Professionalism in English for Academic Purposes:

at the nexus of English's (neo-) colonial associations and the global

forces shaping UK higher education

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Abstract

English for academic purposes (EAP) as the provision of English language training for international students entering or studying in higher education is widely unchallenged; its underlying ideology has been little researched. This study makes use of a novel combination of literature and methods to examine influences on EAP as practised in the UK universities accredited by EAP's professional association, BALEAP.

The methodology employs auto-ethnography triangulated by a wide-ranging semiotic analysis utilising not only critical discourse analysis but also layout, colour and typography. The literature informing the study lies at the tripart intersection of (neo-) colonial influences on English and the teaching of English, the global forces shaping British higher education, and aspects of professionalism.

The study finds evidence, in both the researcher's professional auto-ethnography and in BALEAP documentation of a deficit approach to students and argues this is traceable to the (neo-) colonial associations of English and related (neo-) racism. It also finds that it can be argued the hierarchy implicit in BALEAP's professional framework reproduces the marginalisation of teachers of EAP at the lower end of the hierarchy while simultaneously protecting the elite status of those at the top of the hierarchy. It further finds that, in determining the scope of its provenance, BALEAP finds multiple ways to distance itself from English language teaching (ELT) more widely.

The study concludes that EAP as practised by BALEAP would benefit from a more self-analytical – and self-critical – approach to both students and teachers of EAP, and from realigning itself with ELT.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Professor Vivienne Baumfield, my supervisor, for her guidance throughout the thesis stage of my EdD. In particular, Vivienne's endorsement of my starting point of the Waco shootout inspired me to consider a wider range of data than I might otherwise have done, and ultimately led to a study which reflects my concerns more than I could have hoped for or anticipated at the start.

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Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP?

Although English for Academic Purposes (EAP) has grown in importance with the increase in the international student population, as a teacher it can feel a mediocre and disappointing experience. This is particularly true in those universities that align themselves with BALEAP's iteration of EAP. This needs challenging to open a conversation about how best to proceed for all stakeholders. My research seeks to understand the problem as a basis for starting that conversation.

EAP as "good ole American fun"

The May 17, 2015 shootout at the Twin Peaks restaurant in Waco, Texas seems an unlikely place to begin a doctoral thesis. However, it stimulated an online magazine article, "White America's Waco insanity: The shocking realities it ignores about race & violence" (Cooper, 2015) which my friend Dr William Fong forwarded to me re-titled, "White-on-white gang violence in Wacko [*sic*], Texas, as good ole American fun" (personal communication, 25 May 2015); this in turn stimulated the insight that became my starting point.

That insight was born from the intersection between the content of the article and the intertextuality of the two titles on the one hand with concerns about the professional practice of English for academic purposes (EAP) on the other. The specific insight here was the implication at the end of the article, highlighted by the re-titling, that had the assailants been black or Muslim, this would have been a black or Muslim issue; in this case, however, there was "no sense of white shame, of people hanging their heads over the members of their race that have been out in the world representing everything that is wrong with America" (Cooper, 2015). This is Mills' "white ignorance" (2007): for minorities,

"Racism fails, or refuses, to acknowledge our individuality though it constantly forces us to consider our identity" (Chambers, 1991, p. 96).

This sense that individuality was a white privilege (cf. MacMullan, 2015, p. 651) chimed with my discomfort with the generalisations about Asian, particularly Chinese, students commonplace in my professional context. As an example of this, interviewees for summer tutor positions are asked, "What do you consider to be the top issues facing international students?" Not only does this imply a deficit model (Bernstein, 1970; see also Spurr, 1993, pp. 92–108) but a common answer was that international students are prone to plagiarism, with this answer eliciting sage nodding on both sides of the table. Surely all 500+ students in any given summer couldn't be plagiarists, with plagiarism itself being a contested notion, particularly in relation to ESOL learners (cf. Pennycook, 1996; Polio & Shi, 2012)? Given that all EAP students in my context are international, with 85% + last year from China, and most are from outside the EU, could EAP represent an instantiation of the workings of systemic white privilege? Coming from arguably a position of structural privilege in that I am white, British and male, I almost did not want to know the answer to this.

That said, I was encouraged by a recent *Guardian* article which concluded, "you chose to educate yourself and listen with an open mind to the stories from the people most affected by it [racism], in a respectful way…. You have the makings of a true ally" (Khan, 2017). More academically, Jordan and Weedon put it thus: "Racism is a cultural and institutional phenomenon, not fundamentally a matter of individual psychology, not of 'racists' or 'prejudiced individuals'. It is also deeply ingrained within the dominant social structures and signification systems of contemporary Western societies" (1995, p. 253). In fact

if we think, as Jordan and Weedon do, of "RACISM AS BRUTALITY – as one of the most vicious, degrading practices in human history" (1995, p. 253; emphasis in the original), surely there is a clear moral responsibility to call it out.

Unsurprisingly, racism is not a charge EAP generally levels at itself (see Kubota, 2002); as Phillipson says, "There is likely to be a gut reaction against an accusation of involvement in any form of imperialism, linguistic or otherwise. This is because there is an element of the unethical and morally reprehensible attached to the term, as there is with the words 'racism' and 'sexism'" (1992, p. 46). Searches of the *English for Specific Purposes Journal* and the *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, which Wingate and Tribble (2012, p. 485) identify as being particularly associated with practitioners and researchers of EAP, turned up nothing that might suggest introspection of this kind. Another potential source of relevant insight is the biennial BALEAP Conference which I attended recently (7 to 9 April 2017), and which also provided no such evidence; neither is there any such evidence in the proceedings of the previous conference. If systemic racism does exist, it is likely to be not only unacknowledged but also difficult to find, much like evidence of the US "Deep State" amongst those implicated in it, one investigator of which used the following analogy: "It was kind of like asking fish about the concept of water. They couldn't understand the question" (Jefferson, 2017). As Svensson puts it in the context of organizational ethnography, "the most efficient power is the one operating in silence. Silent power works through the production of consent and common sense" (2014, p. 175).

