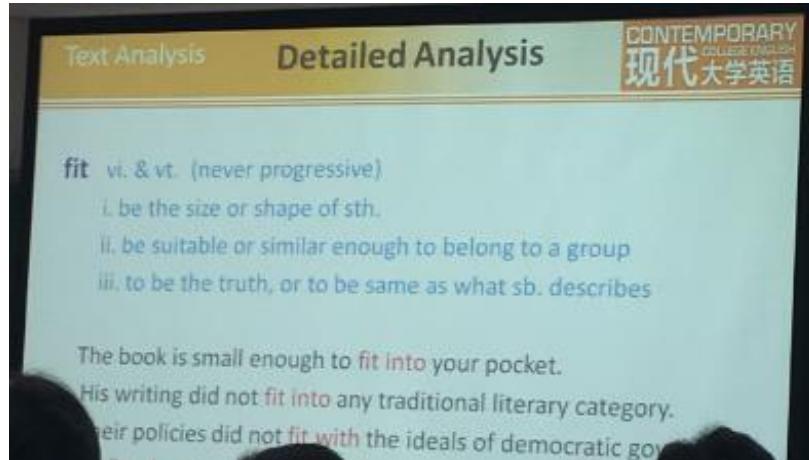
Extract 8.1

- ✓ “It is reported/ estimated that...”
- ✓ “Ok, since we finished analyzing linguistic points of the passage last week, let's do the exercise together. Page 35”.
- ✓ ...“locate to” is different from ‘locate on’ and ‘locate with’, be careful (to) use these three phrases...”
- ✓ “It is ok you didn't get this clearly. Guess the answer. Which parts of sentence constituent was missing (has been missed)?

From the teachers' instruction and the PowerPoint slide, grammatical rules and linguistic knowledge occupied a large portion of teaching, for example, forms and functions of vocabularies, the grammatical rules and sentence patterns. They were taught not in a communicative way, but through memorising and accumulating. In another word, they were more relevant to traditional approaches of the second language acquisition where context and social practice had very limited involvement in the learning process. More importantly, as the important representation of NS standards, the reach of such fixed linguistic knowledge indicated that English which was taught in this type of class was on the basis of a set of fixed standards. The process became “no more than a systematic accumulation of consciously collected discrete pieces of knowledge gained through repeated exposure, practice, and application” (Kumaravadivelu, 2006, p.100).

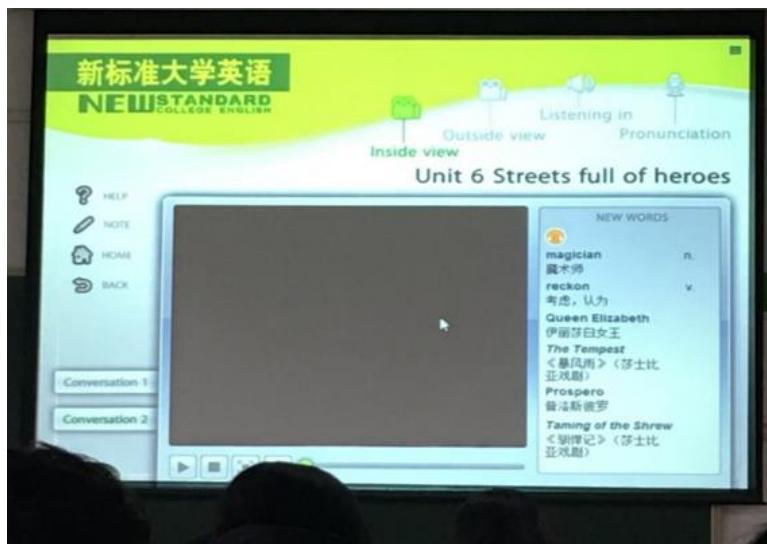
More evidence was found in *image 8.1*, presenting a common procedures of teaching linguistic knowledge. It was obvious that teachers had played a positive role in maintaining NS norms. Teachers' conformity to NS standards was different from what they had claimed in the interviews saying that linguistic skills were not overly emphasized.

Image 8.1



Moreover, there was a very common phenomenon about teachers' decisions on teaching objectives and pedagogic goals. To a greater extent, the teachers' teaching procedure depended on how the textbooks that they were using were designed. One of the obvious examples was that the PowerPoint slides used in class were created to comply with the textbooks, which were usually offered by the textbook publishers directly. This information was also collected in teachers' interview. Teacher participants mentioned that they were not required to prepare curriculum, or syllabus as all the parallel classes relied on the same slides offered by the textbook publishers. The information of one of the PowerPoint slides was presented in the following *Image 8.2* with the textbook logo presented on the upper left corner. The PowerPoint courseware was designed to be used with the textbook. See *Image 8.2*:

Image 8.2



As for the structure of the textbooks, the tasks and sections were usually designed on the basis of individual skills, such as vocabularies and grammatical rules, passages, group discussion topics, exercises and audio-visual tasks etc. See *Image 8.3* for an observed textbook content used in class. Though the listening and speaking were the major focus of this module, for the whole *Unit 1*, it divided its tasks into four different parts: 1) watching and listening, 2) reading, 3) speaking & group discussions, and lastly 4) creative writing as after-class homework. Useful words and expressions were listed for students to refer to before the extended listening and reading and speaking tasks. The contents for each part, as shown in *Image 8.3*, was extracted only as an example.

Image 8.3

II. Class Lead-in

Watch the movie extract in which two ladies are reviewing a schedule. Take down the time for the events and imagine what life is like with such a schedule.

III. Watch & Listen

Useful words and expressions

ringer	<i>n. one who bears a striking resemblance to another</i>
hint	<i>n. a statement conveying information in an indirect fashion; a clue</i>
twist one's arm	<i>v. to wrench or sprain one's arm; to force somebody</i>
spill	<i>v. to cause or allow (a substance) to run or fall out of a container; to disclose (something previously unknown)</i>



Discuss the following questions based on the information from the clips and your own knowledge, experiences, and beliefs.

Let's talk

1. What do you think of Ann's choice? If you were Ann, would you make the same choice? What if she made a different one?
2. What would you do if you were in Joe's position? Selling your exclusive story to a news agency to make a fortune? Or go on with your poor and dignified life? Or beg Ann to stay?

Enrichment Reading

Unit 1

The dilemma of moral psychology

Morality, as we understand it, has to do with obligation. This is because we are not naturally inclined to do what is morally good. If the morally right action always was on top of our list of preferences we did not need morality at all. What then are we naturally inclined to do? Ever since Thomas Hobbes drew his repellent picture of human nature no one can deny any more that humans are naturally driven by concerns for their own well-being. Egoism or selfishness is part of our nature – not surprisingly so as we are not quite as different from non-rational animals as we might wish to be. The question is not whether we are selfish – we are. The question is how selfish we are. Is there among the forces determining our desires anything else than selfish desires? This question has been on the agenda of moral psychology ever since Hobbes Leviathan (1651) and it has not yet been solved.



V. After-class Activities

1. Creative ending - Writing

10

Unit 1

What different characters can you see in Princess Ann? How do you like her? What if she didn't go back but persisted in staying with Joe? Create an ending for the movie and act it out. It can be a comic ending, a tragic ending, a humorous ending or any other endings you can imagine.



This seems quite different from what Teaching Objectives of Requirements (2007) requires, that is, to be able to improve students' ability for effective communication and cultural awareness in both classroom learning and social interactions. With such a fact, the above classroom teaching practice could not ensure effective communication and intercultural competence in an ever-changing society where English is used as a lingua franca rather than

foreign language. Yet, at the same time, this observed fact is consistent with the findings from document analysis, where individual skills of listening, reading, speaking and writing are taught respectively. Therefore, on the one hand, English is consistent with the multiple *Teaching Requirement* and taught as a fixed code. But on the other hand, it is inconsistent with *Teaching Objectives of Requirements (2007)*. More detailed observed features were explored in the following parts.

In terms of the students' engagement with the class, the outcomes could be various with the same procedures that were taught by different teachers in another parallel class. For example, in one observed class, 5 out of 23 students were sleeping. But it was quite surprising that in another observed class, most of the students were found to have arrived 15 minutes earlier for the morning class at 8:00am so that they could do the revision and read the passage loudly. The teacher of the second class arrived early as well. The students of the second class were closely engaged with their teacher. During the class, the majority of students were quite confident in answering the questions. Only a few of them asked or answered in very low voices. Students were fully motivated in learning and asking the questions even if the class was over, they did not rush to leave. In comparison to the observed classes, their different performances in class suggested their implicit ideologies about the language were different. The students of the second class did not show any resistance to the linguistic standards at all, while the students of the first observed class seemed to have made a silent revolt by sleeping in class or playing with their mobile phones. This was also in accordance with the findings from students' focus groups, that is, attitudes of the students could be varied for several reasons (see Chapter 7 for detailed information). Yet, it should be highlighted that although a silent resistance was noticed during the class, none of the students explicitly demonstrated their non-conformity to the fixed standards and challenged them.

Conformity to native standards was not only reflected through classroom teaching materials, but was observed as being deeply embodied in in-class quizzes as well. In addition to the national proficiency tests, e.g. CET Level 4 and 6, and the university's semester tests, small quizzes that were organised by teachers and conducted during the class, had been occasionally observed. These types of quizzes were usually regarded as a part of formative assessments for students, which involved in a variety of formats including in- or out-of-class papers (conducted via internet learning platforms). In the observed classes, these quizzes had usually been undertaken at the beginning or end of class, and focused on vocabularies, sentence patterns, fixed expressions and translations. For instance, to test students' learning

outcomes, teachers usually gave the meaning of the sentences, and asked students to translate with the most recently-acquired words or sentence patterns. Please refer to the following extract for teachers' instruction about in-class quizzes:

Extract 8.2:

- ✓ “Before we start, we will have a small quiz. I will read each sentence twice from the passage we learned last week, you can re-write them in your own words with the new vocabularies we learned last week”
- ✓ “We have 10 more minutes, let's do a small quiz, the sentence dictation I told you to prepare on last Wednesday. Remember it worth 5% of your final mark...”

Such quizzes were designed to test the students' learning outcomes of linguistic and grammatical knowledge. The teacher explicitly mentioned that all the vocabularies, expressions, and sentences for dictations were the knowledge that the students learned in the previous classes. The quizzes were taken as a part of the students' formative evaluation. In such kinds of quizzes, accuracy appeared to be very important, while adaptation and innovations were not allowed. Through such testing systems, conforming to native standard norms were reproduced and reinforced as a result. The test played a role as one of the obvious mechanisms that impacted on classroom participants' language beliefs or ideologies and language practices.

In sum, conformity to native standards was one of the most obvious features in all the observed classes. It was reflected in teaching and learning content; in structured-based learning/teaching process; through NS-based quizzes and teachers' instructions. All these features suggested English was still viewed as a set of fixed codes where it was compulsory to compare an individual students' language output with the established standards. This is in accordance with what *Requirements (2007)* mentioned that, in order to achieve effective communication, students should be able to perform accurately and appropriately as based on the established NS standards.

8.3.1.2. Error Correctness and The Use of Negotiation Strategies

Apart from conforming to the native standards, in most of the observed classes, EMI was commonly adopted. With the use of English as a the medium of instruction, to ensure effective communication, teachers had adopted a variety of communicative strategies

including code-switching, repetitions, repairs, paraphrases and body languages, etc. during the classroom communications. It was also observed that teachers had tended to explain something in details in Chinese if the students did not react to the teachers' instruction in English. Please refer to the following instructions of teachers:

Extract 8.3

- ✓ “Ok guys, I see er some of you is reading, is reading right now, er, so let's, let's adjust our reading strategies, 调整一下阅读策略, Ok?”
- ✓ “Your line manager, someone above your position, on the top of you. 就是我们平时说的什么呀, 顶头上司, 对, 顶头上司。”
- ✓ “This is...for example, in China, when we are visiting our friends, we will change our shoes but we won't walking bare feet. However, in United States...”

As shown above, the teachers applied code-switching, repetitions, paraphrases and examples to their students. Communicative strategies were widely used by teachers and students in class to achieve effective communications. And being non-native speakers of English, they made mistakes while speaking. Yet, not all errors and mistakes would be corrected. As a matter of fact, teachers did not usually correct their students if they were intelligible to the majority of classroom participants. If they thought the errors had to be correct, they usually did it by repeating with the correct forms. Please refer to *Extract 8.4 & 8.5*:

Extract 8.4

- ✓ **S:** He is incer...in..incertain...tainty
- T:** Uncertainty?
- S:** (laugh) uncertainty. He is uncertainty...en, uncertainty about his music.

Extract 8.5

- ✓ “Well-structured speech. But a quick suggestion. Next time, try not to bring a piece of paper and read it. It'll increase your nerves, and remind you all to rely on the paper. You will forget some of the pronunciations. You've got your points, speak out with your own words, the ones you are familiar with. It will be more fluency.”

In a teacher's feedback of a presentation in *Extract 8.5*, the teacher suggested the student not just to read while presenting, and just speak and avoid long or complicated expressions if they were not familiar with. The teachers did not pay too much attention to linguistic knowledge and accuracy while they were communicating with the students or while students were conducting speaking activities in class. Instead, the teachers focused on teaching their students how to present effectively. It was clear that teachers emphasised the strategical use

of words and intelligibility rather than on accuracy in forms and functions. This is the same as *Extract 8.4*. During the communication, the teacher did not correct the student on purpose; instead, she asked by repeating when she was confused with the meaning. Obviously, not correcting student mistakes and the use of strategies did not cause any troubles in communicating between teachers and students, as observed. All of the classes ran smoothly without teachers and students considering and measuring each other with a standard or set of standards. This is inconsistent with the issues that are related to correctness and accuracy in *Requirements (2007)* because *Teaching Requirement* for speaking at the basic and intermediate levels clearly states that “clear articulation and basically correct pronunciation and intonation” (p.20). However, what have been observed complies with the *Teaching Objectives of Requirements (2007)* where communicative efficiency has been emphasised. Therefore, it suggested that unconsciously, teachers and students were comfortably applying communication strategies for effective communication when negotiating in practice, whether their language input and output was conforming to native or non-native norms.

However, although non-native-like English had been used by teachers and students for classroom communications successfully, and as teachers’ instruction was not merely classroom input that was offered to students, textbooks and other teaching/learning materials were also used as the mechanisms to translate ideologies from the top that had impacted on classroom participants’ practice. Nevertheless, the other two resources were found to have played huge impacts on the participants’ language beliefs. As mentioned in the previous section, the textbooks were usually designed regarding to individual skills, among which vocabularies and linguistic knowledge were taught, learned, practiced on the basis of cognitive process. Throughout the process, as a result, Standard English had been reproduced and Standard English ideology had been reinforced. Even if small quizzes which were organised played a part of students’ usual results, the quizzes were mainly designed to evaluate vocabularies and linguistic knowledge. In light of this, the test and evaluation system are “determining the prestige and status of languages”, “standardizing and perpetuating language correctness” “suppressing language diversity” (Shohamy, 2006, p. 90) and further turning teachers to become policy implementation agents, to transmit Standard English ideologies. Students had no choice but to take Standard English as the ideal form of English.

Thus, although teachers and students were found to be very tolerant to each other's errors, and intelligibility was very important to them, teachers and students tended to correct themselves while speaking. For example, quite a lot of teachers cared about linguistic accuracy of their own English and corrected themselves by repeating the right forms, e.g. “*she get—she got*”. It was even evident that one teacher had tended to insist on an American accent when reading the word “*hot*” when she accidentally pronounced the word with a British accent. Furthermore, students themselves would like to correct their own mistakes unconsciously while they were talking, not only in meanings but also linguistically. Please refer to the following *Extract 8.6* for the teachers and students' own corrections.

Extract 8.6

- ✓ You mentioned a very hot [hɒt], a very [hat] issue.
- ✓ He write songs of folk, er, wrote folk songs.
- ✓ My work involve filtration...involves in filtration.
- ✓ I didn't do that, I wasn't, that wasn't my task.

Therefore, consciously, teachers and students were identified as NSE learners by themselves, even if the fact that teachers didn't correct students' use of communicative strategies in practice on purpose. Students' use of strategies was considered as deficient or errors by the teachers and students themselves. And such 'deficient or errors' were needed to be corrected in presenting answers to academic tasks. In a word, the teachers and students were NSE learners acquiring NS based norms. And at the same time, they were using ELF for communication. Therefore, as the matter of fact, they were unaware of ELF users. Such a finding is consistent with the findings from the teachers' interviews and students' focus groups, as seen in the previous two chapters.

8.3.2. In the Reference of NESs' Authenticity

From the previous section, it was acknowledged that English was taught as a set of fixed standards in classroom teaching and learning practice, and that the teachers and students tended to conform to the NS-based standards. This section mainly focused on classroom participants' implicit attitudes towards language authenticity. Three main issues could be summarised according to the observational data. Firstly, NES idiomatic expressions were believed to be the right forms and standards by teachers and students. Next, native cultures for intercultural communication were found to have been commonly learned and taught

during the classroom observations. Finally, the authentic input was extracted from NESs' real life situation. Although NNSE was found as an optional classroom input, NNSE was not used as target input.

8.3.2.1. NES Idiomatic Expressions

In terms of idiomatic expressions, the following instructions of teachers' in *Extract 8.7* were collected by the researcher in observing the classes. Please have a look first:

Extract 8.7

- ✓ "This is an idiomatic phrase, a regular collocation that you have to remember."
- ✓ "It cannot be explained with linguistic knowledge. They speak in this way."
- ✓ "Fixed expression cannot be explained logically. There is no other way around but to memorize"
- ✓ "You did it wrong because you chose the answer in the reference of regular grammatical rules. Normally you are right, this is good...but this one is an idiomatic phrase."

It was noticed that, when facing vocabularies or fixed expressions were idiomatic, teachers would tend to give instructions that these expressions were "their" fixed patterns, which could not be explained logically. All that students had to do was to learn them by memory. The following issues were discovered with these instructions. On the one hand, by referring "they", although it did not directly mention native speakers according to the context, it was obvious that the way "they" spoke referred to the way native speakers spoke. Such interpretations were also found in the interview data in which the participants mentioned "*Because it is the language (English) that they are using.*" (See *Extract 6.7*). Although it was commonly found from interviews with teachers that teachers had felt unconfident when communicating with native speakers, and had had the feeling of being judged by their English ability, none of them thought this situation should be challenged before the researcher briefly introduced the concept of ELF.

On the other hand, because the fixed expressions were created and used by native speakers, although they were not used on the basis of grammatical rules that were designed by native speakers themselves, they were always considered to be the right answers. And as non-native speakers, we had to memorise their ways of using the language. This contradicts with what

Jenkins (2007) mentions, that the changes and adjustments that are made by native speakers while using the language throughout the development of sociolinguistic context are considered as creations and innovations. However, if such creations and innovations were made by NNESSs, they would be usually considered as errors, mistakes and exemplify the deficient use of native English (Cogo & Dewey, 2009). Regarding the last instructions that were listed in *Extract 8.2*, the student's answer was wrong because it was different from the native speakers' use of English, although the answer was given by the student based on a grammatical rule. Thereby, teachers were not aware that the ownership belonging to NNESSs was as equal as NESs although they expressed their feeling of unequal status.

In addition to teachers' attitudes, students were more confident in using idiomatic phrases that they learned out of the classroom as well. The next paragraph describes one of the observed scenes in the *Interactive English* class.

Scene 8.1

In the class of *Interactive English*, there was a student who used an idiomatic phrase that she learned from TV series, which were not watched by the teacher, all the students and the researcher. She was corrected by the teacher. However, the student insisted that she should not be wrong by arguing that it was picked up from an American series, which couldn't be wrong. After the class, she even replayed the TV series that she watched to other students to convince them. The teacher and students were confused at the beginning. They didn't try to clarify whether it was right or wrong any more until the student replayed the show and emphasized it had been picked up from TV series from a native speaking country.