But having become aware of the possibility of EAP as inherently racist, as an EAP practitioner, it is an important question to ask because it could and – if proven – should alter my approach to my work. *Chapter 4: Auto-ethnography*

provides suggestions of such attitudes from my professional context; they can also be seen in published materials. De Chazal in his magisterially-titled *English for Academic Purposes* states that

> Perhaps most obviously, students may not realize the importance of criticality and the related concepts of evaluation, stance, and voice. Alternatively, students may not feel confident enough to offer their own critical evaluation. Some students may not understand what criticality entails, or how to develop critical and evaluative material. Students may not be familiar with the language used to express criticality. In all these cases, the role of the EAP teacher is vital in promoting criticality. (2014, p. 138)

This is despite Kumaravadivelu's,

> Often repeated in the professional literature, in conference presentations, and in personal conversations are three common stereotypes about students from Asia: they show blind obedience to authority; they lack critical thinking skills; and they do not actively participate in classroom interaction. A critical analysis will easily show that a homogeneous body of Asian students who display these stereotypical characteristics seem to exist more in the imaginary homeland of Western academia that in the classrooms of Asian societies. (2008, pp. 53–54)

Is this racism? Given that most EAP students in my context, and in the context of EAP as practised by BALEAP, and therefore also the market for De

Chazal's EAP textbooks (e.g. De Chazal & McCarter, 2012) are by definition not native English speakers and mostly Chinese, this is at least a possibility. This study also isolates two further possibilities with implications for the professional practice of EAP. The first is that EAP is imbued with imperial nostalgia. The second is that EAP is an example of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992), a state-level attempt to spread the use of English and, probably, also western values. Hard evidence for either of these further possibilities is likely to be elusive for the same reasons as given for racism.

This elusiveness and the sensitivity of the possibilities requires a post-structural research approach taking multiple perspectives from different sources of data. As research, it aspires not to grand theory status but to gaining an understanding of what is happening in this particular form of EAP in a modern British university. This knowledge can inform how the profession constructs itself, particularly in how it regards its students.

These insights are potentially significant. As Fairclough asserts, "Ideology is most effective when its workings are least visible. If one becomes aware that a particular aspect of common sense is sustaining power inequalities a one's own expense, it ceases to *be* common sense, and may cease to have the capacity to sustain power inequalities" (Fairclough, 2015, p. 108; emphasis in the original).

A Metadiscoursal Aside

This introductory chapter is relatively lengthy and also important. Its importance lies in that it carries material that while not always directly relevant to the research questions, is nevertheless necessary to illustrate my professional context, and me as a researcher. As Gibbs and Maguire state,

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The professional doctorate cannot be a value-free investigation. It is one where the researcher's relationship to the profession or organisational membership influence the discourse of research in the choice of epistemological stance, the methods used and the values evident in the conclusions drawn. (2016, p. 244)

This chapter consists of nine sections of varying length, including the previous one, which establish the context of the research, anticipate the literature review and analysis chapters, and provide insight into the *"personal dimension"* (Said, 2003, p. 25; emphasis in the original): me. As will be clear from the end of the first section, this is a qualitative study, and so the latter is important because

It is important you recognize and take account of the personal goals that drive and inform your research. Eradicating or submerging your personal goals and concerns is impossible, and attempting to do so is unnecessary. What is necessary, in qualitative design, is that you be aware of these concerns and how they may be shaping your research, and that you think about how best to deal with their consequences. (Maxwell, 2009, p. 219)

This takes on further significance, particularly in relation to a professional doctorate, in that "a crucial part of a postmodern methodology … is researchers using their own professional experience as a basis for a dialogue with the data" (Holliday & Aboshiha, 2009, p. 677). The eight sections are:

- *EAP as "good Ole American Fun":* the inspiration and starting point for this thesis were set out in the preceding section. There I proposed that EAP is potentially a carrier of racism, imperial nostalgia or linguistic imperialism.

- *EAP, BALEAP, ESOL and More:* this section first defines the most relevant abbreviations from the field of English language teaching; it then defines the area of EAP with which BALEAP is most concerned.

- *Biggles, North Nibley, the Archipelago, Botanical Gardens, and Brexit:* this section addresses two areas relevant to the research. It first provides both an example of the continuing omnipresence of the by-then-defunct British Empire during my childhood and its current extension in the arguments of Brexiteer Anglosphere-ophiles. Second, by relating this to my childhood, it provides not just a concrete example of this phenomenon but also some insight into my positionality as a researcher, albeit skewed by the imperial theme. This section complements the auto-ethnography by providing something in the way of a back story.

- *Nonsense, Lingua Franca, La Francophonie, and the Bricolage:* this section considers how, as native speakers of the world's international language, we can escape our "conceptual prison" (Wierzbicka, 2014, p. 4). To help us to stand outside ourselves, the section explores an example of explicit and contemporary linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992) on the part of the French state. This social phenomenon enjoys the potential to illuminate EAP, an understanding of which requires the multiple perspectives of a post-structural approach. As becomes clear, this study is a collage of ideas and findings produced from a variety of

research tools used together to produce a coherent picture thus anticipating the methodology.

- *BALEAP or BALAP?:* this section invites the reader to consider the basis of EAP as practised by BALEAP. In so doing, it critiques EAP's focus on "skills, tasks, and competencies" (De Chazal, 2014, p. 6) at the expense of language and asks whether a more language-based approach might be both more effective and respectful of students' needs and expectations. To illustrate its points, this section makes use of a profile of Mei, a fictional pre-sessional student.

- *TEAP Framework or TEAP Cage?:* this section introduces BALEAP's Teaching English for Academic Purposes (TEAP) Scheme (2014), an important aspect of BALEAP's claim to represent EAP as a profession; it sets this alongside the TEAP Scheme's more widely-known Higher Education Academy (HEA) analogue, anticipating the appearance of both in *Chapter 5: Semiotic Analysis.* This section also compares the BALEAP TEAP Scheme fellowship hierarchy with Hadley's (2015) typology and my professional context.

- *"Do the TEFLERs Really Love Us?":* this section explores the tensions between EAP and ELT more widely; in some ways the tropes exposed by the literature find an ironic parallel in Pennycook's colonial dichotomies (1998), two of which appear in the literature review and discussion chapters.

- *Statement of the Problem:* this section sets out my research questions. These flow from the previous sections of the introduction although, as becomes clear in the auto-ethnography, I have to some extent been overtaken by events, in an entirely positive way.

- *The Data, Anticipated:* this section sets out the two areas of data this study makes use of and how they interact in order to map the empirical evidence; those two areas are my professional auto-ethnography and a semiotic analysis of workplace documents.

EAP, BALEAP, ESOL and More

Already, I have used three abbreviations: EAP, BALEAP and ESOL. This section explains the principal abbreviations in use in the field of English language teaching (ELT), the relationship between ELT and English for academic purposes (EAP), and what I believe to be BALEAP's iteration of EAP. Although the starting point is ELT, the focus is on EAP, which takes a number of forms; it is one of this study's contributions to knowledge that it defines in detail EAP as claimed by BALEAP. In so doing, the section makes use of my experience of EAP to illuminate that definition; that experience also complements *Chapter 4: Auto-ethnography.*

Albeit to some extent a grand theory, and therefore not in alignment with the study's post-structural approach, Kachru's concept of the "Three Concentric Circles of English" (1996, p. 137)[1] (Figure 1, below) provides a useful theoretical framework here. A theoretical framework is defined by Anfara and Mertz as "any empirical or quasi-empirical theory of social and/or psychological

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[1] Further references to Kachru's Inner, Outer and Expanding Circles are capitalised and unreferenced, as seems to be the norm in applied linguistics papers. I use Kachru's more widely-used "Expanding Circle" (1996, p. 137) rather than his initial "Extending Circle" (1988, p. 5).

processes at a variety of levels (e.g., grand, mid-range, and explanatory), that can be applied to the understanding of phenomena" (2006, p. xxvii); as such, a framework "has the ability to (1) focus a study, [and] (2) reveal and conceal meaning and understanding" (Anfara & Mertz, 2006, p. 192). Kachru's Circles of English are richly generative in this context.

The "Expanding Circle," e.g.
China
Egypt
Indonesia
Israel
Japan
Korea
Nepal
Saudi Arabia
Taiwan
USSR
Zimbabwe

The "Outer Circle," e.g.
Bangladesh
Ghana
India
Jamaica
Kenya
Malaysia
Nigeria
Pakistan
Philippines
Singapore
South Africa
Sri Lanka
Tanzania
Zambia

The "Inner Circle,"
USA
UK
Canada
Australia
New Zealand

Three Concentric Circles
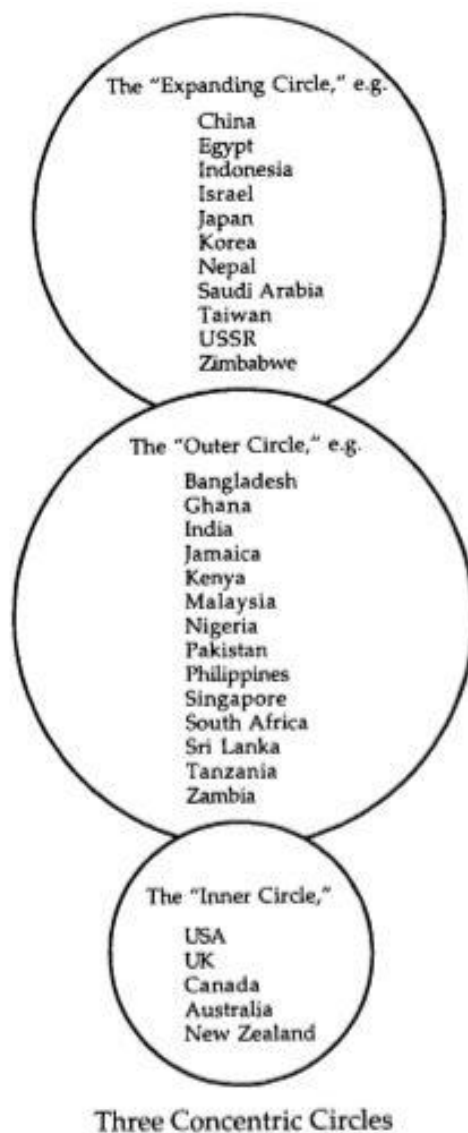
Figure 1: Kachru's Circles of English (1996, p.137)

Kachru set out his Circles as a way to profile the "pluricentricity" (1996, p. 137) of English; chronologically ordered, these are the Inner, Outer and Expanding Circles. The Inner Circle is the English of the USA, the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand; this circle synthesises the development and expansion of the English language in the British Isles, and the establishment of English-speaking populations in the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand; the linguistic and cultural similarities of which continue as evidenced, for example, by the currency of the word "Anglosphere" (Bennett, 2004; Kenny & Pearce, 2018a) and the Five Eyes intelligence alliance (e.g. Tossini, 2017); this is the English of "native speakers". The Outer Circle, or Raj phase, coincides with UK and US colonial expansion which "brought English to South Asia; to Southeast Asia; to South, West, and East Africa, and to the Philippines" (Kachru, 1996, p. 136); many of these countries are members of the UK-based Commonwealth of Nations. The Expanding Circle encompasses those countries in which English lacks a historical or governmental role but in which it is nevertheless enjoys status for international communication, often through its use as a medium of instruction in education. The Circles respectively are norm-providing, norm-developing and norm-dependent (Kachru, 1992). Kachru's circles illuminate the abbreviations of the field of ELT and these in turn illuminate the subset of EAP, and its relationship to BALEAP. The principal abbreviations in use are glossed in Table 1 (see below) and explained in more detail beneath.

In the ELT field as a whole, the principal distinction is between EFL and ESL/EAL. According to the website of the TESOL International Association, which publishes *TESOL Quarterly,*

TESL refers to … programs in English-speaking countries for students whose first language is other than English…. TEFL refers to … programs in countries where English is not the primary language and is not a lingua franca…. TESOL is a general name for the field of teaching that includes both TESL and TEFL. (TESOL International Association, n.d., p. 1)

Of the latter two ESL (now EAL to reflect the reality of English being one of two or more languages for many learners) ESL reflects the monolingual orientation of the traditional English speaking countries (e.g. Kachru, 1996, p. 141) in Kachru's Inner Circle, particularly the UK. The location of ESL students' learning is the Inner and Outer Circles; the location of EFL students' learning is the Expanding Circle; all potentially use English to communicate in all circles.

Abbreviation or acronym	Full version
BALEAP[2]	Formerly the British Association of Lecturers in English for Academic Purposes, now known as BALEAP
ELT	English Language Teaching
(T)EAL	(Teaching) English as an Additional Language
(T)EAP	(Teaching) English for Academic Purposes
(T)EFL	(Teaching) English as a Foreign Language
(T)ESL	(Teaching) English as a Second Language
(T)ESOL	(Teaching) English to Speakers of Other Languages

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[2] For an analysis of the BALEAP name, see Chapter 5.