It seemed that, when the innovation was made by native speakers, it was considered as the right way of using the language for both teachers and students. Anyone else had no choice but to follow it. And to students, who were able to produce language that close to native English, one's English proficiency was considered as higher and better, even if it was the teacher that they were arguing with. Although teachers were experts in the field in ELT settings, they were still non-native speakers of English. Compared with native speakers, they were still deficient speakers.

Based on what was discussed above, as Galloway & Rose (2015) mentions, traditional view of the dichotomy of native and non-native Englishes prevail. It suggests a meaning of

deficiency with the use of prefix “non-” in term “non-native” English, in order to distinguish between “native” and “non-native” (Jenkins, 2015; Galloway & Rose, 2015). As listed above, the student argued that the phrase she used was acquired from an American TV series, which could not be wrong. It suggested an interpretation that native speakers represented the standard. More interestingly, after being aware of the phrase that was acquired from a television series produced from a native speaking country, the teacher and all the students tended to let her pass. On the one hand, it suggested that teachers and students admitted that NESs had the right to innovate and create the language. And on the other hand, one’s language that was different from NS standard was considered as wrong and illegitimate ones.

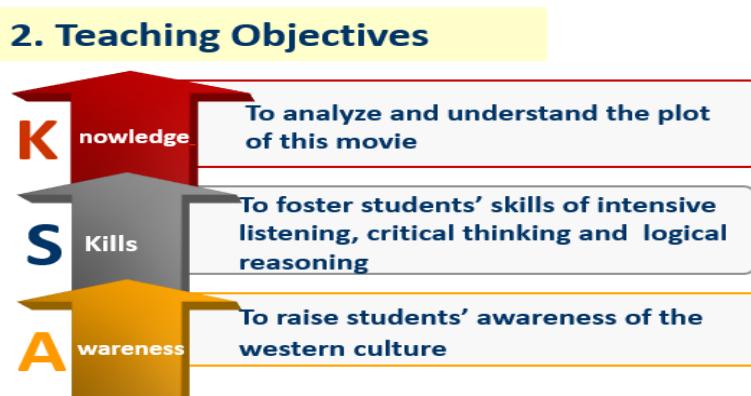
8.3.2.2. NEC Awareness for Intercultural Communication

Similar to accepting idiomatic phrases as effective input, NES cultures as the target and authentic inputs for ‘cultural awareness’ were observed as well. In fact, cultural-related knowledge was rarely mentioned in class, let alone the aim of improving students’ cultural awareness and intercultural competence for international exchange. Please have a look at the following *Extract 8.8* and *Image 8.4* for teachers’ cultural-related instructions:

Extract 8.8

- ✓ “I know many of you like to watch English TV series. Yes, it is good, you can not only practice your listening and speaking skills, but also gain knowledge about their culture.”
- ✓ “It is important to know cultural differences. When you have to communicate in English, you have to adjust your way of speaking. For example, American people usually say lift while British people use the word, elevator. You have to know that.”

Image 8.4



The researcher found that among all the observed classes, no more than 10 teachers' instructions were related to culture. The students, therefore, could not better improve their cultural awareness if no culture-related resources were available to them. And according to *Extract 8.8*, the teachers' classroom instructions mainly complied with what had been found through document analysis in *Requirements (2007)*, specifically that "*different cultures in the world*" (see *Course Design* in *Appendix 1*). At the same time, '*different cultures in the world*' were interpreted by the observed teacher as different western cultures. For instance in above *Extract 8.8*, culture difference referred to the difference between "*our tradition*" and "*British friends*", according to the teachers' instructions. Teachers tended to think that the interlocutors for communication were mostly NESs as they gave examples in the reference of NES cultures only. Please refer to the following extract about teachers' instruction in giving a listening task:

Extract 8.9

- ✓ "We are going to listen to an interview, before you listen, think about what advice would you give to the parents who are moving to another country with small children. Let's say, imagine you will study in the, in the UK, United Kingdom, or Canada, or America. What you might want to do, you might want to know the local customs. Local cultures".

According to the instruction, when talking about moving to another country, the teacher directly gave some examples of the UK, Canada and America. The teacher did not refer to other non-native speaking countries. Such a fact implicitly suggested that he believed that knowledge about cultures and customs directly referred to the listed native speaking countries. Teacher's practice was inconsistent with what *Requirements (2007)* encouraged in *Teaching Objectives*, particularly the desire to '*improve cultural awareness for international exchange*'.

8.3.2.3. NESs' Contexts

In addition to the above example, native speakers' context and their real life situation was noticed to be regarded as authentic input. The following example was observed in an

Academic Writing class, when the teacher was giving instruction in choosing appropriate vocabularies. Please refer to the following *Extract 8.10*:

Extract 8.10

- ✓ “Use words appropriately...there are several ways. You should pay more attention to the detailed explanation of words while consulting a dictionary. You’d better use Oxford one. Longman, em...ok, but I have used Oxford one ever since I was a student. The second thing, make an effort to use specific words, fixed expressions, and the least meanings of the words wherever possible. Well, overall, try to read more original English works. It will give you hints about the context where particular words should be used”.

Several issues were reflected through the above instructions. Firstly, the teacher mentioned that it was the most basic steps and compulsory for students to consult a dictionary to use words appropriately, as shown in the above extract. And it was the Oxford dictionary that the students were preferably recommended by their teacher. With the use of dictionary, NESs’ specific words, fixed expressions and the least used meanings of vocabularies were encouraged to pay attention to. And, the original published English literatures were encouraged for student to read, as the original English works gave hints to use words appropriately in the target context—the NES’s context. NESs’ use of vocabularies in their context was taken as the reference of students’ language output, which was directed by the traditional view of SLA in that it took NS standard as the only effective one. The development of English as a lingua Franca as an emerging phenomenon, had not been acknowledged by the teacher.

Take the course of *Academic English* for another example. In the listening task, students were asked to answer questions on a recording which was about the introduction of a tutorial. The recording sounded similar to an introductory video made for university first-year students. The recording introduced students to what was meant by tutorial and how to apply for tutorials in a British university. The contents seemed to be close to students’ real life situation by adopting the authentic university handbook to students. Yet, it was selected from British universities, which did not reflect the students’ own reality. Similar to the lecture of the *English Audio-visual*. For the listening task, the teacher played radio which was airport announcements of flight numbers and time schedule. The announcement was close to real surroundings, with voices of crowds. Another radio was played afterwards, that was in the

context of a train station, with a conversation between two passengers discussing the train delay. It was true the close to nature materials were adopted for students' listening practice. However, both of the language inputs used in the context of the airport and train station were NSE. It was obvious that assumptions about what was meant by authentic materials were based on the understanding of NESs' real life situation.

One more example was found in another parallel class of *English Audio-visual*, where a typical listening exercise was shown in *Image 8.5*. Students were asked to complete the set of closed questions based on what they had heard from a Hollywood movie extract *Roman Holiday*:

Image 8.5

A Directions: Watch the part "Joe invites Irving to join in the bet" and fill in the blanks according to what you hear.

Joe: Listen. What would you do for five grand?
 Irving: Five grand?
 Joe: Yeah. Now, she doesn't know ____ I am or ____ I do. Look, Irving, this is my ____; I dug it up, I gotta ____ it!
 Irving: She's really the...?
 Joe: Ssssh! Your tin types are gonna make this little ____ twice as ____.
 Irving: The Princess Goes ____.
 Joe: You're in for ____ of the take.
 Irving: And it takes five 'g'?
 Joe: _____. Hennessey shook hands on it.

Also, in the following extract was a song - *Candle in the Wind* - written to commemorate the death of Princess Diana. It was played as a warm-up activity given at the beginning of the class. The students were required to memorise it and fill the blanks to complete sentences while listening.

Extract 8.11

- ✓ Loveliness we've lost
- ✓ These ____ days without your smile
- ✓ This torch we'll always carry
- ✓ For our nation's ____ child

Obviously, a range of materials were selected for students to practice in the context of different social activities, for example, traveling via trains, airplanes, and applying for tutorials etc. Yet, they were selected in the context of NESs' real-life situation, including

Hollywood movie, television series or NES music. This contradicts with what Hogan-Brun (2007) mentions regarding authenticity. That is, the authenticity of a target language should be relevant to “the environment in which the candidate will use the language” (p.2). The classroom input was still selected in the reference of NESs’ authenticity.

8.3.2.4. NNSE as Optional Input

- The Existing of NNSE in Learning Materials

Besides teaching and learning in the reference of NESs’ authenticity, the presence of NNSE was detected in learning materials in a small number of observed classes. ‘Authentic interview’ was put forward in the *Rational* of the textbook, as shown in teachers’ handbook (*Image 8.6*) of *Business English*. And the “*authentic interview*” was explained to include not only NSE but also NNSE, as Englishes that has been used by NNESs were much more than it has been used by NESs in business industry. Thus, it was necessary for students to adjust NNESs’ ways of speaking. Please have a look at the *Image 8.6*:

Image 8.6 Rational:

- There are authentic interviews with a company director, a quality manager, a human resources manager, a store manager, an accountant, a bond dealer, an ecologist, several economists, a financial journalist, a British Member of Parliament, and others. The interviewees include British and American native speakers, and non-native speakers from Germany, Italy, Switzerland, India and Malaysia. Very little of the English that international business people hear in their professional lives is spoken by native speakers, so it is important that learners get used to hearing non-native speakers of English, as well as a variety of native speaker accents.

From the statement above, the editors of this textbook have clearly acknowledged the important role that NNSE plays in various business areas, and have attempted to engage with the real needs of students in covering the most related concept of working in business industry, for example, banking, marketing and accounting. On the bright side, the increasing number of NNESs have been noticed, the way that NNESs’ use of English has also been considered. Yet, it makes clear that in the last sentences, the use of NNSE is just to get students to be familiar with the way NNESs speak. Thus, though NNSE have not adopted as a reference of learning and teaching. They have adopted examples to acknowledge students

the existence of such Englishes rather than NSE. The language and cultures selected as the target learning input were still on the basis of native speakers norms in classes.

- **Teachers' Spoken English as One of the Major Resources**

In addition, as the fact that EMI was commonly adopted and promoted in classroom practice, teachers' instructions had become one of the major resources available to students in classroom practice. And because teachers were affected by their L1 while speaking, the teacher's spoken English was not Standard English, either. For example, in *Extract 8.12*, the mixed use of 'he' and 'she'. Because in the Chinese language, there was no such thing called gender misuses of third-person singular. The teacher had been clearly impacted by her L1 in producing the language output. Thus, Standard English was not the only classroom input that was acquired by students.

Extract 8.12

- ✓ You are influence by what media want you to believe, this is media influence.
- ✓ Andy Murray, he is a famous British tennis player. Yeah, yeah, she won three Grand slams. You are right, you guys know him very well.

As discussed, the teachers' spoken English appeared to be another major resource that students were exposed to in classroom learning, especially with the fact that English was used as the medium of instruction in the majority of the observed ELT classes in all the three universities. Teachers and students in the majority of instances communicated in English during the classroom teaching and learning with their non-standard-like English. *Extract 8.13* recorded a conversation between a teacher and a student speaking in non-standardised English:

Extract 8.13

- ✓ **S:** Sorry to interrupt, but I'm confusing with the chart. I, I can't understand.
- T:** Ok, Have you see the relations between this two? They are in a hierarchy relation, in this diagram.
- S:** Yeah, I know. But how?...I don't know how, in this hierarchy relation.

Standard English had not been adopted in the above *Extract 8.13*. Both the teacher and the student made grammatical mistakes from the traditional SLA point of view. Yet, both of

them understood each other when negotiating the question. Teachers and students' language output thus became another major resource of classroom input other than textbooks and officially used learning materials. This is different from what *Requirements (2007)* mentioned, that students are encouraged to learn English from English speaking countries.

8.3.3. Focus on Students

8.3.3.1. English for Special Purpose/Occasions

After discussing the two themes above, teachers' engagement with students' needs and realities were also found in a small number of observed classes. Teaching and learning English for special purpose was found as the most obvious feature. For example, in University B, the English major was named as '*Business English Major*' instead of the traditional name '*English*'. ESP approaches was adopted in business English classes. The vocabularies were the students' area of speciality; classroom input were all selected from the context of business. For example, the following image shows the course content of the module Business English. Please have a look:

Image 8.7

Unit 12 Promotional tools

- ◎ Unit 12 includes a second extract from the interview with Jogishwar Singh, in which he discusses the promotional strategy used in the launch of Fresh Fries, and a text and case study about promotional tools.

Unit 13 Accounting and financial statements

- ◎ Unit 13 contains a text defining different types of accounting, an interview with Sarah Brandston, an American tax accountant, who talks about her job, and an exercise based on authentic financial statements from Nokia, the mobile phone manufacturer.

Unit 14 Banking

- ◎ Unit 14 comprises a text defining different types of banks, and a role play in which the learners have to convince a bank to lend them money to develop a business.

As shown from the above image, each unit was highly related to the issues that will be useful in business industry. English in *Business English* class was clearly designed on the basis of specific purpose and occasions. This is also in accordance with *Course Design* in *Requirements (2007)* that "*English of specialty*" is set as one of the five modules category. More ESP modules were observed in different major modules, for example, *Biology English*,

English & Landscape and *Hospitality English*. Please read the following descriptions of another classroom teaching procedure, *English for Accounting and Finance*. On the one hand, it was concerned with English's functional value, and on the other hand, it took native speakers' norms as the standard.

Scene 8.2

Firstly, the teacher asked each one of the students to take a piece of paper and write down a telephone number (made up of 11 numbers). Then the teacher pointed at one student and asked him to read the number in order while two other students were asked to write them down in front of the blackboard. Similar procedures went through afterwards, the teacher also asked the students to write a price tag, a bank account numbers as difficult as they could. The whole process of the exercise lasted for 30 minutes. Then the teacher started to refer back to the textbooks and mentioned that figures and numbers were not only the most basic but also difficult part for Chinese learners to acquire, which was the major aims for learning Unite One. After explaining the aim of the class, the teacher briefly explained the new vocabularies of the unit by telling the meanings, fixed expressions and word classes.

It was noticed that in this class, the teacher established a set of tasks and considered students' needs in the social interactions. Listening to phone numbers and bank accounts was quite relevant to students' everyday activities. At the same time, ability and sensitivity in numbers appeared to be extremely important in the field of accounting and finance. Thus, the students were quite motivated in following the instructions, and tended to participate into the tasks in groups voluntarily. During the process, teachers and students were engaged very well. But, at the same time, students were nervous in showing their answers. Please refer to a conversation between the teacher and students when the students was asked to write his answer in front of the class:

Extract 8.14

✓ **S:** Ah? Me?

T: Yeah, you, don't be nervous, come!

S: I don't... I can't. I'm bad at numbers.

T: Everyone is bad at numbers, that's why we have to practice. Come on.

S: Eh...but...ask him (laugh with finger pointing at his classmate).

T: He will be the next! Quick, quick, be confident.

Such a fact suggested, on the one hand, students were engaged with the class very well as the task was quite relevant to their needs in reality. However, students cared about the accuracy of their answers as well. Teachers and students tended to conform to NS norms in producing their English while they were, as the matter of fact, communicating with ELF. Thus, after all, the teacher had to refer back to the textbook and explain the new vocabularies of the unit by telling the meanings, fixed expressions and word classes.

8.3.3.2. Engage with Students' Local Context

Besides functional values of English in ESP classes, it was found that some of the teachers were engaged with students' local context in classes as well. For example, in *Academic English*, students were quiet all the time and didn't seem to have the motivation to participate in class activities. A lot of students were playing with their mobile-phones and laptops; in a few instances students fell asleep while the listening material was being played. Those students only took notes when the teacher started to summarise the linguistic points and sentence structures. But their engagement with the teacher changed when the teacher tended to refer to the most recent news, or popular issues of the local context to explain some of the terms to help the students to comprehend during the discussion. Please read for more examples below:

Extract 8.15

✓ **T:** There are three ways (to) influence on your mind. The first model, media effect model. That is, 媒体效应模式. And active audience model. 积极受众模式. That is whatever the media tell, I insist on what I believe. Like what, like Marong (马蓉), and Wang Baoqiang (王宝强). Right? You see, before he had found Marong was cheating on him, he believed Marong was his love of life. People told him, he just insisted on himself. Right? So did Zhang Liangliang (张靓颖), before she got divorced, everyone said Fengke (冯轲) was a bad guy, but she would marry him. **S:** Then, now, no matter what Marong says or argues for herself, we and the media don't believe her, is this also an active audience model?

T: Good point. What do you think?

In the above extract, the teacher gave two examples to explain the term 'active audience model' with the most recent gossip in China during the time. They were two scandals of two celebrity couples *Zhang Liangying & Fengke* (张靓颖 & 冯轲); *Marong & Wang Baoqiang* (马蓉 & 王宝强). With the examples, students automatically participated into the

conversation and discussed with the teacher afterwards. Classroom participants' engagement became closer than the teacher who asked the students to discuss questions coming from the textbook. Thus, it suggested that teachers did not always refer to the NES and NES cultures while speaking, they sometimes engaged with local context to give instructions. More examples were found as well, when the teacher explained cultural differences to students:

Extract 8.16

- ✓ **T:** I don't know about other countries. But here in China, if we are invited to our friend's house for a dinner, we usually bring some gifts, but we won't take shower and change our clothes before we go, right?
- S1:** It depends on who (I am going to have dinner with)
- S2:** Yeah, with family, no. but with friends, emmm...sometimes.
- T:** Really? Maybe I'm old.
- T&S:** (Laugh)

It was very obvious that when the teacher started to mention about the students' local context, students responded actively. They were more willing to participate into conversations on the topic they were familiar with. At the same time, students were less motivated in following the activities of the textbook. Yet, they were commonly found to pay attention to linguistic knowledge from textbooks. For example, writing down some fixed expressions of listening material in the context of the 'authentic'. They tended to taking NESs' authenticity as the reference mostly because the students were lack of knowledge about authenticity. NSE was regarded as the entire meaning of English. Clearly, the same as teachers, they did not acknowledge the role that English played in the outer sociolinguistic reality which was different from the traditional EFL.

8.4 Discussion: Consistency/Inconsistencies with Language Policy

After analysing the data collected from classroom observations and uncovering what was believed by teachers and students implicitly, consistency and inconsistencies between classroom teaching practice and language policy have been discovered. As for consistency, English from English speaking countries was the major classroom input; English was taught and learned on the basis of a set of fixed standards; native cultures were the reference of learning for intercultural communications; English was taught for specific purpose and occasions in some of the classes etc.

As for the inconsistencies, the most obvious ones were concerned with the two teaching objectives of *Requirements (2007)*, e.g., to achieve effective communication and to enhance cultural awareness for international exchange. Please have a look at the following *Extract 8.14*, which lists a number of typical instructions given by teachers regarding to their pedagogy goal for each class. It should be noted that none of the teachers explicitly mentioned that to be able to achieve effective communication was one of their teaching/learning objectives and pedagogic goals to the students.

Extract 8.17

- ✓ “Today, we are going to finish Unit 4. Let’s have a look at the rest of the passage”.
- ✓ “Ok, since we finished analyzing linguistic points of the passage last week, this week, let’s do the exercise together. Page 35”.
- ✓ “For today’s class, we’ll have a number of group tasks. I will play a video for you to watch first, then you can discuss the questions on Page 23 in groups. I will only play twice, so watch carefully. You have 5 minutes to read the questions first.”
- ✓ “Last week we said we were going to let you give presentations this week, right? So, today, let’s hear your presentation together.