Table 1: Abbreviations in ELT

The TESOL International Association definition above makes use of TESOL as the superordinate term. Although Harmer argues that it "reflect[s] a more multilingual global reality" (2007, p. 20), I accept Lin and Luke's point that TESOL "already assigns the dichotomous *Self-Other* subject positions to teacher and learner" (2006, p. 67). Although all its component words are also problematic to one degree or another, as is its Centre – as opposed to Periphery – location (Phillipson, 1992), this study tends to make use of what I regard as the more neutral ELT throughout.

This choice between ESOL and ELT points to a subtlety hidden by Kachru's Inner Circle: as Anfara and Mertz acknowledge, quoting Eisner, "When you provide a window for looking at something, you also … provide something in the way of a wall" (2006, p. 193). Although the Inner Circle links the five predominantly English speaking countries, there is a difference between the USA, and the Commonwealth-united Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the UK (CANZUK). The TESOL International Association quoted above is US-based and makes use of TESOL in its title; in contrast, the International Association for Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL) is UK-based and makes no use of (T)ESOL in its missions, goals and practices statement (IATEFL, n.d.), apparently preferring ELT. The difference is starker in relation to EAP. In an email in 2016, a US-based teacher who worked on the pre-sessional course I led that summer stated, "There is no such thing over here. EAP is taught as part of ESL curricula" (F. Romano, personal communication, 13 December 2016), a point confirmed by Jenkins (2014, p.

45); Ding and Bruce assert that EAP's "intellectual and organisational origins …
had their roots firmly in the UK context" (2017, p. 58).

Prior to that insight, from my narrowly UK-centric perspective – Ding and
Campion assert that EAP is a "UK-centric discourse" (2016, p. 248) – I would
have located EAP as a subset of ELT more widely and then deconstructed the
acronym as follows. While the "English" in EAP appears uncontroversial, it has
been problematized not least in arguments that English is a carrier of
imperialism (Phillipson, 1992) and neo-liberalism (Block et al., 2012),
globalisation more widely (Block & Cameron, 2002) and potentially implicated in
linguicide (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996). The "Academic Purposes" of
EAP is also complex and testifies to what some (e.g. Spack, 1988) might
consider to be encroachment into the purely academic domain. Although the
academic focus is necessary in that problems with writing "tend to be at the
epistemological rather than the linguistic level, and are often caused by gaps
between academic staff expectations and student interpretations of what is
involved" (Wingate & Tribble, 2012, p. 483) there is a danger that if writing is
context-dependent then a generic writing approach will miss the mark (Morgan
& Ramanathan, 2005, p. 153).

Other than the three UK HE experiences of EAP detailed in *Chapter 4:
Auto-ethnography,* I have worked in three other nominally EAP environments,
an analysis of which helps to set UK HE EAP in context. In order of chronology,
they are as:

1. Head of EAL in a British independent school in its study centre for
   international students aged 15 to 17 aspiring to pass GCSEs to study for
   A-levels and a degree in the UK.

2. Teacher on a one-month contract with the British Council at Addis Ababa University (AAU) in Ethiopia working with postgraduates about to start a variety of programmes taught in English.

3. Teacher on a two-month contract with the British Council at the Institut des Hautes Etudes de Management (HEM) in Rabat, Morocco working with second-year undergraduates required to complete a language course as part of their Business Studies degrees.

The first case can be quickly dismissed in that the naming of remedial English classes as EAP seemed to be a marketing tool for parents' benefit and to justify the relatively high fees: at the students' level of English and maturity, there was no possibility of engagement with anything other than the most basic concepts; however, the experience did provide me with relevant insight into how such institutions replicated the structures and hierarchies of empire and prepared their pupils for imperial service (e.g. Mangan, 1998); it also testifies to the commercial connectedness of ELT (e.g. Farmer, 2006).

Although very different, the remaining two contexts are situated in Kachru's Expanding Circle and the commonalities are instructive both of the arguable existence of Phillipson's linguistic imperialism (1992), developed later, and, more importantly here, of an implied EAP syllabus. In both cases, the methodology was very much teacher-fronted; in both cases, a textbook was provided, which "made English mean in specific and highly selective ways" (Gray, 2010, p. 3), using a textbook similar to *New Headway* (e.g. Soars & Soars, 2011) of which Birch and Liyanage concluded that, "a covert aim … [was] to sell the way of life and values of western Inner Circle cultures to learners of English from Outer and Expanding Circle countries" (2004, p. 100);

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also in both cases, testing was problematic in ways similar to those described by Zafar Khan (2009) and violated the principles of "consent, deception, and privacy and confidentiality" (Punch cited in Shohamy, 2000, p. 157). The most significant commonality, however, was the focus of the curriculum on language.

However unremarkable such a focus may seem for a course in *English for Academic Purposes*, this is not the focus of EAP as practised in HE in the UK: here, the development of language skills can often appear subservient to the development of academic skills. As De Chazal states, "It [EAP] is not so much driven by language as skills, tasks, competencies" (2014, p. 6), and this is borne out in my experience detailed in *Chapter 4: Auto-ethnography;* Ding and Bruce, in making the distinction between TESOL (their choice of abbreviation) and EAP state that TESOL is "anchored around language proficiency development … [whereas EAP] tend[s] to be more centrally focused on … the development of discourse competence" (2017, p. 97); this is what Bhatia (2014) terms discursive competence.

Within EAP, there is a distinction between pre- and in-sessional and foundation programmes. "Pre-sessional" often modifies "course" or "programme" to refer to (nominally) English language provision for international students before they start their degree programmes. Typically, such courses last between five and ten weeks, starting in August or July respectively, although much longer, even year-round, pre-sessionals also exist. The term distinguishes English language provision before students start their degree programmes from that which is available as ongoing support during their degree programmes. In their turn, pre-sessional and in-sessional courses/programmes are distinguished from, often year-long, foundation programmes or bridging

programmes which tend to be run in conjunction with departments (Turner, 2004, p. 98).

Integral to a consideration of EAP in HE in the UK is BALEAP, which styles itself as "The global forum for EAP professionals" and which Ding and Bruce describe as "the *pre-eminent* EAP association (2017, p.189; emphasis in the original). BALEAP's website states that it "supports the professional development of those involved in learning, teaching, scholarship and research in English for Academic Purposes (EAP)" (BALEAP, 2018b); it also offers institutional and individual accreditation schemes. BALEAP has been a presence in EAP in HE in the UK for approximately 45 years in various forms (Ding & Bruce, 2017, p. 183). It was established in 1972 as Special English Language Materials for International Students (SELMOUS), renamed the British Association of Lecturers in English for Academic Purposes (BALEAP) in 1989, and has inhabited its former acronym simply as BALEAP since 2010 (all information *History of BALEAP*, n.d.): see *Chapter 5: Semiotic Analysis* for an analysis of the name.