As seen from the teacher’s instruction in each class, reading the passage occupied a large proportion of classroom teaching. As discussed in the previous sections, analysing the passage was mainly dealing with linguistic points or writing features of the passage. They were taught and learned through the cognitive process, where a language-centred teaching along with form-based input modification and limited interaction activities had been heavily affected by structural linguistics. Even if when the teacher asked students to finish the tasks or presentations, teachers still drilled basic language patterns using “a series of carefully-designed exercises” in order to eliminate students’ “possibility for making errors” and help students’ performance “become habitual and automatic” (Kumaravadivelu, 2006, p.102). This seems quite different from what *Requirements (2007)* requires, that is, to improve students’ ability for effective communication in classroom learning and social interactions.

As for cultural awareness, as shown in *Image 8.4, Teaching Objectives*, it explicitly stated students’ awareness of western cultures was one of the major aims. This contradicts with what *Requirements (2007)* encourages to enhance cultural awareness for intercultural communication, as ‘different cultures’ in the words refer to not only the western cultures.

More examples can be seen below. *Image 8.8* is a PowerPoint slide extracted from a collective lesson plan for an open class. On the PowerPoint slide, it stated that the goal of teaching was knowledge, skill and attitude/awareness. To be communicative effectiveness was not listed under any of them. Please have a look:

Image 8.8

具体教学目标

- Knowledge:
 - language and grammar points ,writing techniques , content of the input material, cultural notes...
- Skill:
 - the ability of listening, reading, speaking, writing, translating, autonomous learning...
- Attitude/Awareness:
 - critical and creative thinking, intercultural awareness ...

Apparently, the teaching objectives of classroom teaching were inconsistent with *Teaching Objectives in Requirements (2007)*. Another inconsistency was discovered through teachers and students' use of English for classroom communication. This is different from *Requirements (2007)*, although linguistic skills and knowledge were always playing an important role in the whole process of classroom teaching, students' language accuracy was not overly emphasised. The teachers also tried to allocate more opportunities for students to practice and use the language for the major purpose of effectiveness and intelligibility. For example, teachers tended to encourage students to participate in the class occasionally by asking them to give presentations, having quizzes for students to re-write sentences that they had learned in the previous classes, and organising group discussions. It was clear that the teachers had acknowledged the importance of students' ability in using the language instead of just learning and acquiring the language forms. This is different from what *Requirements (2007)* believes, noting that accuracy and appropriateness are considered as compulsory elements for successful communication. Yet, besides linguistic knowledge, other perspectives of teaching, especially ELF-oriented goals, including strategies for effective communication and intercultural competence, were not addressed by the teachers when they were describing the aims of each class to their students. Furthermore, they were not set as aims of goals in the textbooks.

8.5 Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter has detailed findings from data collected from classroom observations. Two aims of the observation were: 1) to evaluate the effectiveness of implantation of language policy in practice, namely *Requirements (2007)*, and 2) investigate how participants' implicit language ideologies, particularly ELF awareness, had impacted on their practices and further on the policy implementations. Three major issues have been observed: 1) focus on language accuracy; 2) the reference of NESs' authenticity, and 3) the focus on students. As for language accuracy, it has been found that, on the one hand, English was learned and taught as a set of fixed codes, where grammatical rules, forms and structured-based learning/teaching processes had been adopted. NS-based quizzes were adopted in class to evaluate students' learning outcomes of linguistic knowledge. Textbooks were also playing an important role in impacting on conforming to native standards. However, on the other hand, teachers and students were tolerant to each other's errors and used negotiation strategies for communication during the classes. As for language authenticity, it has been found that NES cultures, fixed expressions, and contexts were the references of study. NNSE was only used as the optional input, and as examples to get students to use NNESs' way of speaking. Yet, besides the target NES input from the textbooks and other relevant learning material, teachers and students' NNSE were major resources of classroom input as well. Last but not the least, ESP was found to have been adopted to meet students' needs in the observed classes. The functional values of English have been emphasised. Students' local context has also been engaged with during the classes.

In this chapter, the researcher has presented some findings observed in ELT classes at all the three universities. Along with the qualitative analysis of data gained through document analysis, interviews, and student focus groups in the previous chapters, a clear picture of both top-down and bottom-up processes of language policy have been demonstrated. In the next chapters, discussion and conclusion will be provided in response to the research questions and evaluations to the PhD research project.

Chapter 9 Discussion

9.1 Introduction

After having gone through the previous chapters of presenting, discussing and analysing data collected from the field via each of the research instruments, in this chapter, in order to answer research questions, the researcher will draw the conclusion(s) about the findings gained through each of the datasets. The findings, conclude the issues that prevail from the previous chapters from 5 to 8 by referring back to the theoretical frameworks that have been explored in the chapters from 2 to 3, that is to say, the three components of language policy (Spolsky, 2009); mechanisms that impact on the *de facto* language policy (Shohamy, 2006); and ELF awareness which impacts on the actual language practice (Wang, 2015a; Sifakis, 2017). In addition, unexpected issues emerging through the qualitative data analysis will be evaluated with reference to theories in the relevant literature. For example, the understanding of ‘WE vs. ELF’ and ‘Chinese English, China English, Chinglish and ChELF’ in terms of language awareness in relation to English education in China. In the next sections, I will explain the key findings by cross-referencing analysis of each of the datasets and the literature review of this study.

9.2 Findings among Different Datasets

9.2.1. The Conceptualization of English

As one of the major foci of the research, it makes clear that in the literature review, Chapter 3, English is perceived as a *lingua franca*, and that “any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option” (Seidlhofer, 2011, p.7). Considering the increasing number of NNESSs, the use of English has become highly variable with its fluidity and diversity nature (Jenkins, 2015; Baker, 2012; Cogo, 2010; Wang, 2015). The focus has shifted to not a specific language or culture anymore. Thus, the key issues of understanding the role that English plays have been re-interpreted through an ELF perceptive. Such issues involve in the dichotomy of native/non-native; the ownership of English and the use of standard/non-standards norms; (Jenkins, 2015; Galloway and Rose, 2015; Seidlhofer, 2011; Cogo and Dewey, 2006; Widdowson, 1994). Some of the issues have been explicitly or implicitly

reflected throughout the data analysis, while some of them were not. In further detail, the dichotomy of native/non-native was perceived by classroom participants and the MOE on the basis of traditional SLA points of view explicitly and implicitly. Secondly, NES ownership of English was still believed by the majority of the participants. Thirdly, non-conformity to standard norms was found to have been commonly reflected in practice, while Standard norms were believed to be learned and taught by teachers, students and policy-makers. Yet, in the meantime, while NES ownership was believed by the majority of participants, some of the participants had a feeling of being judged and began to question whether NESs have the right to make certain decisions (see *section 6.3.1.3*). While Standard norms were taught and learned as the target input, quite a lot of participants mentioned that not all the errors were necessary to correct; linguistic knowledge was no longer emphasised (see *section 6.3.2.1*). Moreover, a number of students did not care about whether their English was standard or non-standard like, as long as they could communicate effectively (see *section 7.3.1.2*). Most students acknowledged the gap between classroom teaching and social interactions requiring English (see *section 7.3.1.2*) etc. The above issues were not reflected in official documents. In the following part, the key findings for the conceptualisation of English will be displayed by cross-referencing the analysis of each datasets and the literature review.

First, the complexity and fluidity of language was overlooked. English was still viewed as a set of fixed codes. The social and cultural factors were ignored as well. English was taught and isolated from the social-cultural context (Canagarajah, 2013). Evidence could be easily found in *Section 5.3.1* where grammatical rules were taught as forms and structured-based patterns. Similarly in interviews, focus groups and classroom observations, teachers and students believed that there existed a fixed standard that everybody could understand. And in classroom observations, individual skills were taught separately in different modules, e.g. *Creative Writing, English audio-visual, Comprehensive Reading* etc. Therefore, the understanding of English as a fixed entity has overlooked the changeability of language and further dismissed the outer sociolinguistic context in considering teaching and learning English at higher education level.

Furthermore, the diversity of English was overlooked as well in the documents and in other qualitative findings. Unlike what ELF believes, the mixture and hybrid of Englishes is highly

variable (Dewey, 2009; Baker, 2011), all of the data collected throughout this thesis suggested the understandings of Englishes were the combination of different varieties on the basis of geographical boundaries. For example, in *Requirements* (2007), English is considered as the varieties of native speaking countries; in teachers' interview, 'Chinese English' and 'Standard English' were repeated frequently (see *section 6.3.1.1*). Also in students' focus groups, students were confused about the meaning of Standard English, and believed it referred to American English (see *section 7.3.1.1*). Such misunderstandings of Englishes suggested the lack of awareness of diversity nature of English in the outer sociolinguistic realities.

Thirdly, other than the misunderstandings of Englishes as the combination of different English varieties, English that is used in English-speaking countries was considered as superior English varieties than other varieties from non-native speaking countries. For instance, in the *Recruitment Advertisement*, on one of the university's websites, NS-based certificates, such as TESOL, TESL or TEFL, were preferred by the authorities (see *Extract 5.11*). It was the same as the interviews with teachers. Some of them said that half of their colleagues who were hired in their department were native speakers. The teachers with a degree from native speaking countries, particularly in UK or US were preferred, compared with other candidates (see *Extract 6.25*). Clearly, their English ability was considered as native English competence, while other NNESs were excluded. This also leads to NESs' use of English which is conceived as the entirely meaning of English. This complies with the two major assumptions believed by Standard English ideology, as mentioned by Seidholfer (2017, p.89) in the literature review chapter, specifically that Standard English is equivalent to native speaker English (see also Lippi-Green, 1994; Milroy, 1999; Brutt-Griffler, 2002), and that "standard English constitutes English in its entirety, the English language" (Seidholfer, 2017, p.89). Therefore, the Standard English ideology was another major ideology that was implicitly found commonly in not only the document of *Requirements* (2007), *Syllabus* (2004) and other documents, but also in teachers and students' discussions in interviews and focus group. The same phenomenon happened in the classroom observations. Although NNSE was used as an example in one of the observed ESP classes, native English and NEC were taught as the target (see *section 8.3.2.4*).

In addition to language abilities, other communication resources, such as cultural and pragmatic strategies, were overlooked. Although linguistic knowledge was no longer emphasised, linguistic accuracy was considered as compulsory to achieve successful communication (see *Extract 5.21*). It is contradicted with how global Englishes believe that effective communication is achieved through multi-modalities, while language is only one of the resources (Jenkins, 2015; Baker, 2011; Cogo & Dewey, 2006). Similarly, in the teacher interviews and student focus groups, the use of pragmatic strategies was seen as deficient in English (see *Extract 6.13, 6.17 and section 7.3.2.4*). Cultural-related elements were even rarely concluded in classroom teaching.

Finally, the functional value of English was paid attention to by emphasising the purposes and occasions of learning/teaching English for. In *Requirements* (2007), the strategies for listening and speaking to facilitate meanings and construct conversations are frequently stressed in *Teaching Requirements* at different levels. And in *Course Design*, ‘English of specialty’ is set as one of the five types of module category. This was observed in classroom observations as well, where ESP was widely adopted to meet the needs of individual students’ ‘area of speciality’ including business English, Hospitality English, etc. This complies with Seidlhofer (2011), noting that what is crucial is how the forms function in practice so as to serve individual speakers’ needs and purpose of using the language (see *section 5.3.3*). The features of teaching English for specific occasions and purposes, as indicated by ESP approach, “can be instructive for the understanding of ELF awareness construct” (Sifakis, 2017, p.9). Yet, although the functional values of English was considered to engage with students’ needs, as the outer linguistic context was overlooked, the fluidity and diversity nature of English for example, the numbers of NNESs outnumbering NESs, and believing in the legitimacy of NNSE, NSE was still considered as the authentic and effective input used as reference for teaching/learning activities in ELT classes.

To sum up, based on the findings gained through different approaches, English was still conceptualised on the basis of SLA point of view. That is, a combination of sets of fixed codes was isolated from communication and cultural factors. The dynamic and diversity nature of English was not fully aware. And NESs’ English was taken as the exclusive meaning of English which was commonly reflected in all the datasets.

9.2.2. The Struggle between Top-down and Bottom-up Language Ideologies

After discussing English at conceptual level in the previous section, in this section, data will be discussed in relation to the struggles between top-down modifications and bottom-up resistance on the basis of Spolsky's (2009) and Shohamy's (2006) framework for language policy. There are battles between language management and language practice, in which they attempt to reproduce language beliefs. Such reproduced language beliefs, on the one hand, are top-down language beliefs which are embraced in policy statements. On the other hand, they are bottom-up language beliefs emerging through practice. The top-down and the bottom-up language beliefs always interplay with each other and eventually have an impact on the de facto language practice (Spolsky, 2004; Shohamy, 2006; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). As language policy is not only decided by who created it, but is also affected by the ones who are supposed to appropriate it into practice according to their interpretations as it moves from top-down (Recinto and Hornberg, 1996; Johnson, 2013). Thus, in this section, how classroom participants perceived and interpreted English would be looked into based on the interrelations among the three components, language management, language beliefs or ideologies and language practice as mentioned in Spolsky (2009). Ideally, the three components as mentioned in Spolsky's (2009) framework should be consistent with each other in the top-down manner. For example, the policy statements from the top are supposed to take what people believe about language and language use. In this research, communicative effectiveness and cultural awareness were the two major explicit objectives of teaching from the top. The learning process and functional values of English were also emphasised to engage with students' individual needs. As the top-down process, these policy statements should reflect how people believe about language teaching and learning. And in the meanwhile, classroom participants are expected to apply such beliefs into practice. However, there were a number of inconsistencies between what was believed from the top and what actually happened in the field. Detailed findings were summarised as follow.

9.2.2.1. Inconsistencies among Components of Language Policy

Before comparing the findings gained from each of the datasets, it is worth mentioning that there are inconsistencies among different policy statements in *Requirements* (2007). The major reason is that the MOE is lack knowledge about ELF. To be specific, they are unaware of what is required for individual students to achieve effective communications in both classroom environment and outer sociolinguistic realities. Thus, on the one hand, they

emphasise communicative effectiveness is one of the major teaching objective for *Requirements (2007)*. On the other hand, they concentrate on encouraging students to speak English with ‘correct’ articulation, pronunciation, and intonation in *Teaching Requirements*(see *Appendix 1*). More evidences have been found in *Teaching Requirements* for speaking, where correctness and accuracy are emphasised. Similar to the *Testing Requirements for Writing in Syllabus (2004)*, linguistic performance is evaluated based on using vocabularies, grammatical rules, punctuation and linking words ‘appropriately’ and ‘accurately’. As discussed in Chapter 5, both *Requirements (2007)* and *Syllbus (2004)* share the same objectives for teaching and testing, in which they should be consistent with each other. However, there are clearly inconsistencies among *Teaching Objectives and Teaching Requirements* in *Requirements (2007)* and *Testing Requirements* in *Syllabus (2004)*. These inconsistencies suggested that the MOE believes conforming to standard norms is compulsory for effective communication. As a matter of fact, conforming to standard norms cannot ensure effective communication. Neither the MOE acknowledges that in the outer sociolinguistic realities, students are much more interacted with NNESSs. Nor the MOE is concerned with the dynamic nature of English. Accommodation and negotiation strategies have been all dismissed in the documents. Thus, even if communicative effectiveness is mentioned explicitly by the MOE, implicitly, conforming to standard norms has still been believed deeply from the top.

- **Between Policy Statements and Language Practice**

After discussing the inconsistencies among different policy statements, there are also a number of inconsistencies between the top-down language policy statements and the practices. The first inconsistency related to conforming to standard native English for effective communication from the top-down policy statements. As discussed, Standard English ideology was found commonly in the official documents of language policy. Conforming to standard native English was considered as the basic and compulsory condition to achieve effective communication. And standard native English has been taken as the target language input for learning and teaching since it is the model that language tests examine (see *section 5.3.2.3*). It was noticed that from the classroom observations, teachers’ spoken English, which was clearly not standard native English, became the major classroom input. Teachers and students did not have trouble in communicating and negotiating (see *section 8.3.2.4*), and were quite tolerant with each others’ errors. Furthermore, as Matsuda and Friedrich (2011) suggested, alternative Englishes, which could meet local context and

students' need, were used as optional input in some of the observed classes (see *section 8.3.3.2*). Although they were used as examples only, not the target one, they at least appeared in textbooks of ESP classes for students to adjust and acknowledged (see *section 8.3.2.4*). Thus, in classroom practice both of the above findings suggested educational purposes are more individual and context sensitive (see *section 5.3.3; 8.3.3.1*). As for the findings gained from student participants, the majority of participants said that they were satisfied with their current proficiency in English. Being able to conduct basic communication was seen as the most important to majority of them (see *section 7.3.1.2*). They did not think it was necessary to be native like as they found Chinese speakers' use of English was much easier to understand than native English. Such a fact was not the same as what was required from the top: English that is used in English-speaking countries was preferred, and was seen as the superior (see *section 7.3.1.2*).

Yet, in the meantime, teachers and students did believe that it was necessary to learn and teach Standard English in class (see *section 7.3.1.1 & 6.3.2*). The majority of teachers and students believed that it was compulsory to have a standard for everybody to refer to, as for how much their use of English was close to the standard, it was not a matter of their consideration. Such beliefs were found to be embodied in the following practices. Firstly, linguistic knowledge was still important to teachers although it was not emphasised in documents and teachers' instructions anymore. The reason why the teachers did not emphasise it was that they did not think it was necessary, but that they believed after years of learning and testing linguistic knowledge, students should have already had command of it. Furthermore, although teachers tended to encourage their students to speak whether it was right or wrong, students' use of communication strategies were still considered as errors and a deficient use of English, which were necessary to be corrected and improve students' English. Thus, the majority of them were still teaching and learning English on the basis of a standard that everyone was refereeing to. As it was believed by teachers and students, only in this way could an effective communication be reached.

With the differences between participants' believed in teaching and learning and how they behaved in using the language, it was easy to conclude that, in one sense, classroom participants were using ELF and accommodation strategies for communication and overlooked errors. But in another sense, they subconsciously considered themselves as NSE

learners, taking standard native English as the reference of teaching and learning. Their identification of being ELF users impacted on their language practices of using accommodation strategies for communication, which did not match the ‘correctness’, ‘accuracy’ and ‘appropriateness’ which were emphasised from the top. Meanwhile, at the same time, identifying themselves as NES learners resulted in their language practices by teaching and learning with Standard native English as the target input. Thus, an individuals language ideologies had a huge impact on language practices and also on the implementation of language policy in practice.

The second inconsistency between language policy and language practice concerned cultural awareness. In *Requirements* (2007), one of the teaching objectives the MOE sets is to improve cultural awareness so as to meet the needs of China’s social development and international exchanges. Yet, in practice, on the one hand, it was commonly found that cultural-related elements were rarely mentioned in class. Language became the only important resource for international exchange in intercultural settings. On the other hand, while *Requirements* (2007, p.24) mentioned cultural-related courses should teach students “*different cultures in the world*”, in practice, such policy statement was carried out as teaching/learning different cultures from native-speaking countries (see *section 5.3.2.3*). This is clearly inconsistent with the aim of improving cultural awareness for international exchange, as other than language abilities, cultural factors, particularly NNEC, were overlooked in classroom teaching and learning practice. Native speakers are not the only interlocutors that teachers and students would come across in intercultural settings.

For a number of reasons, including the lack of time and learning materials, an individual’s language ideologies towards cultural awareness were found to have played an influential impact as well. To be specific, the lack of classroom participants’ awareness of the outer sociolinguistic context, fluidity and multiplicity of culture was discovered (see *section 6.3.2.3*). With the development of globalisation, it is no longer a specific culture or language that people come across, as “there is no identifiable culture to which a language is inseparable tied” (Baker, 2009, p.571). Closely relating culture to target language and the country where the target language originates, participants have overlooked culture that has become a “transcultural flow” where “cultural forms move, change and are reused to fashion new identities in diverse context” (Penneycook, 2007, p.6). Thereby, cultural awareness is

related to not only have the knowledge of certain cultures, but also the awareness of the differences and accommodating those differences depending on various situations and interlocutors (Baker, 2011).