Although Li's taxonomy (2017) identifies a number of different approaches to EAP, this study uses the definition used by the BALEAP Accreditation Scheme Handbook (2018a, p. 12). The definition is taken from two separate pages of Bruce's *Theory and Concepts of English for Academic Purposes,* namely that EAP is

> the study of English for the purpose of participating in higher education. This study will be centred on the texts (spoken and written) that occur in academic contexts and will include the discourses and practices that surround and give rise to such texts. (2015, p. 6) EAP course design

needs to be grounded in knowledge of the more general assumptions,

values and practices of universities as well as understandings of the

more specific differences that can occur among different subject areas.

(2015, p. 35)

Having narrowed the definition of EAP to that provided by BALEAP, this

study narrows the application further to my specific professional context in a

British university. In addition to acknowledging the situatedness of professional

practice, this enjoys relevance in at least two significant ways: a former Director

of the Centre in which I work was associated with both BALEAP and the

creation of the BALEAP Competency Framework for Teachers of English for

Academic Purposes (2008), and the University's pre-sessional courses are

accredited by BALEAP.

Although "BALEAP is not global" (Ding and Bruce, p.127), its strapline –

"The global forum for EAP professionals" – indicates international aspirations.

This is potentially significant in the context of the UK's imperial history and the

association of the (British) English language and ELT with that history. The next

two sections of this introductory chapter explore aspects of this and, in so doing,

anticipate material in *Chapter 2: Literature Review.*

Biggles, North Nibley, the Archipelago, Botanical Gardens, and Brexit

Unconsciously anticipating my first degree in English Literature, I grew

up reading under the bedclothes with a torch. Unknowingly, I was also being

imbued with imperialism from Percy F. Westerman's (1876 – 1959) various

heroes, Enid Blyton's (1897 – 1968) Famous Five, and W.E. Johns' (1893 –

1968) Biggles. Of the latter, *The Telegraph* paints one nostalgically imperialist, and sexist, view:

> The story of Biggles's amazing adventures, chronicled in 96 books
> spanning four decades, enthralled and inspired generations of
> schoolboys around the globe.… Into the Sixties, Biggles was going
> strong: a Unesco survey in 1963 found that he was the most popular
> schoolboy hero in the world. (Clark, 2008)

An alternative view is provided by Butts, who asserts that "The fact is that Captain W. E. Johns, as he called himself, was a product of his age, born in the heyday of British imperialism, and his work, consciously or unconsciously, reflects the racist ideology of imperialism" (2000, p. 148). More recently, a case has been made linking Enid Blyton's books with Brexiteers' neo-imperialist/Anglosphere fantasies (Risbridger, 2017) and Kutzer (2012) provides multiple examples of this in children's literature, analysing another book I read as a child, Arthur Ransome's (1884 – 1967) *Swallows and Amazons* (2012). Beyond children's literature, in his theorising about the relationship between empire and the novel, Said declares that the novel was "immensely important in the formation of imperial attitudes, references, and experiences" (1994, p. xii); interestingly, he also draws a parallel between Britain and France, Britain's greatest imperial rival, in this respect. All of that said, I am with Kutzer when she says, "There was no literary conspiracy to convince children that empire was a good thing and should continue, but for much of the Edwardian period, and in later times as well, this was the accepted truth that seeps into children's fiction" (2012, p. xv). It is on this view, that traces of a society can be found in language

and other semiotic resources, that this study is predicated. To draw from my first degree in English Literature, this is Blake's "World in a grain of sand" (2007, p. 612). The dark side of all this is the racism implicit in colonialism.

That surreptitious reading took place in North Nibley, in rural Gloucestershire. It was a relatively sheltered environment in which to grow up and it was very much the case that "books carried more authority than they do in today's world, where books must compete with film, video, music, and the Internet, all of which convey cultural values in more immediate ways than do books for contemporary children" (Kutzer, 2012, p. xvi). So, although sheltered, the Empire was there, and not only in children's books. Orphaned in his teens, what I now realise to be my stereotypically-Edwardian (1901 – 1914) great uncles and great aunts were important to my father. Visiting them was to travel backwards in time: wing-back chairs, coal fires, heavy Victorian furniture, door curtains, the mangle… When they died, to my mother's annoyance, the attic in North Nibley became home to a picture from the Great Exhibition of 1851, a knobkerrie, medals and keepsakes from the Great War, binoculars with a yellow broad arrow military mark on them sealed against the sand of the North Africa campaign …

The point here is that even in the 1970s and 1980s, the Empire was inescapable long after it was all-but-non-existent. Attitudes to it were generally either positive or uncritical and, in terms of the geographically-chauvinistic Far East, there was very much a sense of the mysterious orient. To take a contemporaneous fictional account written in and of Hong Kong,

It may well be the greatest myth known to western man – his illusions about Eastern Man. The mysterious East, impassive Orientals, the

timeless wisdom of characters drawn in the mind during childhood and

nurtured by exaggerated tales from the imaginative reminiscences of

people (Lowe, 1985, p. 3).

Unsurprisingly, in 1981, I was yet to learn that, and I continued an uncritical

participant in my milieu.

"Is that for real?!" On the day my O-level results came out, at the local

comprehensive school, we travelled back from Switzerland, our first family

holiday abroad, by coach and ferry. Somewhere between Ostend and Dover,

courtesy of the photographs of a co-traveller on leave from Sumatra, I

discovered a crocodile-infested swamp. Home, the first thing I did was to get my

O-level results; the second was to look up Sumatra in my school atlas: what I

saw there was compelling. "Archipelago" became and remains one of my

favourite words; I associate(d) it with geographical expansiveness; there is a

romance to the names, the East Indies or the Malay Archipelago or Nusantara,

along with Singapore, Java, the South China Sea, the Pacific… But that is all

imagination, an example of Said's orientalism (2003); to return to Lowe, "It's a

place, it's different. But it simply isn't the mysterious Orient of western

imagination" (1985, p. 4). Not only is "archipelago" classically European in its

etymology, but this particular archipelago's division into Indonesia and Malaysia

reflects the realities of European colonialism expressed in the Anglo-Dutch

Treaty of 1824. But I wasn't thinking about that then, or even five years later

when I graduated and took the RSA Preparatory Certificate in TEFL (the

equivalent of today's Cambridge CELTA or Trinity Certificate in TESOL) as a

passport to travel. Instead, when I took a day off tree nursery work on a cold

and wet December morning in 1986 for an interview in Birmingham with Inlingua

and was offered a choice of Spain the following week or Singapore after Christmas, there was no decision to make: Singapore is the centre of the archipelago!

But I'm getting ahead. Arriving in Singapore in 1988 was preceded by A-levels and university during the Thatcher era, with the Falklands War (1982) and the miners' strike (1984) enjoying particular salience. During this period, I didn't take up officer training in the Royal Navy after considering whether I would have fired the torpedoes that sank the Argentinian aircraft carrier *General Belgrano* with the loss of 323 lives; at university (1983 – 1986), with the majority of the Junior Common Room, and my grandmother, I was sympathetic to the miners' cause. I got A-levels in English Literature, French and History and made the transition to reading outside the bedclothes with a first degree in English Language and Literature on a full grant at Pembroke College, Oxford. That English Literature, French and History combination perhaps accounts for some of my preoccupations, then and now.

In particular, my interest in English Language and Literature influenced my choice of work; this not only led directly to my involvement in EAP today but also to my choice of subject and methodology for this study. The political leanings and more general scepticism inculcated as my response to the Thatcher period meant that, even if somewhat naively at times, and long before the publication of Ritzer's *The McDonaldization of Society* (2000) in 1993, I was already debating, at least with myself, the pros and cons of teaching the language of Coca-Cola and McDonald's. That in turn led me to a particular interest in the application of critical theory to English language teaching (e.g. Crookes, 2013) and was to some extent responsible for the insights into EAP that this study explores; it also partly explains my use of literature. I have also

discovered that the study of English literature was fundamental part of imperial control and the teaching of English in India (Viswanathan, 1989; see also Pennycook, 1998).

Inlingua was close to the Singapore Botanic Gardens. I visited often: not only did they attract me because of my tree nursery work but they were peaceful and also reminded me of Kew Gardens, which formed part of those visits to the great uncles and aunties in London. The connection, I have since discovered, is no accident. As Baber says of Kew, it

> was eventually transformed from the pleasure grounds meant for the general public to a research institution devoted primarily to botanical science. This transformation inserted Kew Gardens as a major metropolitan node in a complex network of a global botanical empire that connected gardens in locations such as tropical Malaya, Singapore, Calcutta, St Vincent, St Helena and many other distant locales to frosty London. (2016, pp. 675–676)

So, not only had I somehow found myself in a former British colony, but was also connected to all other British colonies through what I might reasonably have regarded as neutral ground. Hua (2018) speculates that her father was motivated to leave China by the tales of adventure in the banned classic *The Water Margin* (Shi, 2010); my back story as related here makes me wonder, reluctantly, the extent to which orientalism (Said, 2003) and an environment of imperial nostalgia dictated at least the earlier part of my career. Although I believe it is possible to imagine oneself as a latter-day employee of the East India Company and tour the world teaching English on that basis, I do not

identify with this. But, given its omnipresence, I wonder whether English language teaching, at least from a British perspective, is somehow inescapably connected with empire, and this is taken up in *Chapter 2: Literature Review.* If this is the case, then there are implications for the practice of EAP that may be somehow expressed in how it views its students and in how it is constituted professionally.

Let me finish with a current invocation of empire. Having taken the first opportunity to commiserate with myself over the Brexit vote the previous morning, I woke up with a headache on Saturday 25 June 2016: in the same way that I am against English linguistic exceptionalism, I am against the British exceptionalism I believe Brexit represents. The connection between this and empire is explicit in the title of one of the University of Bath's Institute of Policy Research blog posts: "In the shadows of empire: how the Anglosphere dream lives on" (Kenny & Pearce, 2018b); here, the political and economic connection is explicitly the English language.

Lingua Franca, Nonsense, La Francophonie, and Bricolage

Adams' fictional Babel fish "is small, yellow and leech-like, and probably the oddest thing in the Universe. …if you stick a Babel fish in your ear you can instantly understand anything said to you in any form of language" (2009, p. 55). Before we all enjoy access to a Babel fish, English has become the next-best-thing: the world's de facto lingua franca. Although this is undoubtedly useful (Crystal, 2012; Graddol, 1997; Parijs, 2011), there is also a danger that native speakers of English, like me, subscribe uncritically to its exceptionalism and fail to appreciate the accompanying ideology. As Piller and Cho assert, "neoliberal economic restructuring has managed to impose English on ever more domains

of global life while actually dissimulating its operation" (2015, p. 163); the possible negative consequences of this are expanded in a contemporary newspaper article:

> Within the anglophone world, that English should be the key to all the world's knowledge and all the world's places is rarely questioned. The hegemony of English is so natural as to be invisible. Protesting it feels like yelling at the moon. Outside the anglophone world, living with English is like drifting into the proximity of a supermassive black hole, whose gravity warps everything in its reach. Every day English spreads, the world becomes a little more homogenous and a little more bland. (Mikanowski, 2018)

Mikanowski also argues that, "English shapes its speakers as powerfully as any other language. It's just that in an Anglophone world that invisible baggage is harder to discern" (2018). This is particularly true in the case of British English speakers who tend to be monolingual; for them, it is often possible to manage abroad with English and so English disguises itself as a universal language and that also disguises its associations with power.

Small wonder, then, that "Nonsense!" is most fellow native speakers' typical reply to any suggestion of contemporary linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992) on the part of Anglophone state or institutional actors. However, this is not so far-fetched. Not only, for example, is the process documented for English in Phillipson's *Linguistic Imperialism* (1992) but, in its purpose statement, the British Council's Corporate Plan 2018 – 2020 states that the British Council "work[s] with over 100 countries across the world in the field

of arts and culture, English language, education and civil society" in "strategic alignment to the UK's long-term foreign policy priorities" (both quotes 2018, p. 4) and it takes pride in its contribution to the UK's soft power: "Participation in cultural relations activities with the British Council is associated with significantly increased levels of trust in the UK" (2018, p. 21). Although it makes a net profit by generating a commercial surplus, the British Council was subsidised by the UK government to the tune of £136 million in 2017 – 2018 (2018, p. 34). I am reminded of my own experience of working for the British Council in Singapore in the late 1990s, when I was told the fees were set at the level they were to attract "influencers" from the wealthier strata of Singapore society, echoing a point made by Motha, that access to English "requires wealth" (2014, p. 6; see also Pennycook, 1994, pp. 146–152).