Lacking the knowledge of the above features impacted on participants' teaching and learning practices, and further on the effectiveness of implementing the teaching objective to '*improve cultural awareness for international exchange*' in *Requirements (2007)*. Most of the teacher participants tended to think the interlocutors for intercultural communication directly referred to speakers of native speaking countries. Though they did not explicitly stated, they gave some examples in the reference of NES cultures mostly (*see section 8.3.2.2*). The fact that communication among non-native speakers in English outnumbered native speakers was not fully awarded by teacher participants. As for students, some of them doubted one could teach intercultural communication in the Chinese context when he or she was neither a Chinese speaker nor a native speaker. It suggested that a Chinese speaker deeply believed cultural awareness was closely related to the local, target cultures and NES (*see section 7.3.1.2*). Apparently, taking NEC as target cultural input could not achieve what was expected by the MOE for the social development and international exchanges.

Besides, one more obvious inconsistency between language policy and practice is the testing of English. There are two types of language tests according to *Requirements (2007)*. One is term-time or a mid-term test at university level, and the other refers to proficiency test at national level, e.g. CET Level 4 and 6. As mentioned in *Requirements (2007, p.27)*,

‘Whatever from the tests may take, the focus should be on the assessment of students’ ability to use English in communication, particularly their ability to listen and speak English’

But what actually happens in practice is different from what has been expected from the top. Regarding to the term-time tests, firstly, the tests’ orientation still focuses on linguistic knowledge in both types of tests. Furthermore, instead of focusing on practical communication skills, a larger portion of questions are designed on the basis of norm-based textbooks which taking NES as the target input. Thirdly, as for the national tests, it makes clear in the *Examination Syllabus (2004)*, the testing objectives of CET Level 4 and 6 are made in response to the pilot version of *Requirements (2007)*. In this way, *Examination Syllabus (2004)* is supposed to share the same objectives of teaching as *Requirements (2007)*.

However, norm-based paper test is put forward in practice. Speaking tests for CET Level 4 and 6 are only given to the students who have passed norm-based paper tests. And fourthly, although formative evaluations which are encouraged by the MOE are implemented in the process of teaching in practice, teachers and students believed that the effectiveness of formative assessments was needed to be discussed. When compared with summative tests, formative evaluations were time-consuming and less convincing, especially with the small percentage of formative assessments. Thus, more attention was (eventually) paid to norm-based paper tests. Such norm-based paper tests, according to Shohamy (2006), become the most powerful mechanisms for transmitting and reinforcing norm-based language beliefs and Standard English ideology in language practice.

- **Between Language Policy and the Bottom-up Language Ideologies**

As mentioned above, on the one hand, language beliefs or ideologies are top-down language beliefs which are embraced in policy statements. And on the other hand, they are bottom-up language beliefs which emerge through practices. They always interplay with each other and eventually impact on the *de facto* language practice. In this research, data collected from teachers' interviews, student focus groups and classroom observations suggested that participants, as the matter of fact, were questioning some of the top-down language ideologies. However, although teachers and students believed differently from the top-down language policies; they did not seem to challenge such a situation. One of the obvious examples was concerned with participants' attitudes towards the ownership of English.

Although the legitimacy of NNSE has been overlooked in *Requirements (2007)*, a native's authority in English was questioned by teacher participants implicitly. Majority of the participants "had a sense of being judged while using English. Their feeling of "succumbing to the owners" (Seidlhofer, 2011, p55) were commonly found explicitly during the interviews as well. Yet, due to the lack of awareness of ELF, the participants had never realised it was a problem that needed to be questioned before. Thus, after the concept of ELF had been briefly introduced, almost all of the participants realised it was important to claim global ownership of English by NNESs. They also believed by challenging the dominance of native English, they would have their voices heard (see *section 6.3.1.3*). One of the participants even mentioned that with the development of globalisation, it would be good if

NES authority could be broken (see *section 6.3.1.3*). Other words, believing in NES ownership of English hindered the flourish of English according to this participant.

Although teachers' attitudes towards global ownership of English were positive, they were hesitated to challenge the situation. Language policy appeared to become one of the major reasons (see *section 6.3.3.1*). Especially ELF was not recognised in official language policy, teachers were lack of the power to make decisions all by themselves, they had to take into consideration what was required from the top. Thus, NES was still the main target input for classroom teaching.

But at the same time, NES has not been used as the only reference as expected in language policy in the de facto language practice at the end. A group of teachers did adopt NNE in their classroom teaching practices after the concept of ELF had been briefly introduced in the interviews. This considers that teachers are playing the role as agents transmitting the top-down ideologies into practice, their attitudes will impact on their classroom teaching practice and further on the implementation of de facto language policy. Through they did not seem to challenge what was encouraged from the top explicitly, their acknowledgement of such an issue impacted on their classroom teaching practice by including NNSE as their optional input.

This was similar to students' attitudes. Although the MOE encourages students to learn English that is used in English speaking countries, students were also claiming that they preferred native English. As a matter of fact, in practice, they paid less attention to distinguishing the features of different Englishes as long as the English output was intelligible to their interlocutors (see *section 8.3.1.2*). In fact, students were confused with the terminologies of Standard English, native English, English as a foreign language and English as a lingua franca etc. Thus, they didn't care too much about whether it was native or non-native English that they were acquiring and producing.

Last but not the least, it is worth mentioning that, teachers and students were lack of the knowledge about *Requirements (2007)* and relevant teaching/learning information (see

section 6.4.1). For example, most of the interviewed teachers were not clear about teaching objectives for college English; the curriculum and syllabus for teaching totally depended on teachers' decision as they were not required to submit to the university. And most importantly, teaching materials like PowerPoint slides of each class were provided by the textbook publishers together with the textbooks (*see image 8.2 & section 8.3.2.4*). In this way, teachers *were* not fully aware of *Requirements* (2007). Classroom practices did not entirely depend on what had been imposed from the top, instead, they usually depend on teachers' decisions on what to be taught, in what ways and through what kinds of learning materials. In view of this, it can easily foresee teachers are one of the mechanisms significantly impacts on the teaching practices (Shohamy, 2006).

After exploring the gap between language policy and practice, and the struggle between the top-down and the bottom-up policies and practices, it was noticed that language attitudes, beliefs and ideologies had a huge impact on individuals' language practices and further on policy implementation. According to Wang (2015a), language education is a source of language attitudes. As discussed in Chapter 5, the current language educational policy lacks knowledge about the outer sociolinguistic realities, it actually plays a role that maintains the gap between what is taught in class and what is really needed outside the classes. Considering language education is also the main factor that impacts on individuals' language awareness (Wang, 2015a), language education in China has played a negative role in participants' awareness of English with ELF perceptive. To be specific, language education impacts on participants' language choices by developing 'the myth of native English' and maintains 'the authority of native English in the use of English' (Wang, 2015a, p.96). Thus, with a traditional view about language awareness, participants still have overlooked how English functions in sociolinguist context in reality by connecting English language with native speakers only. As a result, though they acknowledged the gap between classroom teaching and social interaction, and put forward the cultural and functional values of English, in the references of native speakers' authenticity, participant language awareness still did not move away from being concentrated on the NESs and the use of NS norms.

9.2.2.2. Mechanisms of de facto Language Policy

As discussed in Chapter 3, the term mechanisms, as proposed by Shohamy (2006), were found to have had a huge impact on affecting the de facto language policies, language

perceptions, choices, uses and classroom participants' behaviors in a top-down manner when people were even unaware of them (Shohamy, 2006). Such mechanisms served as "vehicles for promoting and perpetuating agendas" through curricula, textbooks and teaching materials, teaching practices and tests etc. (Shohamy, 2006, p.55). Consequently, the majority of the stakeholders rarely considered whether such reflected ideologies should be accepted or not. But they followed the instructions and regulations subconsciously while the embodied language ideologies were imposed and reproduced ever since they started to learn the language (Shohamy, 2004; 2010; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Kim, 2015).

Just as what Shohamy (2006) mentioned, in this research, the important and flexible role that teachers and textbooks played were two of influential mechanisms that impacted and affected on *de facto* language policy (see *section 8.3.1.1*). Teachers, as discussed in literatures chapter, were "the final arbiters of language policy implementation" (Menken and Garcia, 2010, p.1). Their roles as agents were approved to be one of the most important factors that impacted on policy implementations in classrooms (Shohamy, 2006; Baldauf, 2006; Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008). Especially as teachers and students were the lack of the knowledge about language policies, teachers' decisions on how and in what ways that certainly content were to be taught appeared to be more influential. It was the same as textbooks. Due to the lack of the knowledge about policy statements and curricula, textbooks, on the one hand, could be seen as a "route map for teachers and learners" (Matsuda, 2012, p.168), which contained various ideological and political agendas (Shohamy, 2006). And on the other hand, they contributed to language teaching to "express, reinforce, and construct a certain view of the world" (Matsuda, 2012, p.168). That is to say, textbooks played an important role in shaping and reinforcing teachers and students' language ideology and affected their language practices as well (Shohamy, 2006; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997).

Yet, different from Shohamy (2006), data collected through students' focus groups and classroom observations also suggested that, language tests did not always impact on students' language beliefs or ideologies. On the one hand, language tests did serve as the mechanism, impacting not only on "the sole indicators for placing people" (Brown, 2012, p.103), but also on the teaching/learning. For example, Standard Native speakers' norms were set as the main criteria for making marking systems (see *section 5.3.2.3*); Curricula,

content of textbooks and teaching approaches had to be modified to adjust (Hogan-Brun, 2007; Bailey and Masuhara, 2013), and more test-oriented materials were produced. On the other hand, students still cared more about how to construct the language beyond its forms and functions in order to serve practical purposes than linguistic preference. Yet, with the norm-based language tests, they could not choose freely. Affected by the testing and scoring system, classroom participants were facing choices that they had to make between what was imposed from the top and their own.

9.2.3. Implications of the Research

Besides the above issues that have been discussed in literature reviews, the awareness of English as WE rather than a lingua franca has been discovered through the whole process of collecting and analysing the data. It has been commonly discovered, participants' perceptions about English align with WE's point of view. Thus, this section will focus on 'WE vs. ELF' and 'Chinese English, China English, Chinglish and ChELF' in terms of language awareness that can and should be integrated into English education in China.

For teachers, when they were describing their attitudes towards ELF, they tended to refer to WE's points of view. Such features were discovered. Firstly, they misunderstood the plural form of 'non-native Englishes' referring to different English varieties spoken by Outer Circles, including Indian English and Singapore English. 'Englishes' were perceived as a combination of different varieties when each of the variety developed depending upon certain standards of teachers. Participants' understandings of the plural forms of Englishes apparently was different from what ELF researchers believed although the teachers and students claimed that they had acknowledge the existing of different Englishes all over the world. With ELF perspective, the plural form of Englishes are seen as hybrid and mixed, which do not belong to any specific varieties. At the same time, they reconstruct among multi-modalities (Pennycook, 2007). People form, change and reconstruct the community by shutting in or out or by negotiating for benefit (Canagarajah, 2013). Secondly, teachers interpreted the term 'Englishes' on the basis of "geography and history rather than on the way speakers currently identify with and use" according to Jenkins (2015, p.20). The fluidity nature of English was overlooked by them while English was still viewed as fixed entity to them with WE points of view. Although there are still overlaps existing in WE and ELF e.g. both challenging Standard English ideology. WE tends to create another standard to define

different English varieties on the basis of geographic boundaries. Therefore, without properly understanding the outer linguistic reality and the fluidity and diversity nature of English, teachers' misunderstanding of ELF as being WE would cause teachers' negative attitudes towards ELF. Many participants questioned "why bother to learn other countries' English varieties when we have the most Standard English to learn?" And with loads of countries in Outer and Expanding Circles, it was believed by teacher participants that their workload would surely increase but without any significance.

The interpretation of English as WE was also embodied in students' discussions. On the one hand, students tended to describe their use of English as Chinese English, or China English frequently during their discussion. The students use of different terms was taken notice of by the researcher was mostly because those terms were concerned with conceptualising the linguistic phenomenon of the English used by Chinese speakers. Looking into how students make use of the above items offers an insight into students' language awareness and their attitudes towards native speakers' norms. In fact, Chinese English refers to a variety of English used in China. And the term 'China English', can be seen as alternative way of referring to Chinese English, suggesting an English variety used in China (Xu, 2010). It is defined as a "developing variety of English, which is subject to ongoing codification and normalization processes. It is based largely on the two major varieties of English, namely British and American English. It is characterized by the transfer of Chinese linguistic and cultural norm at varying levels of language, and it is used primarily by Chinese for inter-and international communication" (Xu, 2010, p.1). Such features were noticed when students were discussing standard and non-standard varieties (see *section 7.3.1.1*), and adopted American English as the standard one. Yet, as discussed in the previous section, English used in China is not merely a newly-developing variety classified as a WE paradigm. Students' way of using Chinese English and China English to describe their use of English also contains orientations of WE.

However, as Wang (2012, 2017, forthcoming) points out, English plays a role of a global lingua franca for Chinese speakers in contemporary times, which suggests the need to capture English used by Chinese speakers through a lens of ELF. The researcher prefers the term CHELF that Wang (2012, 2017, forthcoming) proposed to describe English used by Chinese speakers in ELF encounters in this research. Because even if all of them were

adopting ‘Chinese English’ or ‘China English’, as the matter of fact, they were using CHELF outside the classes, that is, “Chinese speakers’ own way of using English for their intercultural communication” (Wang, 2012, p.21). According to Wang (2012), CHELF is adopted to describe Chinese speakers’ English in ELF which encounters in intercultural communications, which contains characters of endonormativity, cross geo-political boundaries and the shared repertoire. In that sense, native speakers’ norms are not necessary for the speakers to conform to. And with the increasing number of ELF users in China, geo-political boundaries cannot describe the development of ELF as a sociolinguistic phoneme in China. Chinese speakers’ use of English should not be seen as a fixed variety, it should be described as Chinese speakers’ use of ELF, e.g. CHELF. The speakers of CHELF are highly variable ELF users as well. All these features have all emerged through the data gained from the interviews, focus groups and classroom observations. As discussed by the student participants, they all emphasised that they found English used by Chinese speakers were easier to understand than those native English due to the way they pronounced, word ordering and selecting sentence patterns. Therefore, to them, a lot of student participants emphasized that they did not care about the distance that their English was close to native speakers’ norms away, as long as their English was intelligible. Furthermore, it was unexpected that quite a lot of students frequently said that they were proud of being a Chinese English speaker, as they admitted that their use of English was neither native-like nor Chinglish. And they believed being identified as a speaker of Chinese English suggested his or her identity of being a Chinese. In addition, some even believed being identified as a speakers of Chinese English speakers was a compliment, as it suggested that his or her English was understandable by the majority of speakers. Thus even if the fact that the students were unfamiliar with the term CHELF and tended to adopt Chinese English, they were actually discussing their use of CHELF and their identity of being a CHELfer in practice.

Given these, there was clearly a mismatch between how students’ perceived about English and their actual use of English. In this research, students’ discussions about English contained the orientation of WE. However, when the students used the language, the features of CHELF had been discovered. That is to say, instead of being aware of English as a lingua franca, English was perceived as WE by most of the participants, although subconsciously they were using CHELF for communication.

As mentioned by Wang (2015a), language education is one of the major impacts on individual's language awareness through language choices(Wang, 2015a), such as what kind of English is preferred by the students. In this research, language education that impacted on individual's language choices was also found to be the major factor. As discussed, students' language preferences were very much depended on the language that they had been taught and tested. Thus, what language educational policy suggested, encouraged and how they perceived English had a huge impact on students' language choices. Yet, due to the fact that non-recognition of ELF in English educational policy in China, traditional view about language awareness still concentrated on the native varieties and the use of native varieties. Especially the policy statements emphasise explicitly on teaching and learning English varieties from native speaking Inner Circle countries on the basis of geographic boundaries, the recognition of English as WE has been very accepted in the top-down manner in the process of policy implementing, despite the fact that English is learned to use in intercultural settings rather than in just English-speaking countries (Jenkins, 2015; Seidlhofer, 2011; Wen, 2012; Wang, 2015). This was also the reason why the term 'Chinese English,' and 'China English' were more accepted by the student participants. And teachers and students tended to misinterpret 'Englishes' as a combination of different varieties. Language education was no doubt playing a negative role in impacting on participants' awareness of ELF by adopting WE points of view.

However, besides language education, language awareness can also be impacted in other ways. As mentioned in this chapter, the current language educational policy was the lack of the knowledge about the outer sociolinguistic realities. In another word, it failed to cope with the ever-changing sociolinguistic realities. As "the kinds of English that are taught to NNESs at all educational levels, and the kinds of English they need and use in their life outside the classroom" (Jenkins, 2015, p.156) were different, they will impact on students' language awareness. On the one hand, students' language awareness is impacted by what was encouraged from the top through language education. On the other hand, the students' language awareness is impacted by their acknowledgement of the gap between sociolinguistic realities and the classroom teaching/learning contents. In addition, there is how students perceive their roles and identities in the process of learning. e.g. as NSE learners or as ELF users (Wang, 2015a). As explored in Chapter 7, students were clearly acknowledged the existing gap between classroom environments and the real life situation, their language awareness had certainly changed to meet their own needs of using the

language. This explains why there are the existing of inconsistencies among language policies, practices and individual ideologies. In the meantime, impacted by the top-down language education, on the one hand, students identified themselves as learners of NSE in classrooms, and on the other hand, students were using CHELF for communication in practice, even if they was not aware of English as a lingua franca. Such a fact also suggested a struggle between the top-down and bottom-up language beliefs in the current ELT settings in the Chinese higher education context.

Thus, to address the inconsistencies among language policies, practices and grassroots language ideologies, and to narrow the gap between classroom environment and the real-life situation, language education needs to take into consideration how English is actually used and needed by Chinese speakers in an ever-changing society. With the fact that teachers still adopted WE's points of view to describe their attitudes towards ELF, it is urgently need to raise teachers' awareness of ELF and calls for changes in language education to address the sociolinguistic realities.

One of the possible strategies, as mentioned by Bowles & Cogo (2015), can be established a set of effective teacher education program. As discussed in the Chapter 2, teachers' beliefs have a huge impact on teachers' behaviours. Kennedy (1996) argues that changes in teachers' practices require a prior change in their beliefs. Thus, in order to bring about changes, it is necessary to acknowledge in which ways that teachers' belief can be impacted during the process. Based on the previous studies, teachers' beliefs have been shaped ever since they stepped into the kindergarten. Teachers' experiences of the second language learning (Borg 2005; Ellis, 2006; Woods, 1996); teachers' teaching experiences (Breen et al, 2001; Tsui, 2003); and teacher education (Borg, 2005, 2006; Crandall, 2000; Freeman, 1996) are the major resources that will impact on the development of teachers' beliefs. While the first three are based on teacher's past experiences, which has been already determined in the past, teacher education is the one that can bring about the changes. Through effective language teacher education program, there are 'substantial challenges to current beliefs and practice' (Jenkins et al, 2011, p.305), which will be further impact on teachers' decisions and behaviours for classroom teaching.

With the fact that the mainstream language teacher education programs are still viewed English as a foreign language rather than ELF (Dewey, 2012), in order to bring about the changes to teachers' "normative mindset" (Seidlhofer, 2008, p.33), it should be firstly clarify the nature of English and the subject of English. In another word, teachers should be clear about what the language is and how to learn the language so as to take further actions in practice. As "any proposal for a change in practice has to be based on understanding of principle, and it is how English subject is defined in principle" (Seidlhofer, 2011, p.202). However, traditionally English is defined as a subject based on the "unquestioned assumption" (Seidlhofer, 2011, p.202), it still hasn't moved away from the role that teachers "play as custodians of Standard English" (Sifakis & Bayyurt, 2018, p.457). In the light of this, teacher training programs should shift its focus to sociolinguistic realities (Dewey, 2012), and lay its emphasis on raising awareness of ELF (Wang, 2015b; Sifakis, 2017). More specifically, Sifakis & Bayyurt (2018) propose three phases of ELF-aware teachers' education. For the first phase, teachers are supposed to be aware of the complex situation that English has been used for communication in the globalizing world. The second phase considers both external and internal critical awareness. On the one hand, it involves in internalizing the global spread of English. On the other hand, it engages with its own teachings of the local context. The third phase concerns with planning, implementing and evaluating. Teachers "are promoted to develop instructional activities that integrate their own understanding of ELF (and EIL and WE) with the needs and idiosyncrasies of their learners" (Sifakis & Bayyurt, 2018, p.461). Sifakis & Bayyurt's work on teachers' training is in accordance with Dewey's (2012) argument that teachers should be aware of the issues arising with the spread of English, e.g. the global ownership of English, the dynamic nature of English, etc., and 'a critical awareness of the unsuitability' of the NES-NNES dichotomy (Dewey 2012, p150). At the same time, Dewey's (2012) further argues that teachers sometime can recognise the ELF phenomenon but do not like to make a change because of policy requirement. In the light of this, as teachers are playing the role as agents, who might be able to mediate between the top-down language policy and the bottom-up language practice, raising teacher awareness through teachers' training can help teachers to understand how to make informed choice about language being taught and used for students' benefits.

9.3 Conclusion

In summary, the key findings discovered in this study have been summarised by cross-referencing analysis of each of the datasets and the literature review in this chapter. Firstly, how English was conceptualised by the official documents of language policy and classroom participants have been summarised. Secondly, the struggle between the top-down modifications and bottom-up resistance has been evaluated by displaying the inconsistencies occurred among different components of language policy in Spolsky's (2009; 2012) framework. Thirdly, the role that textbooks, teachers, and language texts played as mechanisms that affected the *de facto* language policy, as mentioned by Shohamy (2006), have been particularly analysed. Besides, the emerging issues contributed to how people believed about English and behaviour in practice, but which was not discussed in literatures have been also brought into debate in this chapter.

After having explored findings from the previous chapters of data analysis, next chapter, on the one hand, I will conclude the thesis by exploring answers to each research question. And on the other hand, I will try to evaluate this research by generating contributions and summarising limitations to put forward possible improvements for future studies.

Chapter 10 Conclusion

10.1 Introduction

In the final chapter, the researcher aims to give a summary of this thesis. Firstly, the researcher will re-present the research rationale and restate the theoretical framework, briefly explaining and justifying the research questions, research design and research methodologies. Then the research findings will be presented in a format of answering the research questions by cross-referencing analysis of each of the datasets. After that, the evaluations of the research will be given in discussing its contributions, implications and limitations. Finally, the researcher will put forward some possible improvements for the future studies.

10.2 Research Rational

Given the fact that English has been used all over the world, the number of English speakers has increased to at least two billion (Jenkins, 2015), and nearly 80% of English communications are made by non-native English speakers (Prodromou, 1997). While NNESs have become the majority of English speakers worldwide, conforming to NS norms does not necessarily suit NNESs' purposes of effective communications in intercultural context (Dewey, 2012). Instead, English used by such a large number of NNESs has resulted in variations, and the form of English has developed from singular to plural (Jenkins, 2015; Baker, 2012; Cogo, 2010; Wang, 2015) in the process of translations, transmodality, transcultural and trantextuality among English and other languages (Pennycook, 2007). Thus, English is much more frequently used as a lingua franca rather than traditional view of English on the biases of SLA theories in sociolinguistic reality (Jenkins, 2009; Seidlhofer, 2011). In the light of this, what really matters is not a specific fixed language or culture that should be taught and learned in classroom teaching. Teaching and learning English as foreign language as believed by SLA researchers can no longer be described as the pheromones of English use, either.

However, the purpose of teaching hasn't moved away from measuring against native speakers' norms in the current ELT classes (Jenkins, 2015; Seidlhofer, 2011; Sifakis, 2015;

Wen, 2012; Wang, 2015b). Moreover, native English has been regarded as the only effective language input, that is, “the language used by inner circle speakers and codified in grammars, dictionaries, and textbooks remains, by and large, unquestioned as the only legitimate object of study and target of learning” (Seidlhofer, 2011, p.9). In addition, to achieve what was considered as accurate and appropriate and to make the use of opportunities as much as possible, “the main knowledge-base and point of reference have not moved away from the perspective of English which is taught as a foreign language”. In a word, standard native English norms have commonly been believed.

This research considers the role that English plays as a lingua franca, which is different from the role that English plays as a foreign language in traditional ELT. To catch up with the ever-changing phenomena, and to change the mismatch situation “between the kinds of English that are taught to NNESs at all educational levels, and the kinds of English they need and use in their life outside the classroom” (Jenkins, 2015, p.156), different conceptualisations, perspectives, practices and approaches are needed for ELT stakeholders. ELF awareness is an attitude which plays the role of a mediate force as well between language policy and language practices. To what extent that stakeholders’ are aware of ELF will eventually effect on their language choices, preferences, perceptions and practices. Thus, ELF awareness will be particularly paid attention to in evaluating attitudes, beliefs and ideologies emerging through the bottom-up process. The following questions have been taken into consideration: what are the language ideologies embodied in official English education policy stated implicitly and explicitly? Are there any ELF-oriented or EFL oriented statements? How is the effectiveness of putting the embodied language ideologies in practice? How is individual language ideology affected by the embodied language ideologies implicitly and explicitly?

10.3 The Study

10.3.1. Research Design and Research Questions

Given what has been discussed, the central concern in this research is language ideologies, with awareness of ELF in the formal language educational settings in the Chinese higher education context. Its relations to language policy, as the representation of language

management and language practice, were particularly focused respectively in top-down and bottom-up manners. The first research question (RQ1) considered the relation between the primary language policy statement, and explicitly/ implicitly embodied language ideologies, as mentioned in Spolsky's framework (2004; 2009; 2012). It aimed to find out how English was represented in language policy explicitly and implicitly.

The second research question (RQ2), was concerned with language policy in relation to language practice. Particularly looking into language practice, such as the effectiveness of putting such embodied language ideologies in practice. Considering language policy and practice were not a one waystraight forward, and ideologies played an important role as variation which impacted on the effectiveness of policy implementation in practice. The third research question (RQ3) hoped to find out the role that the embodied language ideologies in language policy plays and the bottom-up beliefs emerged through classroom participants' language use/behaviors. And further, how the struggles between the top-down and bottom-up beliefs together would contribute to the effectiveness of implementation of language policy.

In achieving so, this research not only adopted Spolsky's framework (2004; 2009, 2012) of language policy, but also took into consideration Shohamy's (2006) proposition of 'mechanisms' of de facto language policy, which located between language ideology and language practice, as shown in Spolsky's framework, to evaluate through what ways that de facto language policy was created and affected in the top-down manners.

1. How is English explicitly and/or implicitly represented in language policy? To what extent is the language policy reflecting the role of ELF?
2. How is language policy implemented in classroom participants' language practice?
3. What are the classroom participants' perceptions about English and how do they engage with the implementation of language policy in practice

Besides, given the fact that language ideologies with awareness of ELF in the formal language educational settings in the Chinese higher education context were the central concern in this research, Sifakis's (2007) components and Wang's (2015b) aspects of ELF

awareness were adopted to explore to what extent classroom participants awareness of ELF impacted on their language use and behaviors and further on the policy implementations.

10.3.2. Research Methodology

To answer the research questions with the most effective methods, this research was designed to be qualitative. As mentioned by Denzin & Lincoln (2005), qualitative research is effective in exploring the issues that are related to participants' behaviors, attitudes or beliefs. More importantly, according to Hennink, Hutter & Bailey (2011), qualitative research is widely used to answer "why" and "how" questions. Different from quantitative research which is usually adopted to general findings on the basis of a large number of researches randomly selected samples. They are selected on purpose so as to explain and understand subjective meanings that people are attached to their experiences, and the meaning of social actions within the social construct. Thus, by using qualitative research methods in this research, the in-depth nature of qualitative research could offer opportunities to gain in-depth explanations of the embodied perspectives and ideologies towards individual participants' language use of the research context.

Based on the considerations above, this research was carried out to triangulate the research methods and data through document analysis, classroom observations, interviews and focus groups. The table below displayed the research methodology in terms of the connections among research instruments, research questions and datasets. At the very beginning, the official regulations and the relevant materials from the universities were investigated into discovering the embodied language beliefs or ideologies. Then, ELT classes for general major students were observed to evaluate implementations of language policy among classroom participants before and after the interviews. At the same time, interviews with general major ELT teachers were organised to find out their practices of certain policy statements and explicit language ideologies. Besides, students' focus groups were also conducted to discover their interpretations of other peoples' language ideologies and language behaviors.

Methodology	Research Questions	Datasets
Document Analysis	R1	<i>Requirements (2007); Syllabus (2004)</i> , textbooks or teaching/learning materials, relevant module information;
Classroom Observations	R2	ELT classes for 1 st and 2 nd year UG general major students
	R3	
Interviews		Teachers of ELT classes for 1 st and 2 nd year UG general major students
Focus Groups	R2& R3	Teachers of ELT classes for 1 st and 2 nd year UG general major students

It is worth mentioning that in this research, the official documents of language policy mainly refers to *College English Teaching Requirements (2007)* and *Examination Syllabus for CET level 4 & 6 (2004)*. Other supportive documents including textbooks, classroom teaching/learning materials, program/module information, website pages, were also taken into consideration. The teacher participants who were interviewed were the teachers of ELT classes for 1st and 2nd year UG general major students. Student participants were also recruited from 1st and 2nd year undergraduate general majors from the three top tire universities in Guangzhou, China, where the fieldwork was done.

In addition to the discussion about research methodology in this research, it should be aware that qualitative content analysis was adopted for data analysis to identify themes afterwards. Data-driven and concept-driven processes went through together. In document analysis, it was mainly data-driven process to evaluate policy statements. But in analysing qualitative data collected through interviews, focus groups and classroom observation, it was mainly concept-driven process, which was on the basis of the themes generated through the data collected from document analysis.

10.3.3. Answers to the Research Questions

Under the guidance of the explained theoretical framework, this research presented the findings by listing, comparing and contrasting the statements in the *Requirements (2007)* and *Syllabus (2004)*. The performances in classroom practice and the participants' perceptions from the interviews and focus groups obtained a full-scale interpretation of English education policy in the Chinese higher education context integrally. As a result, the three research questions have been answered respectively as follows.

RQ1: How is English explicitly and/or implicitly represented in language policy?

In response to RQ1, the understanding of English in *Requirements (2007)* and *Syllabus (2004)* has been discovered and listed under the categories of explicit language ideologies and implicit language ideologies. As for explicit language ideologies, the MOE has realised the development of English as a world language for international exchange, and encouraged that English teaching and learning should focus on better international communication. To achieve so, firstly, the communication functions of English have been emphasised. For example, the use of strategies for listening, speaking, reading and writing has been explicitly stated in *Teaching Requirement*. Secondly, the importance of cultural features of English for intercultural communications has been recognised by the MOE. Cultural awareness has been explicitly emphasised and set as one of the teaching objectives of *Requirements (2007)*. Thirdly, the MOE paid attention to the functional value of English to meet students' needs and purposes in the ELT classes. Moreover, the MOE also emphasised that the learning process should also be as important as learning production. In addition, the descriptions like 'Standard English', 'native English', have not been particularly required by the MOE. And lastly, the MOE laid emphasis on strengthening students' cultural awareness in teaching as well.

Besides those explicated language policy statements, implicit language ideologies have also been discovered, which have offered the researchers in-depth understanding of how English is perceived by the government. Firstly, the diversity of English has been misinterpreted as the combination of different English varieties as believed in WE. Secondly, though the MOE

has believed the existence of different non-native English varieties all over the world, it has still overlooked the legitimate status of non-native Englishes and has less preferred. For example, in *Requirements (2007)*, English is used in English speaking countries have been considered as the whole meanings of ‘English’, as the ‘normal’ and ‘authentic’ English, which enjoy a superior status and has been set as the highest requirement for students to aim at.

In addition, although descriptions like ‘Standard English’, ‘Native English’, have not been particularly required by the MOE, teaching and learning has not moved away from measuring students’ competence with native speakers’ norms. As it is noticed that in the *Testing Requirement in Syllabus (2004)*, linguistic performance is examined on the basis of using of vocabularies, grammatical rules, and punctuation etc. ‘appropriately’ and ‘accurately’. Such intention suggests that to the MOE, it is still important to have a standard where classroom participants can compare with so that they can produce English appropriately and accurately. But no further explanations have been given based on what standard that the language output should be considered as appropriate and accurate. However, as English from native English is put forward by the MOE, NS-based certificates, such as TESOL, TESL or TEFL, have been preferred by the authorities in teachers’ recruitment, which was NS standard for classroom participants to compare with. It is the same as what is meant by ‘cultural awareness’ in *Requirements (2007)*. Cultural awareness implicitly considers connecting with target language and the country where the target language originates. Thus, contrary to its flexible, dynamic and evolving nature, English is still implicitly viewed as a set of fixed codes based on the native speakers’ standards. And cultures has become a “transcultural flow” (Penneycook, 2007, p.6), which is not necessarily involved in L1 or the target language culture has been unacknowledged.

It is worth mentioning that the explicit and implicit language ideologies are not consistently reflected in the documents. As for communicative effectives, on the one hand, efforts should be made to develop students’ ability to use English in a well-rounded way, as mentioned by the MOE. On the other hand, it is the ENL that the MOE targets and prefers. Conformity to the standards is still seen as compulsory for achieving communicative effectiveness with the outer sociolinguistic context overlooked. Thus, it is easy to draw the conclusion that although ELF relevant statements have been found explicitly in *Requirements (2007)*, implicit

orientation of the official documents has not found the same as it claims, which is in the meantime not truly ELF-oriented, either.

RQ2: How is language policy implemented in classroom participants' language practice?

In order to answer RQ2, one of the most primary points that, unexpectedly, teacher participants were the lack of the knowledge about the current version of official document of language acquisition policy. Their knowledge about curricula, and syllabuses of different modules remained very limited as well. As a result, the fulfillment of current policy statements became a matter of consideration. The classroom participants' practices did not totally depend on what had been imposed from the top. Instead, teachers usually depended on teachers' decisions on what was going to be taught, in what ways and through what kinds of learning materials. The teachers' role as agents appeared to be much more important than ever. Their attitudes, beliefs and ideologies about language played very important roles in impacting on the implantations of language policies. Briefly speaking, the effectiveness of implementation of language policy in practice was needed to be further investigated into with the combination of teachers' explicit and implicit language ideologies in RQ2 and RQ3. As for the answers to RQ2, the implementation of the embodied language ideologies in practice was paid attention to regarding to the two explicitly-mentioned objectives, e.g., teaching for communicative effectiveness and cultural awareness. The findings were displayed as follow.

Firstly, students' use of strategies was considered as errors and deficient use of English by teachers and students. And to improve students' English ability, they believed it was necessary to correct errors. This is in accordance with what *Requirements (2007)* reflects, that is, conforming to NS standards is compulsory for effective communication, although the times when teachers and students were quite tolerant with each other's errors and adopted negotiation strategies for communication subconsciously. Furthermore, language was taught and learned as the only element for successful communication though other equally important components were ignored, e.g., cultural awareness. More importantly, cultural-related elements were rarely mentioned in class. And even if there was, it was usually taught as knowledge-based information, taking the western cultures as the target. To be able to

produce the most accurate and appropriate language output was seen as the only effective conditions of achieving effective communications according to the data from the teachers' interviews and classroom observations; although the majority of the teacher participants claimed that other features of communication had been noticed. This is inconsistent with *Requirements (2007)* although the need of cultural awareness for effective communication has been put forward. It is also contradicted with what ELF researchers have believed, that language is not the only main resources for effective communication, where other components are equally needed in communicating through multiple modalities, for example, pragmatic strategies and cultural awareness (e.g., Pennycook, 2007; Jenkins, 2015; Cogo and Dewey, 2006; Baker, 2011). Thus, the two explicitly-mentioned objectives, communicative effectiveness and cultural awareness in the classroom practices, have apparently failed to fulfill as expected from the top.

Other than the above findings of explicit teaching objectives, NNSE was found to have been used as optional input in a few of the observed classes. This is different from the implicit orientation from the top, e.g., taking NSE and NEC as target input. Though NNSE was not adopted as target input as NSE did, the students did acknowledge the existence of different Englishes other than NSE. Furthermore, teachers' NNSE was also found as another major language input that students were exposed to other than textbooks. Such practices were clearly different from *Requirements (2007)* while NNSE were not mentioned at all. Furthermore, a contradiction has been observed. Consciously, teachers and students were teaching and learning NSE as target language, in the meanwhile, they were adopting ELF for communication unconsciously.

Besides, it was found that the MOE has put forward the functional values and encouraged to put them into practice. In the policy statement, '*English of specialty*' is set as one of the five types of module categories. This was observed in classroom observations where ESP was widely adopted to meet the needs of individual students' 'area of speciality'. Such as business English, Hospitality English, etc. Yet, there were also inconsistencies during its implementation. For example, while *Requirements (2007)* establishes a system of combining formative and summative assessments to meet students' purposes and needs in learning process, the outcome has not successfully achieved as expected from the top. Formative assessments have been considered as time-consuming and less convinced, which could not

help teachers to distinguish whose learning outcomes were better.

Given these, the classroom practices are not always consistent with top-down language policies; the embodied language ideologies are not either. A struggle between Classroom participants' language beliefs emerging from the bottom-up and the top-down beliefs were sometimes incoherent. This has impacted on their language behaviors, and further impacted on the implantation of policy implementation. Thus, for RQ3, detailed findings about classroom participants' ELF awareness as the bottom-up effect will be explored further.

RQ3: What are the classroom participants' perceptions about English and how do they engage with the implementation of language policy in practice?

Answers to RQ3 provided a complex picture of individual attitudes, beliefs and ideologies towards the awareness of English as a lingua franca in the educational settings for teachers and students. And these various attitudes explained different individual de facto language practices and language behaviors. Generally, it has commonly been found that teachers and students were the lack of the knowledge about ELF systematically at the theoretical level. Teachers were confused with the theories of WE and ELF when they were describing their attitudes towards ELF. For instance, they tended to misunderstand the plural form of 'non-native Englishes' referring to different English varieties spoken by Outer Circles, on the basis of geographical boundaries. Therefore, without properly understanding the concept of variety and community, misunderstanding of ELF as being WE would cause teachers' negative attitudes towards ELF. Lots of students questioned "why bother to learn other countries' English when we have the most Standard English to learn". And with loads of countries in Outer and Expanding Circles, it was believed by teacher participants that their workload would surely increase but without any significance. As for students, they were confused with the concept ELF as well. In fact, all they cared about was the English that they were taught and underestimated at the University although they were also confused with what was the English that they were taught. Based on such facts, a conclusion could be drawn that teachers and students were the lack of the knowledge about ELF in general.

More specifically, components and aspects of ELF awareness, as mentioned by Sifakis (2017) and Wang (2015a), was further investigated. Firstly, it has been noticed that teachers and students was not aware of the outer sociolinguist reality. They were unaware of the fact that English was more often used among NNESs than NESs. And it was the NNESs that Chinese speakers would come across out of the classrooms. This has led to ELT classes which have been still taking NES and NES as the target input. And by mentioning authenticity, it referred to native speakers' context. This has also impacted on the effectiveness of encouraging functional values of English to engage with students' realities. As non-native speakers of English who use English mainly for intercultural communication and refer to native speakers' authenticity, they will fail to engage with realities eventually.