For those who remain unconvinced, it is instructive to look at what is happening in France under President Macron. In 2017, he appointed writer Leïla Slimani as Francophone affairs minister (Willsher, 2017) and in 2018, he announced an international campaign to promote the French language worldwide (Willsher, 2018). The latter was controversial for the similar reasons to those expounded by Ngugi (1986) in English and the initiative was resisted in an open letter to the President from Alain Mabanckou and Achille Mbembe (2018), Congolese and Cameroonian writers respectively.

Even at this early stage this study has made use of an eclectic mixture of sources, some academic but others from the media and literature. To use a French word, this is the bricolage (e.g. Kincheloe & Berry, 2004): it is very much a collage of ideas and findings produced from a variety of research tools used together to produce a coherent picture. It is also part of professional knowing.

BALEAP or BALAP?

"What ESP and EAP have in common is that they are primarily needs driven; students learning English with a particular purpose in mind, which is identifiable and describable, and these descriptions for the basis of the ESP or EAP programme" (De Chazal, 2014, p. 5). Given that one frequent theme of student feedback from pre-sessional courses is the lack of language work and that, even post pre-sessional, academics continue to have reservations about students' language skills, the omission of the "E" in BALEAP is intended to highlight this. The question here is whose needs are being served by EAP?

In *EAP, BALEAP, ESOL and More* (p. 21), I made the case that BALEAP's iteration of EAP from an accreditation perspective concerns itself largely with summer pre-sessional courses. These exist ostensibly to enable students to meet the English language conditions of their offers of a place, with almost all of those students aspiring to progress to postgraduate degrees. In IELTS[3] terms, this means students with scores between 5.5 and 6.5 who need to improve their grade by 1.0 or 0.5 to achieve either a 6.5 or a 7.0 depending on the requirements of their degree.

By way of example, I now focus on the instance of an imaginary Chinese student, Mei, who presents with an IELTS score of 6.0 and needs a 7.0 to start

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[3] The International English Language Testing System "measures the language proficiency of people who want to study or work where English is used as a language of communication" (*IELTS Introduction: Learn All about the IELTS Test*, n.d.); possible scores range from a low of 0 to a high of 9.0, with intermediate half point scores.

her postgraduate degree and so would be directed to the university's ten-week pre-sessional course. In order to achieve her existing 6.0, Mei studied at an IELTS crammer in China that her EAP teachers would criticise as having improved her grades by focusing only on exam skills. On her ten-week course, Mei finds herself in a writing class with students who have achieved a mixture of existing IELTS scores of 5.5 and 6.0; the class materials make no distinction between the students' levels, focus largely on "academic skills" and the density of those materials means the teacher has little time to differentiate between different students' needs, feeling s/he has to cover all of the material. The "academic skills" covered in the course include the avoidance of plagiarism by developing the skills of summarising and paraphrasing, how to reference, how to interpret an essay question, and how to demonstrate "critical thinking" in her writing. In her feedback at the end of the course, Mei expresses her surprise at how little specific language work the course covered.

When her degree programme starts, Mei meets her classmates who, by virtue of having already achieved a 7.0 in IELTS, were not required to make the time and financial commitment of attending the pre-sessional course: they are "direct entry" students. Somehow, simply by achieving their 7.0, Mei's classmates do not need the "academic skills" training she has been subjected to in the previous ten weeks. My question, then, is why didn't Mei's course focus simply on improving her language?

There are a number of possible answers. Some might argue that there is little point in replicating the kind of course that Mei would otherwise have had in China, or that to study academic skills is motivating given such skills' almost-immediate relevance in the context, or that language and skills are inseparable,

or that language development inevitably requires a context and that the University provides that context.

However, I would argue it seems potentially invidious and hypocritical to criticise the crammer, as many TEAPs would, for developing students' exam skills at the expense of language and then for the pre-sessional course to develop students' academic skills at the expense of their language. This is particularly true when considering the ultimate degree results of those students like Mei who attend a pre-sessional course with those of direct entry students who have already achieved the necessary IELTS score in English language study programmes without an EAP focus. Although the evidence is mixed (Green, 2004), in one study, albeit small-scale and focusing exclusively on writing, Brown (cited in Green, 2004, p. 9) found training with an IELTS focus to be more effective than that with an EAP focus; of pre-sessional courses at the University of Portsmouth, Thorpe, Snell, Davey-Evans and Talman (2017) found that students who took pre-sessional courses ultimately did less well in their chosen degrees than direct-entry non-native speaking students, who in turn did less well than native-speaking students.

It is as though pre-sessional courses could potentially be regarded as the contemporary equivalent of a nineteenth-century factory truck shop. If EAP does not serve its students' needs, then this invites questions for its practitioners.

TEAP Framework or TEAP Cage?

BALEAP concerns itself not only with institutional accreditation but also with the individual accreditation of teachers through its TEAP Scheme (n.d.).

The 2008 forerunner of the Scheme, the Competency Framework for TEAP (CFTEAP) is described by De Chazal as follows:

> BALEAP, the UK-based forum for EAP professionals, has prepared a descriptive framework for teachers of English for academic purposes (2008). As stated in this framework EAP teachers need to "understand the role of critical thinking in academic contexts and will employ tasks, processes and interactions that require students to demonstrate critical thinking skills" (BALEAP 2008). (2014, p. 12)

The TEAP Scheme's diagram of its TEAP Competency Framework (BALEAP, 2014, pp. 1 and 9) and a sample page from the TEAP Framework (BALEAP, 2014, p. 15) are subjected to multimodal and linguistic analysis in *Chapter 5: Semiotic Analysis* of this study.

Although the CFTEAP was welcomed by Bruce (2015, p. 104) and Hamp-Lyons (2011) and broadly supported by Ding and Bruce (2017, p. 137), they are critical of aspects of the Framework, as am I. Ding and Bruce's concerns include a lack of clarity as to how its competencies were chosen, whether it is intended to be useful beyond the UK and the lack of depth of some of the descriptions (2017, pp. 135–136); Ding and Campion highlight the Framework's focus on the understanding of discrete attributes and the model of existing practice (2016, p. 555). Continuing to the Framework's recent rebirth as the TEAP Scheme, Ding and Bruce "detect a bias towards experience and its concomitant notion of 'expertise' set against emphasising the deficiencies and limitations of the 'novice' practitioner" (2017, p. 137) and this is my principal objection, along with BALEAP's distancing of itself from ELT more widely.