Moreover, the participants' complex attitudes towards NES authorities became another major factor that impacted on their language behaviors. Firstly, the majority of the participants perceived English as the language that native speakers were using. Those who were learning another country's language had no choice but to conform to native speakers' norms. Thus, in practice, any language output that was different from the native English was considered as deficient and illegitimate, whether they were effective or not. However, in the meantime, it has been commonly found that teacher and student participants had a feeling of being judged and an unequal status existed when they were talking with native speakers. Moreover, when teacher participants were asked whether this situation should be challenged or not, instead of never questioning the reason, quite a lot participants demonstrated hesitated attitudes. The group of participants mentioned it would be good to have their voices heard by challenging the dominance of native English. However, it would also take a process to claim NNESs' ownership of English due to the lack of power and influence of NNESs at the moment; thus, they hesitated to make changes. Yet, some of them also agreed to include NNE in their classroom teaching practices after being briefly introduced ELF-related concepts. NNE became one of the optional inputs for classroom teaching in practice.

Besides, classroom participants' attitude towards Standard English was another important issue that impacted on their language behaviors. On the one hand, teachers and students believed teachers should teach Standard English in front of the class. Because they believed it was important to have a standard that everybody could refer to in order to achieve a common ground. This explained why classes were still teaching and learning as

form/function based. It also suggested that English has not moved away from being perceived as a fixed entity by teachers and students. The dynamic nature of English has not been acknowledged.

Yet, at the same time, they believed it was not necessary to have Standard English all the time. Teachers and students thought that the need of using Standard English depended on the purposes and occasions of speech. For an academic purpose, they believed that it was important for them to be able to use Standard English, as it referred to being ‘professional’ and ‘well educated’. In light of this, Standard English has been preferred as the most effective classroom language input by teachers and students in practice. However, for general communications, participants mentioned that it was not necessary to use Standard English. Errors and mistakes that were made by students were not necessary to be corrected, neither. Such beliefs were observed in classroom practices as well. It suggested that even if Standard English had been accepted by the majority of participants, non-standard features were not completely unacceptable. Particularly, some students acknowledged that the English that they were using for communication was not Standard English, and believed no matter how high or low their language proficiency was, they were capable of dealing with difficulties in communication eventually. By saying so, the use of strategies for communication was subconsciously aware and used by the student participants in practice. In this case, it suggested that in terms of English use in practice, the participants have showed their attitudes that have been much more compatible with ELF. For example, teachers and students mentioned accuracy in meanings was much more important than linguistic accuracy. And as long as no misunderstandings were caused, they would be quite tolerant of errors and mistakes in communication. Strategies, such as body language, facial expressions, repeating and code-switching, have been used as useful and effective means of communication during the class although they have been considered as signs of a deficient use of English consciously. Furthermore, some students demonstrated positive attitudes when their use of English was identified as CHELF (they described their use of English as Chinese English due to lacking the knowledge of ELF and the theory of CHELF). Some participants even took it as complement as it reflected their identity. In essence, Standard English was believed as necessary classroom input by teachers and students, as for how close to Standard English that students should be is away from it, their attitudes were quite flexible.

On a positive note, even if classroom participants were insisting on teaching and learning NSE English, participants were using ELF for communication. Their attitudes towards errors, standards, grammatical rules were flexible in practice, as long as they could communicate effectively. This is in accordance with what Sifakis (2017) emphasises the ability of “languaging” instead of norm-based teaching. Moreover, students’ individual needs, as mentioned in both Sifakis (2017) and Wang (2015a), were paid attention to. The functional values of English were emphasised for students’ individual needs. In the meantime, they have acknowledged the existing gaps between classroom teaching materials and English they needed in the social activities. Besides, Chinese speakers’ use of English was very much accepted by students as well. Last but not the least, after being introduced briefly the concept of ELF, teachers’ attitudes towards NNSE changed. NNSE has been taken as an optional input in some of the observed classes.

Yet, according to the aspects of ELF awareness in Wang (2015a), the lack of awareness was also discovered, for example, viewing English as fixed standard and misunderstanding the meaning of plural form of ‘Englishes’. Teachers and students clearly lacked the knowledge about the dynamic and diversity nature of English. They also ignored the outer sociolinguistic context while teaching and learning in class. Though students’ realities were paid attention to, as it was NES’s authenticity that the teaching was targeting at, the effectiveness should be taken into consideration. Standard English ideology was found to have had a huge impact as well. As was believed by classroom participants, NES was referred to as the complete meaning of English, and Standard English was equal to native speaker English. As mentioned in Seidholfer (2017), these are the two major assumptions that are widely believed in Standard English ideology.

10.4 Evaluation

10.4.1. Contributions and Implications

This research has contributed to arousing researchers’ awareness of the important role that language ideology has played in language policy researches. At the moment, the researchers in the field of language policy, who are focusing on language ideology, remain very limited. The researchers who are interested in language ideologies with ELF perspective are even

fewer. Thereby, this research has also contributed to introducing the concept of ELF to China, hoping that this research with ELF perspective can arouse teachers and students' awareness of the outer sociolinguist reality to acknowledge the legitimate states of ELF. And thirdly, by looking into top-down and bottom-up effects of language policy, this research has displayed an overall image of ELT in China and explained the potential factors in certain attitudes, beliefs and ideologies, e.g. why Standard English ideology is heavily imposed. Lastly, bringing together language policy and ELF perspective, it has offered readers' insights into possible implications that maybe useful for the development of ELF in the ELT settings.

Such implications are involved in re-conceptualising English at the first place. The term of authenticity also needs to be redefined, in order to be sensitive to the context. More importantly, the existence of global Englishes, and the plural form of English that function as lingua franca should be informed of teachers and students. In this case, they can gain informed choices to decide what is really needed to them. In addition, learners' learning process should be noticed rather than learning production. The focus should be primarily aimed at encouraging students' liberal, flexible, and dynamical use of English with strategies on the basis of their own needs. Furthermore, adopting ELF-oriented textbooks and learning materials as classroom inputs should be encouraged to take into consideration, e.g. Jenkins's (2015) *Global Englishes*. Instead of focusing on what is taught and learned in class, how to put those learning materials into practice should be paid attention to. Fourthly, it calls for ELF perspective in testing. As current English tests claim that it is designed to test for English proficiency, more or less, it dismisses the sociolinguistic reality and is based only on inner circle norms which lack validity (Lowenberg, 2002). This results in redefining the meaning of English proficiency beyond the focus on measuring with native speakers norms, and the use of pragmatic strategies, intercultural competence, code-switching, divergence strategies, and convergence, etc. become the major components of evaluating English proficiency, which all are needed to be included in the English test (Jenkins and Leung, 2014).

Another major implication, teachers, should also be considered. As teachers are playing the role of agents in the process of applying language policies into practice, teachers' education appears to be very important. Yet, at the moment, not more information has been given in

relation to the teachers' education program in the documents. It simply mentions that, education program should be established for teachers to be better adapt to the new teaching models, without considering the appropriateness of these new teaching models for Chinese ELT context. Therefore, it is necessary to think carefully whether certain types of researchers or theories match the context of Chinese higher education. The contents of teachers' education are also needed to be reconsidered and offered with practicability and applicability. It is suggested by Kumaravadivelu (2012) that, teachers' education is required to let teachers not only recognise their own identities, values, attitudes and beliefs about the language, but also understand what are really needed for students.

10.4.2. Limitations and Future Studies

There are several limitations in this research. Firstly, due to the limited access, language policy-makers were not recruited as participants in this research. Official documents of language policy could only be used as indirect materials to evaluate their attitudes and ideologies towards English. In addition, compared with quantitative research which relies on figures and facts, it is undeniable that it was hard to avoid becoming subjective in collecting and analysing qualitative data. The researcher could not be absent when observing classes. This would impact on the validity of the research and may be viewed as another limitation. Thirdly, as this research investigated into language ideology particularly, it is important for the researcher to be able to distinguish what was really believed by the participants, and what was not. It was always the case that what they claimed was not their beliefs. Moreover, the time that was allocated for fieldwork was slightly tight. And the researcher needed to keep the balance of the role of being an insider in the interviews, a moderator in focus groups and the observer in observation activities, and all the interviews and focus groups. Classroom observations also required the researcher to be equipped with relevant skills and techniques. The degree of such skills and techniques will directly impact on the smooth of research activities and the quality of collecting data. Furthermore, the use of different approaches also increased the workload in data transcribing and analysing. Difficulties occurred in how to present and generate the findings integrally by cross-referencing to the data collected from each different approach. By identifying those limitations, for the future studies, it is necessary to allow more flexibility to adjust schedule for fieldwork. Then, long trusted relationship was necessary to establish with participants to ensure their willingness to share. More importantly, in order to avoid being subjective, it was

necessary to develop evidence-based objective findings when making arguments and answering research questions.

This research has provided an overall picture of the representation of ELF in China's language education policy in the both top-down and bottom-up manners. For the future studies, attentions can be paid to one of the above two processes to further evaluate possible changes on participants' language beliefs during the policy implementation process and participants' reactions to policies. Focusing on the top-down process, as one of the possible directions, more official documents of language policy could be analysed. If there were more documents analysed, it would have surely discovered the issues which were related to ideological shifts. Especially during the period of conducting this research, a set of updated versions of language policy documents have been launched by the official government, e.g. *Guide (2016)*; *China Standards of English Language Ability (CSE)*; *Belt and Road Initiative* etc. Though there was a section in this thesis had discussed the trend and reform in *Guide (2016)*, and had demonstrated the reflection of native speakerism throughout the CSE, detailed analysis of language policy statement could be further discussed.

Another possible direction is focusing on grassroots level, in terms of grassroots classroom participants' legitimacy of ELF in China. Given the flexible role that teacher plays in China's language education in HE context, the impact of teacher agency on policy implementation process appears to be more important than ever. Thus, it is worth investigate in in what ways that teachers' awareness of ELF could be raised in the future. The resources that would impact on teachers' awareness such as teacher training and teacher education could be laid emphasis on in the future.

At the methodological level, classroom observation has only been taken as a supportive method to evaluate the implicit language ideologies and the implantation of language policy in practice, which only lasted for a short period of time compared with other empirical studies. For future studies, more time and effort could be allocated on observations. Meanwhile, instead of adopting qualitative content analysis to analyse observational data, discourse analysis can be used. If it is possible, in future studies it could be also considered to conduct researches not only classroom participants' perspective, but also language policy

makers' perspective. In addition, studies can also be made to include English major students as the research participants and make comparison between their different language ideologies which impact on their language practices. More specifically, to what extent their awareness of ELF is different, and what is the way that impacts on their de facto language practice. It could also be one of the interesting directions for future studies.

Appendix 1 College English Curriculum Requirements (2007)

I. Character and Objective of College English

College English, an integral part of higher learning, is a required basic course for undergraduate students. Under the guidance of theories of foreign languages teaching, college English has as its main components knowledge and practical skills of the English language, learning strategies and intercultural communication. It is a systematic whole, incorporating different teaching models and approaches.

The objective of College English is to develop students' ability to use English in a well-rounded way, especially in listening and speaking, so that in their future studies and careers as well as social interactions they will be able to communicate effectively, and at the same time enhance their ability to study independently and improve their general cultural awareness so as to meet the needs of China's social development and international exchanges.

II. Teaching Objectives

As China is a large country with conditions that vary from region to region and from college to college, the teaching of college English should follow the principle of providing different guidance for different groups of students and instruction them in accordance with their aptitude so as to meet the specific needs of individualized teaching.

The requirements for undergraduate College English teaching are set at three levels, i.e., basic requirements, intermediate requirements, and advanced requirement. Non-English majors are required to attain to one of the three levels of requirements after studying and practicing English at school. The basic requirements are the minimum level that all non-English majors have to reach before graduation. Intermediate and advanced requirement are recommended for those colleges and universities which have more favorable conditions they should select their levels according to the school's status, types and education goals.

Appendix

Institutions of higher learning should set their own objectives in the light of their specific circumstances, strive to create favourable conditions, and enable those students who have a relatively higher English proficiency and stronger capacity for learning to meet the intermediate or advanced requirements.

Requirements:

	<p>Basic students should be able to follow English medium instructions everyday conversations, and lectures on general topics conducted in English. They should be able to understand English radio and TV programs spoken at a speed of 130 to 150 wpm, grasping the main ideas and key points. They are expected to be able to employ basic listening strategies to facilitate comprehension.</p>
Listening	<p>Intermediate They should be able to follow talks and lectures in English, to understand longer English radio and TV programs on familiar topics spoken at a speed of around 150-180 wpm, grasping the main ideas, key points and relevant details. They should be able to understand, by and large, courses in their areas of specialty taught in English.</p>
	<p>Advanced Students should, by and large, be able to understand radio and TV programs produced in English-speaking countries and grasp the gist and key points. They should be able to follow talks by people from English-speaking countries given at normal speed, and to understand courses in their areas of specialty and lectures in English.</p>
	<p>Basic students should be able to communicate in English in the course of learning, to conduct discussions on a given theme, and to talk about everyday topics in English (Chinese: with speakers from English speaking countries). They should be able to give, after some preparation, short talks on familiar topics with clear articulation and basically correct pronunciation and intonation. They are expected to be able to use basic conversational strategies in dialogue.</p>
	<p>Intermediate students should be able to hold conversations in fairly fluent English (with speakers from English speaking countries). They should, by and large, be able to express their personal opinions, feelings and views, to state facts and reasons, and to describe events with clear articulation and basically correct pronunciation and intonation</p>

Speaking	<p>Advanced Students should be able to conduct dialogue or discussions with a certain degree of fluent and accuracy on general or specialized topics, and to make concise summaries of extended texts or speeches in fairly difficult language. They should be able to deliver papers at academic conferences and participate in discussion.</p>
Reading	<p>Basic Students should generally be able to read English texts on general topics at a speed of 70 wpm. With longer yet less difficult texts, the reading speed should be 100 wpm. Students should be able to do skimming and scanning. With the help of dictionaries, they should be able to read textbooks in their areas of specialty, and newspaper and magazine articles on familiar topics, grasping the main ideas and understanding major facts and relevant details. They should be able to understand texts of practical styles commonly used in work and daily life. They are expected to be able to employ effective reading strategies while reading.</p>
	<p>Intermediate Students should generally be able to read essays on general topics in popular newspaper and magazines published in English-speaking counties at a speed of 70 to 90 wpm. With longer texts for fast reading, the reading speed should be 120 wpm. Students should be able to skim or scan reading materials. When reading summary literature in their areas of specialty, students should be able to get a correct understanding of the main ideas, major facts and relevant details.</p>
	<p>Advanced students should be able to read rather difficult texts, and understand their main ideas and details. They should be able to read English articles in newspapers and magazines published abroad, and to read English literature related to their area of specialty without much difficulty.</p>
	<p>Basic students should be able to complete writing tasks for general purposes, e.g., describing personal experiences, impressions, feelings, or some events, and to undertake practical writing. They should be able to write within 30 minutes a short composition of no less than 120 words on a general topic, or an outline. The composition should be basically complete in content, clear in main idea, appropriate in fiction and coherent in discourse. Students are expected to be able to have a command of basic writing strategies.</p>
	<p>Intermediate Students should be able to express, by and large, personal views on general topics, compose English abstracts for these in their own specialization, and write short English papers on topics in their field. They should be able to describe charts and graphs, and to complete within 30 minutes a short composition of no less than 160 words. The composition should be complete in content, clear in ideas, well-organized in presentation and coherent in discourse.</p>

Writing	<p>Advanced Students should be able to write brief reports and papers in their areas of specialty, to express their opinions freely, and to write within 30 minutes expository or argumentative essays of no less than 200 words on a given topic. The text should be characterized by clear expression of ideas, rich content, neat structure, and good logic.</p>
Translating	<p>Basic With the help of dictionaries, students should be able to translate essays on familiar topics from English into Chinese and vice versa. The speed of translation from English into Chinese should be about 300 English words per hour whereas the speed of translation from Chinese into English should be around 250 Chinese characters per hour. The translation should be basically accurate, free from serious mistakes in comprehension or expression.</p> <p>Intermediate With the help of dictionaries, students should be able to translate on a selective basis English literature in their field, and to translate texts on familiar topics in popular newspapers and magazines published in English speaking countries. The speed of translation from English into Chinese should be about 350 English words per hour whereas the speed of translation from Chinese into English should be around 300 Chinese characters per hour. The translation should read smoothly, convey the original meaning and be, in the main, free from mistakes in understanding or expression. Students are expected to be able to use appropriate translation techniques.</p>
	<p>Advanced With the help of dictionaries, students should be able to translate into Chinese fairly difficult English texts in literature related to their areas of specialty and in newspapers and magazines published in English-speaking countries; they should also be able to translate Chinese introductory texts on the conditions of China or Chinese culture into English. The speed of translation from English into Chinese should be about 400 English words per hour whereas the speed of translation from Chinese into English should be around 350 Chinese characters per hour. The translation should convey the idea with accuracy and smoothness and be basically free from misinterpretation, omission and mistakes in expression.</p>

The above-mentioned three requirements serve as reference standards for colleges and universities in preparing their own college English teaching documents. They could, in the light of their respective circumstances, make due adjustments to the specific requirements for listening, speaking, reading, writing and translation at the three levels. In doing so they should place more emphasis on the cultivation and training of listening and speaking abilities.

I. Course Design

Taken into account the school's circumstances, colleges and universities should follow the guidelines of the requirements and the goals of their college English teaching in designing their college English course systems. A course system which is a combination of required and elective courses in comprehensive English, language skills, English for practical uses, language and culture, and English of specialty, should ensure that students at different levels receive adequate training and make improvement in their ability to use English.

In designing college English courses, requirements for cultivating competence in listening and speaking should be fully considered, and corresponding teaching hours and credits should be adequately allocated. Moreover, the extensive use of advanced information technology should be encouraged, computer-and web-based courses should be developed, and students should be provided with favourable environment and facilities for language learning'

College English is not only a language course that provides basic knowledge about English, but also a capacity enhancement course that helps students to broaden their horizons and learn about different cultures in the world. It not only serves as a tool, but also has humanistic values. When designing college English courses, therefore, it is necessary to take into full consideration the development of students' cultural capacity and the teaching of knowledge about different cultures in the world.

All the courses, whether computer-based or classroom-based, should be fully individual-oriented, taking into account students with different starting points, so that students who start from lower levels will be well taken care of while students whose English is better will find room for further development. College English course design should help students to have a solid foundation in the English language while developing their ability to use English, especially their ability to listen and speak in English. It should ensure that students make steady progress in English proficiency throughout their undergraduate studies, and it should encourage students' individualized learning so as to meet the needs of their development in different specialties.

II. Teaching Model

In view of the marked increase in student enrolments and the relatively limited resources, colleges and universities should remould the existing unitary teacher-centered pattern of language teaching by introducing computer- and classroom-based teaching models. The new model should be built on modern information technology, particularly network technology so that English language teaching and learning will be, to a certain extent, free from the constraints of time or place and geared towards' students' individualized and autonomous learning. The new model should combine the principles of practically, knowledge and interest, facilitate mobilizing the initiative of both teacher and students, and attach particular importance to the central position of students and the leading role of teachers in the teaching and learning process. This model should incorporate into it the strength of the current model and give play to the advantages of traditional classroom teaching while fully employing modern information technology.

Colleges and universities should explore and establish a web-based listening and speaking teaching model that suits their own needs in line with their own conditions and students' English proficiency, and deliver listening and speaking courses via the intranet or campus network. The teaching of reading, writing and translation can be conducted either in the classroom or online. With regard to computer- and web-based courses, face-to-face coaching should be provided in order to guarantee the effects of learning.

The network-based teaching system developed in an attempt to implement the new teaching model should cover the complete process of teaching, learning, feedback and management, including such modules as students' learning and self-assessment, teachers' lectures, and online coaching, as well as the monitoring and management of learning and coaching. It should be able to track down, record and check the progress of learning in addition to teaching and coaching, and attain to a high level of interactivity, multimedia use and operability. Colleges and universities should adopt good teaching software and encourage teachers to make effective use of web multimedia and other teaching resources.

One of the objectives of the reform of the teaching model is to promote the development of individualized study methods and the autonomous learning ability on the part of students. The new model should enable students to select materials and methods suited to their individual needs, obtain guidance in learning strategies, and gradually improve their autonomous learning ability.

Changes in the teaching model by no means call for changes in teaching methods and approaches only, but more importantly, consist of changes in teaching philosophy and practice, and in a shift from a teacher-centred pattern, in which knowledge of the language and skills are imparted by the teacher in class only, to a student-centred pattern, in which the ability to use the language and the ability to learn independently are cultivated in addition to language knowledge and skills, and also to lifelong education, geared towards cultivating students' lifelong learning ability.

III. Evaluation

Evaluation is a key component in College English teaching. It not only helps teachers obtain feedback, improve the administration of teaching, and ensuring teaching quality but also provides students with an effective means to adjust their learning strategies and methods, improve their learning efficiency and achieve the desired learning effects. The evaluation of students' learning consist of formative assessment and summative assessment.

Appendix

Formative assessment refers to procedural and developmental assessment conducted in the teaching process, i.e. tracking the teaching process, providing feedback and promoting an all-round development of the students, in accordance with the teaching objectives and by means of various evaluative methods. It facilitates the effective monitoring of students' autonomous learning, and it's articulately important in implementing the computer- and classroom-based teaching model. It includes students' self-assessment, peer assessment, and assessment conducted by teachers and school administrator. Formative assessment takes such forms as keeping a records of students' in and outside of classroom activities and online self-learning data, keeping files on students' study results, and conducting interviews and holding meetings. This slows students' learning processes to be subjected to observation, evaluation and supervision, thus contributing to the enhancement of their learning efficiency.

Summative assessment is conducted at the end of a teaching phase. It mainly consist of final test and proficiency tests, designed to evaluate students' all-round ability to use English. These tests aim to assess not only students' competence in reading, writing and translation, but also their competence in listening and speaking.

To make a summative assessment of teaching, colleges and universities may administer tests of their own, run tests at the intercollegiate or regional level, or let student take the national test after meeting the different standards set by Requirement. Whatever from the tests may take, the focus should be on the assessment of students' ability to use English in communication, particularly their ability to listen and speak English.

Evaluation also includes that of the teachers, i.e., the assessment of the teaching processes and effects. This should not be merely based on students' test scores, but take into account teachers' attitudes, approaches, and methods; it should also consider the content and organization of their courses, and the effects' of the teaching.

Government education administrative offices at different levels and colleges and universities should regard the evaluation of College English teaching as an important part of the evaluation of the overall undergraduate education of the school.

IV. Teaching Administration

Teaching administration should cover the whole process of College English teaching. To ensure that the set teaching objectives can be achieved, efforts should be made to strengthen the guidance for and supervision of the teaching process. For this purpose, the following measures should be taken:

1. A system for teaching and teaching administration documentation should be established. Documents of teaching include college English curriculum of the colleges and universities concerned, as well as the documents stipulating the teaching objectives, course description, teaching arrangement, content of teaching, teaching progress, and methods of assessment for all the courses within the program. Documents of teaching administration include documents registering students' status and their academic credits, regulations of assessment, students' academic scores and records, analysis of exam papers, guidelines for teaching and records of teaching and research activities.
2. The college English program should adapt itself to the overall credit system of the colleges and universities concerned and should account for 10% (around 16) of the total undergraduate credits. The credits students acquire via computer-based courses should be equally acknowledged once students pass the exams. It is suggested that these credits should account for no less than 30% of the total credits in college English learning.
3. Faculty employment and management should be improved in order to guarantee a reasonable teacher-student ratio. In addition to classroom teaching, the hours spent on face-to-face coaching, instructions on network usage and on extracurricular activities should be counted in the teachers' teaching load.
4. A system of faculty development of the teaching quality, and to the development of the college English program. Colleges and universities should build a faculty team with a good structure of age, educational backgrounds and professional titles, lay emphasis on the training and development of college English teachers, encourage them to conduct teaching and research with a focus on the improvement of teaching

quality, create conditions for them to carry out relevant activities in various forms, and promote effective cooperation among them, so that they can better adapt to the new teaching model. Meanwhile, opportunities should be created so that the teachers can enjoy sabbaticals and engage in advanced studies, thus ensuring sustainable improvement in their academic performance and methods of teaching.

Appendix 2. Interview Protocol (English Version)

Introduction

Thank you for agreeing to speak with me. I appreciate your time. This interview will take about 45 minutes, but you may stop the interview at any point/ withdraw from the interview at any moment. The purpose of this conversation is to talk about your experiences as a teacher of English at university. This interview is just a part of a study on a PhD research of University of Southampton. I'd like to remind you that this conversation will be audio-recorded. The interview is confidential, and only the research team and I have the right to get access to this recording, and be transcribed. If you want me to stop at any time, just let me know.

Interview Prompts

Opening Topic

1. Do you like your job? Are you happy with your teaching?
2. Could you share some of your experiences of learning or teaching? Eg. Have you ever studied abroad?
3. Do you think it is necessary for students to learn English? Why? To what extent do students need to learn?
4. How many hours do you teach English every week?

Questions about ELT:

5. Are you familiar with current curriculum? How does it impact on your teaching?
6. Do you give instructions in English? Why?
(Does the policy regulate so?)
7. What's your procedure in classroom teaching? On what aspect do you spend time most in your English teaching?
(What kind of teaching approaches would you like to apply, eg. CLT, CBLT, TBL etc.)
8. What do you think of the textbooks?

(Are there any other channels to teach English besides textbooks?)

9. What do you think of the assessment system? What are the influences of tests in your teaching?
10. How do you think of the relationship between accuracy and fluency?

(Do you usually correct your students while they are speaking? What kinds of errors will you correct?)

11. Which forms of English do you usually speak in front of your students?

Questions about the understanding of English as a lingua franca:

12. What do you think of authentic English/standard English/native English and non-native English?

(Do you think it refers to English that is used by NES in their daily life?)
13. What do you think of the plural form of Englishes?
14. Will you introduce cultural knowledge in your classroom teaching?

(In what way? Which context do you usually refer to?)
15. Have you heard about ELF?
16. What do you think of teaching ELF in ELT class? Why?

...

Appendix 3. Teacher Participants' Information

Information of Interviews and Classroom Observations:

Participant	Education	Research interest	Module
1.	PhD	SLA	Introduction to Linguistics
2.	PhD	Literature	College English 3
3.	PhD	Linguistic	New Standard English
4.	Master	Interpreting	Interpreting & Translating
5.	Master	Interpreting & Translation	Listening & Speaking
6.	Master	Literature	College English 1
7.	Master	Interpreting & Translation	English for Accounting and Finance
8.	PhD	Second Language Writing	Academic Writing
9.	PhD	Literature	Business English
10.	PhD	Translation	Translation
11.	Master	Linguistics	English Audio-visual
12.	PhD	Literature	Comprehensive English
13.	PhD	Literature	Academic Writing
14.	Master	Literature	Academic English
15.	PhD	Translation	Translation
16.	Master	Literature	Interactive English
17.	PhD	ELT	English Audio-visual
18.	PhD	ELT	Translation
19.	Master	Literature	Interactive English
20.	PhD	Literature	College English 1
21.	Master	Business English	English Audio-visual
22.	PhD	SLA	Business English
23.	PHD	ELT	Education English

Appendix 4. Interview Example

Research (R) : 我觉得这个课上课的感觉很好，不光是您的还是Z老师的我觉得氛围都很好。学生的讨论啊，参与度啊。对，因为我也去听了一下别的学校有些课，学生基本都不够活跃。

Interviewer (I) : 因为，对，我们就是已经比较以学生为主的。

R: 我上次听Z老师的课，她正好上次上听力的时候，她也讲到一些，比如说，她曾问到学生能不能分辨出这个人说的英语是哪个国家的语言。（I: 嗯嗯）好像很少有老师在课堂上教学生不同的英语。但是现在中国学生跟外国人讲英语其实大部分都是在跟非英语国家的人在讲。那您认为现在的课本能不能真实反映英语在现实中的应用？

I: 其实我觉得学生都不怎用，我们老师也一样

R: 可是我发现不管是像我们上课的教材呀或者其他上课的东西，都不会把非英语国家的英语考虑进去。我觉得。

I: 对，这是一个被忽略的点。一般我们都会选择权威的或者英语本族语的，但是以前我们还算是有的。比如选择的对话，很多都是属于一个中国人说英语，和一个英美人说。但是这次改编了以后，你别说，还真是没有，好像很少了。

R: 以前有？

I: 对，教材改编以前。真的，你倒是提醒我了。我们以前还是有的，你还别说，现在这种对话少了很多。你这么一说，我突然感觉到了。

R: 对，其实像我在英国读书啊，我身边的，真正的英国本地人都不是很多，大部分都是欧洲过来的。

I: 对，很有可能。来源里面确实没有考虑到非英语国家的，其实应该考虑进去，以后都是全球化了吗。

R: 因为有时候你说的是对的，人家还不理解。我之前在欧洲旅游嘛，我就想要那个“汽水”sparkling water，我跟他们说，他们就不懂啊，最后实在不行了，我就说gas water。他们才懂。所以，在很多使用的过程中，不是说你的英语多像英语的本族语。

I: 对，如果你是在非英语国家的环境中，你肯定是要用非英语国家语言，不一定要多权威的，他反而是要逐字翻译才能明白。

R: 我觉得很少有老师讲到这些。

I: 其实，你可以从这方面着手，提出这样的现象啊，没有关注的这一点。

R: 对，好像都是一味认为要教英美英语。

I: 嗯，这个很好，对啊，因为其实怎么说呢，嗯，和native交流我觉得还是多少感觉有压力，就是说还是不在，不在那个舒适区域你明白吗？

R: 那您有没有想过，为什么一定要教native的英语？

I: 因为这肯定是默认的吧。因为这个语言是他们在用。就好像是学中文，要学普通话，所以我觉得既要学纯正的，又要懂非英语国家的英语，就像是两个中国人，他俩的英语都不好，他俩能交流，但其他人都听不懂。我觉得你的想法挺好。提出来以后，很多人都会意识到，是啊。我一直都没想到。

R: 实际上来讲，我们作为学生，可能80%以上的都是与非英语国家的人进行沟通，从理论上来讲，就像二语习得，任何一个非英语国家的人说的英语，就像我们，英语再好，都不可能达到英语本族语人的英语的。既然从理论上和现实上都没有可能达到英语本族语的英语，那么我们为什么还要追求标准英语呢？

I: 这就是你的理论，你的论点就是说既然只要是为了沟通的话，那就没必要去追求标准英语，一切以交流为目的。我觉得这个问题提的挺好的。这个我也觉得不应该一定要促进标准英语，对普通大众来说，只要能交流就行了。但是对英语专业的学生来说，是另外一回事，英语专业的人，是作为专业人，但是对公共英语课可以。

R: 可是我也有问过其他老师。老师说那没办法呀，就算我这样认为应该以交流为目的，可是要考试呀。

I: 对对对，考试的导向，除非你考试改革达到以沟通，达到以交际目的，不吹毛求疵，扣词，扣句。那学生就会。但是牵涉到考试，就要跟政策呀，更高层啊挂钩。就没办法。如果你出去旅游，你看到国外的非英语国家的人呢，他们真的是比中国人要胆大，就敢用。他说的就是不好，也没觉得什么。可是中国人很爱面子，很怕别人说你的英语不好。欧洲人，他们的英语其实也很糟糕。说的很差，但说的很溜，

R: 对，他们好像没有别人会纠正我，笑话我那种感觉。

I: 他们不怕。我觉得中国人的障碍是在心理上的。

R: 如果不强调这些错误，不强调改错的话会不会好点？

I: 但你搞这个就是有一个问题就是你没有一个标准，如果没有的话，你的目的就是沟通交流，你用什么标准来判断呢？如果你交流用词不准确的话，它也会导致你的沟通是不准确的。可能是部分的得到了你的信息，或者准确的得到了你的信息，你觉得达到百分之多少才算成功的。你得有个标准。

R: 您是说，要是完全按照个人沟通来讲的话，它一定是要有一个共同的背景，大家都尊崇的标准。

I: 对，我觉得这个才比较难，尤其在国际化的情况下，比如说你是个意大利人，和我是一个中国人，怎么样保证我们俩讲的英语，能够互相听懂，你的可能受意大利语的语法就影响，我的可能受中文的影响。如果是两个中国人就好懂。

R: 现在其实有ELF的语料库的研究

I: 我觉得这个就很好，这个思想很新。然后这样就会挑战英语传统的霸主地位。肯定会有影响力。中国英语肯会有更多的空间，每个国家的语言都会有它自己的影响。

R: 您是指中国英语，Chinese English 还是中国人说的英语？

I: 有什么区别吗？我也不太懂你们这些术语的区别。我觉得很新，国内好像做的还是没有。

R: 对，它不是主流的。

I: 主流的研究的人都研究透了。非主流的才好。我反而觉得它更有价值。如果你能做出一定的成果，能影响到政府官员的决定。说不定还真能。。。

R: 这个有一定的难度。只要做到对改善中国学生这么多年的英语学习就。。。那您认为我们学习英语的难度主要在哪？

I: 我觉得难度主要是在心理障碍吧。你看他们欧洲人，他们英语也很差，但是他们敢说。说的好不好到在其次，但是听起来很流利。

R: 很差，您是指？

I: 主要是语法什么的吧我是说。但是人家一点都不怕别人说。

R: 那您觉得我们如果不care学生的语法错误什么的，我们也能。。。

I: 对对对，至少让他们在心理上，不然他们都不敢开口。我们学校的课程在一定程度上会改善这些。因为我们一开始就鼓励学生，先不要管错误，先说出来再说。就是说当你到了一定的程度，也就是你具备的语言能力加强了以后，再审视自己，改进窘迫，就能不断地提高。初学阶段就是想说就说，错了也要说出来。我觉得就是这样，中国人就是这样，不敢说。

R: 那您认为什么样的错误需要纠正呢？就是说到了最后这些错误是一定要纠正的吗？或者说一定要纠正才能提高吗？

I: 得看是谁，是基于什么目的了。要因人而异。像是咱们这种搞英语的就要了，要专业啊。

R: 那像学生平时听说读写中犯得语法错误呢？您觉得要改吗？

I: 哦，不然呢？不然，你的导师不纠正你的错误码？你这个观点我还没听到过。我们有时候都还很纠结，看到错误要怎么样给他指出来呢。就像你们导师都不指出语法错误，是吧？

R: 其实，不是我们所有老师，就是研究我们这一块的。理解这一理念的，就OK的。但是别的，像研究考试这方面的，二语习得的那些老师，他们还是挺在意的。他们会因为你的语法错误，会被扣分。

I: 哦，这样子的。我们还是会纠错的。不然学生下次还是会犯错。他就没法提高。但是得有不同的情况，看针对谁。

R: 哦，就是说要统筹，要分层？

I: 对，对，对。其实，说白了，目前的中国人要用到英语，其实他们用的很少。用在什么地方呢？看英剧、美剧、韩剧，还有就是，偶尔出国了，用一下。外贸公司，像这样一些人，你还要学语法，确实是浪费精力。像这部分人，只要他能够达到基本的交流就可以了。所以英语教学要分层。就说，你准备要做专业人才的，肯定要这样的。像普通大众，公共英语的，就应该分另外一个考试，主要考实际应用能力，那就是听力，还有说的和写的能力，我觉得。听说读写那些能力的应用，而不是说，纠结你的语法对不对，而是能80%表达你的意思就行了。

R: 那您认为平时用到英语的机会很少，英语还重要吗？还是说主要是现在政策强调英语很重要。

I: 国际化了以后，英语肯定很重要，包括我先生，因为他是学经济专业的嘛，他说他的英语要是好一点，就好了。我说为什么。他这种收到国外的公司，比如印度，对，就是跟那些非英语国家的人谈判。他就很郁闷，因为他的同事都能直接用英文跟人家沟通，他觉得他就不行。我觉得他就是你研究对象的一种。他这种就是只要交流就行了，不需要他语法准确或怎么样。我觉得你这是个很好的想法，值得推广。这样可以省掉很多人花时间学英语。我觉得，如果你的要求降低了的话，学生们的学习热情也会高。

R: 还有自信心。

I: 对！不过，想法很好，就是操作起来很难。就是说，你的标准是什么？这个有点困难。我可以这样说，你可以那样说，怎么样判断达到交际的目的。像北上广深这样的大城市，他们是比较先进的，包括教育各方面。你到内地一看，那里的老师，还在用中文教英语呢。

R: 对，对。在中国这样的环境下，因为地域的差异也是挺多的。不同地方学生的语言程度有差别。

I: 就是。而且在国内搞什么都要跟政治、政策挂钩。不是很好搞。但是你不要管这个，先做出来再说（笑）。

R: 那现在我们高校的英语专业教学，是跟着教育部的哪个文件或者大纲在走啊？

I: 这个我具体不清楚。但是是有大纲的。英语专业有英语专业的大纲。非英语专业有非英语专业的大纲。

R: 那您能不能让我看看你们英语专业的大纲是怎样的呀？

I: 我就是不知道啊。

R: 那这门课的有没有？就你们教的有没有？

I: 只有objective，也就是这个教材编的时候有个objective。我可以帮你问一下吧。

R: 就是这个学生需要达到什么样的目的？

I: 是一门课还是整体来说？

R: 如果是整体的，那就更好了。

I: 那我帮你问问吧。可能领导那有。

R: 行，行。

I: 但是英语专业的和非英语专业是不一样的政策。你的目标，应该narrow down一下。像英语专业的，他们的要求必须是专业化，accuracy的。专业的学生以后要当翻译呀，必须要accuracy。英语当作公共英语来学习的学生，就是大学英语，他们的目的就是交流。

R: 对，对。还有职业学院，又是另外一类的。

I: 对对对。职业类。但是他们学生英语差一点。

R: 刚才您曾提到挑战英国美国的霸主地位。那您认为英美霸主的地位和the ownership of English 有关系吗？就是English is owned by its speaker 您赞成吗？

I: 这个ownership, 现在很难控制了啊, 由于网络啊, 媒体做一些让步, 比如字典里出现的一些中国英语。这就是媒体的作用。这个也可以讲讲对它的影响, 挑战啊。所以非英语国家的英语缺乏要挑战英国美国英语的主导地位的意识。如果这些国家都有挑战的意识的话, 我觉得这会很好, 会有百家争鸣嘛, 会有更多的变化。因为语言它都是不断变化的。因为他们认为这样用太麻烦了, 也会要简化的。它也是从古代英语发展来的。我们中文也是。由繁体字到简化字。所以将来确实讲不好。但我觉得我们确实要有这方面的意识。

R: 对。有了这样的意识, 对学生的自信心会有帮助。老师的压力也会变得小一点。不过现在好像很多人还是认为能讲标准的英语就代表了成功。

I: 因为大家定位为能讲很好的英语的话, 是个受过良好教育的人。像你如果讲的是中国英语, 在很多人眼里。你就是不行的。但是也因人而异。假设最牛的一个人, 马云, 比如说, 他的英语很差, 但是因为他是马云, 就没有说他什么。所以说, 不单单是语言。我记得我有次去旅游, 碰到一个人, 他的国家, 我不记得了, 他专门跑到法国去, 他已经四五十岁了, 他还专门休假, 跑到法国, 就为了学法语。他跟我说当你学了法语之后, 整个人都不一样了。语言可能确实有这个功效吧。

R: 像前几年吗, 大家都喜欢笑话方言那种口音, 可是没有人笑话广东话, 因为广东人富么？

I: 所以这个东西跟power相联系的。真的是这样, 我觉得。你比如向毛泽东, 他讲长沙话, 领导人讲方言, 你觉得挺好的。这我觉得跟power都是联系在一起的。

R: 英语本土的人, 有时候讲错了。因为他们也有不同的俚语。不同的规则。他可能讲一种方法讲错了。我们会, 唉, 英语还可以这样用啊, 以后要记住。但是同样的用法, 如果是非英语国家的人用了。他马上就会说, 你说错了。这也是一种他们就代表了权威一样。

I: 对, 没错。这就是为什么在中国, 学语言是很难的。你又没有opportunity来说。其实老师用的都很少, 除了上课以外, 说实话。

R: 你不可能两个中国人坐一起说英语。

I: 对。就会很奇怪。真正要让中国人学好英语还是要创造一些机会。这个真的是很难。

R: 而且那个机会你还一定要是比较真是的那一种啊。不能很假。

I: 但是能够这样创造那些假的也都很不错了。

R: 很少有老师会去创造这样的机会吗？

I: 是啊。我想这不光是中国人, 全世界的, 在学外语的时候, 都会碰到这样的困境, 就看你们怎么样解决这个问题。还有就是你如何定义authentic opportunity了。

R: 对对。

I: 就以我自己来说, 你不是从小学英语的话, 你真的是不可能达到native的。但是现在我觉得越学越觉得自己英语差。越到后面, 越觉得自己的英语差。你会觉得很困惑的, 我花了这么多时间, 还是学成这样的。那语言这东西, 它又没有一个捷径, 很痛苦。

R: 其实我在欧洲旅游，我的感觉就是中国人的英语是最好的。

I: 是。按语法来说他们比我们差，但是他们听起来比我们好啊，流利很多。这个跟他们的性格应该有关。性格偏外向，还有就是他们毕竟用的机会多。有时候你想欧洲英国吗，很近。亲戚或多或少会有几个这种说英语的是吧。所以我觉得更多的是那种需要，能力现在还没有这种能力，然后又逼着他们被动接受。还有就是到底有没有必要全民英语？这个东西，是吧。但是要是殖民地的话，他们的英语说得是挺好的。

R: 殖民地的英语。。。

I: 新加坡也有Singlish是吧？新加坡的英语普遍的应该都还不错，他们也是殖民地啊。他们的课，有个朋友说他们从小学开始，除了语文之外，其他业务都是在用英语讲。你在国外这么多年，你有没有什么经验？

R: 经验不敢说，不过我自己的体会。和非英语国家人说交流对我帮助挺大的。您之前说实践的机会少也是指和native speaker吗？和non-native呢？您觉得会不会也有效？

I: 这个到有一点点出乎我的意料。因为我一直认为跟native speaker交流，收益最大。

R: 为什么呢？non-native的英语有什么问题吗？

I: 呃。。。怎么说呢？很明显啊，他们毕竟是母语国家，比我们还是要好很多的。

I: 对不起，我要走了，等下还有一节课。

R: 哦，好的！今天占用您的时间了。麻烦您了。

I: 没事。

R: 那如果之后我再有什么问题我在联系您？

I: 好的。再见。

R: 再见

Appendix 5. Focus Group Discussions

Part One: the Role of English in Chinese context

1. Do you think it is important (necessary) to learn English?

(Why? To what extent do you think you need to master English? Do you plan to study abroad?)

2. Do you have a special motivation to learn English?

3. How often do you speak English? Who do you speak English with?

(at home, at university, at work, or social networks?)

4. What do you think Chinese speakers' use of English (ELF)?

- Your willingness to be identified as speakers of Chinese ELF
- Your willingness to learn Chinese ELF (Whether Chinese ELF should be taught in schools?)
- Whether it is appropriate to speak Chinese ELF with NNSs in a variety of contexts?

...

Part Two: Perceptions of ELT practices?

5. Are you familiar with current curriculum and syllabus of the course? (eg, aims, objectives, criteria of evaluation etc.)

6. What do you think of the classroom input? (E.g. textbooks, learning materials, handouts, etc.) Are they useful?

7. How do you think about teachers' instructions?

8. How do you feel about your primary language of instruction in ELT class?

9. What do you think of the assessment system? What are influences of tests in your learning?

10. How do you feel about cultural related modules?

...

Part Three: Attitudes towards ELF

11. What kind of English that you would like to learn? What aims you would like to achieve by leaning English in university? Can you describe the English that you are leaning in class?
12. Do you think it is important to learn Standard English? Can you describe what is SE?
13. How do you think about ‘English’ and ‘Englishes’? What do you think about native English and non-native Englishes?
14. How do you feel about accuracy and fluency? Would you like to be corrected if you made mistakes in communication? And how do you feel about teachers’ mistakes while they were teaching?

Is there anything you would like to share more? You may discuss you experience of English use and English learning.

Appendix 6. Focus Group Participants' Information

Focus Group	Time	Age Groups	Years of Study	Participants	Class Level	Majors
A (University A; 4 Members)	45 mins	18-22	2	SA1	B	Non-English
				SA2	A	
				SA3	B	
				SA4	C	
B (University A; 5 Members)	1 hour	18-22	2	SB1	B	Non-English
				SB2	B	
				SB3	A	
				SB4	C	
				SB5	C	
C (University B; 4 Members)	75 mins	18-22	1	SC1	A	Non-English
				SC2	B	
				SC3	C	
				SC4	B	
D (University B; 5 Members)	45 mins	18-22	1	SD1	B	Non-English
				SD2	B	
				SD3	B	
				SD4	A	
				SD5	A	
E (University C; 5 Members)	50 mins	18-22	1	SE1	A	English
				SE2	A	
				SE3	B	
				SE4	B	
				SE5	B	
				SF1	B	

F (University C; 5 Members)	70 mins	28-22	2	SF2	C	English
				SF3	B	
				SF4	C	
				SF5	A	

Appendix 7. Sample Presentation for Focus Group

Before each focus group, a presentation on ELF has been given. It involves in the following aspects :

1. List the figures of the spread of English all over the world(Crystal, 2008 ; Graddol, 2006)
For example :

Global languages

Languages ranking by size (L1 speakers in millions)		Languages on the internet	
• Chinese	1213	• English	27.3%
• Spanish	329	• Chinese	22.6%
• English	328	• Spanish	7.8%
• Arabic	221	• Japanese	5.0%
• Hindi	182	• Portuguese	4.2%
• Bengali	181	• German	3.8%
• Portuguese	178	http://www.internetworldstats.com	
• Russian	144		
• Japanese	122	Non-native English speakers	
• German	128	• Approx. 2 billion (Crystal, 2008)	

www.ethnologue.com

2. List of the examples of ELF usage in practice (see the image below for an example)



3. Introduced the concept of ELF mainly based on *Global Englishes: A Resource Book for Students*, Jenkins (2015). The following issues have been discussed:
 - What is a “Lingua Franca”? (Jenkin 2009)
 - The dynamic and diversity of English (Jenkins, 2015; Mauranen, 2012;

Seidlhofer, 2011)

- The legitimacy of NNSE and the global ownership of English (Widdowson, 2003;Seidlhofer, 2011)
- The use of accommodation strategies for effective communication in intercultural settings (Cogo and Dewey 2012; Mauranen 2012)

4. Questions and Discussions

The presentation lasted for 10 minutes and a 5-minutes Q/A session. Students' focus groups are held afterwards.

Appendix 8. Focus Group Example

Group D:

...

SD1: 但是，我们现在学的应该就是标准英语吧？

SD3: 我觉得没有必要判定是不是标准英语啊，只要别人听得懂你就行了。

SD1: 但是我们中大部分还是希望自己英语听起来很标准啊。

SD2: 嗯，我并不认为我们学的是标准英语。

SD3: 我也觉得。我之前看过一篇文章说英语其实有好多种啊。你想电视主播和一般的百姓说的就不一样。没有一个统一的标准的。

SD1: 说到这，你应该听听我们班一个东北学生说英语。他今天回答问题说“（模仿口音）”（笑）。

SD2: 不要这样，他没有那样，你反应过头了（笑）

SD1: 他就是那样说的，我们都不知道他讲什么。老师也不明白。

SD4: 好吧，那你们当时都笑了吗？

SD1: 当然没有。所有人一瞬间安静了。

SD2: 也不能这样说，其实很多广东人说英语口音也很重的啊。

SD1: 确实确实。

SD4: 我也有这种感觉，也不知道哪里不对劲，就是觉得不好听。

SD5: 不过我们真的可以像native那样吗？

SD2: 但是你看，有好多明星政要啊，他们的发言就很流利很标准啊。

SD3: 那是你这样觉得吧？外国人听来就不觉得了吧。他们肯定觉得我们的英语很不标准啊

SD5: 也对，也有可能你是对的。我们说的英语肯定多少都要受到我们母语的影响。

SD4: 好遗憾啊！我觉得中国式英语还挺尴尬的，特别是和老外一起的时候。

SD1: 不会啊，我很自豪我用的是Chinese English. I am a china...en, no, a Chinese (笑)

SD2: 很难说我们的英语到底是什么啊。混合的？（笑）我记得我有一次去博物馆，碰

到一个外国旅游团。他们在学怎么用毛笔，搞错了。然后我就想教他们。但是我不会说喔，我就这样 ‘no, no, no, don't do this, do this. . .’ （笑）

SD1: 不错啊！

SD2: 但是我我当时完全不会说啊，也不会用更高级一点的词汇和句型。比如 ‘you shouldn't grab like that, you should hold it with four fingers...’ 反正就是那一瞬间完全想不起来。

SD3: 我觉得你已经很好啦，好吧！

SD2: 没有，我真的大脑一片空白。

SD4: 主要还是缺乏锻炼。

SD1: 对，我们也不想英语专业的学生那样天天大声读课文，反反复复的。经常我看到一大早他们在校园背书的。

SD4: 真的哎！我觉得这很有必要，重复和模仿。我就很想要英国口音，但是就是学不会。

SD1: 肯定达不到的了。。。

SD2: 美国口音听起来很标准，但是英国口音听起来感觉很不一样。比较独特。

SD1: 我一点都听不出来美国口音和英国口音的差别。而且为什么要在意，没有意义得啦。

SD3: 赞成，我就只在意学校教的内容。哦对了，还有考试考得东西。

SD1 & S2: 哈哈哈，没错没错，你是最对的！

SD1: 对了，你们听说我们学校最近有个英语竞赛吗？

SD5: 啊？有吗？不知道啊

SD1: 有，但是你必须要过了雅思7分，或者过了六级。。。

SD4: 过了六级怎么了？赢吗？

SD1: 做梦吧你，才能参加初赛而已。

SD4: “才能”参加初赛？

SD5: 太离谱了吧。

SD4: OMG！

SD1: （摇头）或者你是A班的学生也可以。

SD4: “只是”！

SD1: （点头）“只是”够格。

SD4: “只是”够格初赛！！！

SD5: 这简直太可怕了，我们学校竞争也太激烈了把。

SD4: 但是能力和分数本来就是两件事啊

SD1 & SD5: 对啊…

SD1: 我刚刚考完雅思，6分，好烂啊。

SD4: 6分很烂吗？难道你想考8分？

SD1: 也不是啊，但是至少7分会好点。为什么才6分，6分真的好差。

SD3: 为什么一定要7呢？6也不差啊。

SD1: 至少有了7分就可以申请大部分学校了。6分只能说够资格一部分学校的要求，但是如果你有7分，基本上其他的学校也就OK了。

SD4: 他们到底是怎么算分？我是说从1-9这么小的评分区间。

SD1: 超级复杂的。你看，阅读，听力，口语和写作。写作评分很严。还有口语。其他的阅读和听力拉分比较大。所以听力和阅读能多得点分，但是其他两个。。。呵呵。。。简直不忍直视。我以为我都准备的很好啦，谁知道写作和口语会这么差。

SD4: 你什么时候考的？

SD1: 大概暑假左右。简直太差了我都不好意思和你们说。

SD5: 我其实也想过考雅思哎，到时候可以出国。不过我英语不好。

SD1: 英语课的话，我们每周只有两节吧。

SD2: 而且每节就45分钟。

SD5: I mean OMG. 这简直离谱！

SD3: 你说课少的离谱吗？

SD5: 对啊！

SD4: 我也觉得，我们课也太少了。

SD1: 我有朋友在其他学校的，他们有好多要学的喔。他们每周都还有专门的练习课，不像我们就两节课的时间。其他什么都没有。

SD3: 就单周学一下课文，双周做一下听力。 That's all.

SD1: 就这么以两节课能学到什么？我们老师也几乎每节课都要拖堂。他们也觉得时间不够

SD3: 没错没错，我们老师也是！

SD1: 我真的很担心以后该怎么办啊，特别是如果到时候还要考研，或者出国。

SD2: 但是我们至少这四年都有英语课，对吧？

SD1: 必须的吧？我真的觉得英语很重要，很重要。

SD2: 我也觉得，特别是要读文献。

SD4: 对对对，我们还有好多英语文献要读。

SD3: 是啊，特别是我们学生物的。

SD1: 所以我们英语必须得好啊。

SD4: 其实跟阅读比，听力和口语更重要吧，特别是出国的话。

SD1: 其实我不担心口语。听力嘛，真的不确定性太强了，自己又没法把握，还是得练习。但是说到阅读，每次我看到又臭又长的英语文献我就想睡觉。

SD3: 哈哈哈，我也是！就那种长篇的课文，我也觉得，oh no . . .

SD2: 我其实每周上课都觉得超累。

SD4: 全都是阅读，阅读，阅读。 . .

SD5: 上课超级想睡觉。他们就基本上把所有内容全都一次性放到一个半小时来讲，而且我们都是一二节课。 . . . 哎。 . .

SD4: oh, come on, 老师可是比我们更早到啊。

SD3: 但他们只用呆一个半小时啊，我们还有其他课。

SD1: 哎，我就是觉得每周这样的课表这样很累。

SD1: 我是在也不知道我们每次都学了什么。就这么一点点的课堂时间。

SD5: 我也是，我基本上每次上课都已经忘了上周讲过什么。

SD4: 你应该自己想清楚自己想学什么。

SD5: 我想出国啊，但是英语是真的不行。而且还在C班。。

SD3: 你们A班会不会好点？你们好厉害啊，我们宿舍就都没有A班的。

SD2: 我也觉得A班学生听说能力应该更强吧，还是得承认有差距。

SD4: 不不不，不一定A班的都是口译听力好的。好多外省考进来的，他们高考是不考听力和口语的，但是凭着高考成绩他们还是可以进A班。

SD1: 你们A班的课和我们一样不？

SD4: 我也不记得具体名字了。你们呢？

SD1: (笑) 我也不知道，及好像是叫大学英语什么的？

SD4: (笑) 好吧好吧，都不记得。。。不过也无所谓了，我们的教材都是老师自己打印的。我们平时也考试，就是作业和presentations.

SD1: 没考试吗？

SD5: 怎么可能？

SD1: 我们班今天才随堂听写小测过。。。我估计完蛋了。

SD3: 听写课本内容吗？

SD1: 对。我也不知道为什么，反正不管怎么记都记不到。

SD3: 那你们算平时成绩吗？

SD1: oh no…我也不知道，我希望不要啊。

SD1: 而且还有听写翻译。英语翻中文，中文翻英语都有。而且你得用之前学的词汇短语。好难啊。我能听明白，但是不知道怎么翻。

SD4: 所以不同等级的班集老师的方法也不同吧？

SD5:

我们老师我们老师很随意的啊，她一般都会说，“今天的课堂内容到此为止了，但是我还有一些东西我想分享给大家的。剩下的东西我们下周继续” 我还挺喜欢她的风格的

Appendix 9. Classroom Observation Guide

1. Classes Information:

Date and Time: _____; University: _____
Module: _____; Teacher: _____
Class size: _____; Years of Study: _____

2. Classroom Materials:

	PPT slides	Textbooks	Audio/video materials
Which English (es)?			
Structures			
Others			

3. Classroom Interactions:

	Teachers	Students
Teaching objectives & Pedagogy Goals		
Language used in class		
Error Correctness		
The use of communicative strategies		
The use of materials (e.g. NSE/NNSE as classroom input)		
Teachers' & Students' Engagements		
Time & Percentage of teaching content		

In addition, are there any differences between teachers'/students' classroom performance and explicit ideologies that reflected from interviews and focus groups?

Appendix 10. Participant Information Sheet

Study Title: ELF Awareness in Chinese Higher Education: a Focus on Language Policy

Researcher: Yangyu Wang **Ethics number:** 23798

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

This research project is a PhD student project of University of Southampton, UK. The research is about investigating ELF awareness in Chinese Higher Education with a focus on language policy. The reason of carrying out this project is because as a native speaker of mandarin Chinese, I am interested in knowing both teacher, student and policy makers' language ideologies, and the relations between language policy and personal's language choice in higher education context in China. One way, I would like to know how and to what extent do language policies affect your language ideology, practice and choice. And on the other way, with the trend of globalisation and English as a lingua franca, how does it impact on one's language choices and ideologies. Moreover, how does it impact on the spread of ELF in China with focus on language policy development.

Why have I been chosen?

The research is constructed with three main parts. Firstly, the interviews will be conducted with teachers of English who is non-native speakers of English from selected university. Secondly, classroom observation will be used as follow up methods to analyse those interviewed teachers. Thirdly, the student focus group will be hold with the second and third year undergraduates, as first year students may still on their way adjusting their

university lives, and the last year students' language preference may be affected by the job market.

What will happen to me if I take part in?

As for teachers, you will be invited to a semi-structured interview, which will take about 30-45 minutes. I will ask permissions for observing one of your classes at the end of the interview. A student focus group will also be held after the teacher interview which will also take about 30-45 minutes. Both the interview and classroom observation will be recorded and kept as confidential.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

There may be no benefit to the individual, but your answers will provide valuable data for those who engage in Chinese higher education, especially in the field of English. You can also gain some ideas from others and share your opinions with others. It provides the English language educators and learners more options for their everyday English use. Besides, it also offers a new perspective for linguists to do their future research.

Are there any risks involved?

The safety of the personal information collected from the participants can be the main risk for this project.

Will my participation be confidential?

They will be reassured that your participation will remain confidential and the researcher will ensure that any information that could potentially identify them is not provided in the research project. The process of data collection will follow the guidance of Data Protection Act, and your data will be coded and kept on a password protected computer.

What happens if I change my mind?

You have the right to withdraw at any time and no legal right will be affected.

What happens if something goes wrong?

In the unlikely case of concern or complaint, you may contact the Chair of the Faculty Ethics Committee Prof. Denis McManus (D.Mcmanus@soton.ac.uk).

Where can I get more information?

If you have any questions or need further information, you are very welcome to contact:

Yangyu Wang

Email: ywl1n13@soton.ac.uk

Appendix 11. Consent Form

CONSENT FORM

Study title: ELF Awareness in Chinese Higher Education: a Focus on Language Policy

Researcher name: Yangyu Wang

Staff/Student number: 26650673

ERGO reference number: 23798

Please initial the box (es) if you agree with the statement(s):

I have read and understood the information sheet (insert date/version no. of participant information sheet) and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data to be used for the purpose of this study

I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time without my legal rights being affected

Data Protection

I understand that information collected about me during my participation in this study will be stored on a password protected computer and that this information will only be used for the purpose of this study. All files containing any personal data will be made anonymous.

Name of participant (print name).....

Signature of participant.....

Name of participant (print name).....

Signature of participant.....

Date.....

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