The Scheme to some extent sets out to mirror its more widely-recognised Higher Education Academy (HEA) analogue. With a colleague and I becoming Fellows in 2017 and two colleagues becoming Senior Fellows of the HEA in 2018, and with EAP's concern to align itself with academic colleagues and clients, I wonder about the value of a separate TEAP Fellowship particularly given that its requirements are both more prescriptive and more onerous. It is also the case that the TEAP Scheme's small membership testifies to a potential exclusivity. To date, the number of fellows has increased from 22 in January 2017 (Ding & Bruce, 2017, p. 139) to 39: 13 Senior Fellows, 9 Fellows and 17 Associate Fellows (BALEAP, n.d.-b). (This figure had increased to a total of 63 by August 2020: 13 Senior Fellows, 15 Fellows and 35 Associate Fellows.) My question as to whether the BALEAP scheme constitutes a framework or cage echoes Wenger's, "communities of practice … are the cradles of the human spirit, but they can also be its cages" (2000, p. 230).

The BALEAP fellowship hierarchy lends itself to being mapped onto the hierarchies of both my professional context and Hadley's (2015) taxonomy of EAP teachers. Hadley (2015) distinguishes between TEAPs and BLEAPs as set out in the table at the end of this section. A BLEAP is a blended teacher of EAP (Hadley, 2015) – of which more in *Chapter 2: Literature Review* – who is invested in the neoliberal order of the modern university and likely to be more senior in the EAP hierarchy; s/he is presented in contrast to a regular TEAP; the distinction is important because BLEAPs manifest at the intersection of two of the areas of literature review, the UK higher education environment and professionalism in EAP. A TEAP's professional identity is secure, and who has "deep-seated and methodological beliefs" (Hadley, 2015, p. 53); a BLEAP by contrast experiences "role ambiguity" (Hadley, 2015, p. 46). Hadley describes

three types of BLEAP: upwardly mobile, transactional, and sinking. The

upwardly mobile BLEAP aspires to move away from teaching and into a position

of administrative power; the transactional BLEAP thrives in Whitchurch's (2008)

Third Space[4] and is able to navigate successfully the potential for upwardness

to compromise collegial relationships (Hadley, 2015); finally, of the sinking

BLEAP, Hadley says, "The focus of many Sinking BLEAPs is downwards

towards the education of students and for the professional development of

TEAPs" (2015, p. 55); he argues that such BLEAPs are doomed to failure from

an organisational perspective because they operate from an idealised belief that

an HEI values alternative viewpoints rather than compliance. *Chapter 2:*

Literature Review and *Chapter 6: Discussion* return to the Third Space

(Whitchurch, 2008) and Hadley's (2015) typology.

BALEAP	Hadley	My professional context
Senior Fellow	Blended EAP Professional (BLEAP)	Head of English Language (Grade 8) (Full-time) Course Leader (Grade 7) (Full-time)
Fellow	TEAP	Teaching Fellow (Grade 6) (Never more than 0.8 FTE)
Associate Fellow		Summer Teacher (Grade 6) (Maximum 11-week contract)

*Table 2: Comparison between BALEAP hierarchy, Hadley (2015) and my
professional context*

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[4] As it seems to be general practice to do so, I have capitalised Third Space

throughout.

"Do the TEFLERs really love us?"

That metaphorical cage might almost be protection rather than incarceration for EAP, particularly from general English which "is rarely defined but provides an abstract and utterly undifferentiated negative construct from which the virtues of EAP can be highlighted and emphasised" (Ding & Bruce, 2017, p. 138; see also Campion, 2016, p. 61). This theme emerges in Martin's interview-based study of the transition of four ELTs to TEAPs, in which he finds that "EAP is more complex and rewarding than general language teaching" (2014, p. 297). As will become clear in *Chapter 4: Auto-ethnography,* I have seen this kind of prejudice in operation in a number of EAP contexts.

It seems possible here that EAP has been constructed by an elite seeking to distance itself from its own ELT provenance by associating itself more closely with higher education and potential job security. The former finds support in a report of a BALEAP plenary session that "focused on the different communities that EAP practitioners participate in and examined how our relationships with these communities shape our identity: do the TEFLERs [*sic*] really love us and want to help us? Or do they recoil from graphs and charts and dry dusty texts?" (BALEAP, 2012, p. 280). Both concerns find support in Jordan's recollections of the founding of SELMOUS, BALEAP's antecedent, the founders of which,

> agreed that "membership should be restricted to individuals or
> departments of British universities directly involved in the teaching of
> English for Special Purposes to overseas students" – preferably on a full-
> time basis…. The general feeling was that "small is beautiful" – a small

group could get to know each other well and not be overloaded with administrative work regarding the meetings. (2002, p. 71)

The point about job security is addressed explicitly in the BALEAP website's page promoting the benefits of the institutional accreditation scheme: "In a time of university spending cuts and increased scrutiny of provision, BALEAP accreditation can help to secure confidence in the value of the EAP teaching you offer" (BALEAP, n.d.-c).

Like Campion (2016, p. 61), Ding and Bruce highlight a number of tropes relating to the ostensible challenge and strangeness of EAP for a general English teacher:

where, for example, the depth of knowledge required to teach "haunt many teachers today" (Hyland, 2012, p.32) entailing "shock" (Strevens, 1998, p.41) and "fear" (Robinson, 1991, p.79), with novice practitioners presented as "reluctant dwellers in a strange and unchartered land" (Hutchinson & Waters, 1987, p.152), and an unwillingness to engage with EAP (Alexander, 2012). (2017, pp. 137–138).

However, as Campion says, "whilst certain EAP stereotypes may indeed affect teachers' views of EAP *from the outside,* once they begin to teach EAP they seem to find that is not as radically different to other types of English language teaching as the literature might suggest" (2016, p. 67). And this has been my experience. Certainly there are differences but EAP is a relatively straightforward teaching proposition that could benefit from some of the more

EFL-ly approaches it denigrates. It is also the case that viewing ELT colleagues entering EAP in this way is as unhelpful as it is unwelcoming.

Statement of the Problem

Although it may seem a bold assertion, with Arendt's "banality of evil" (2006) in mind, I believe EAP in its BALEAP form is potentially toxic and mediocre. This study sets out to find out whether this assertion has any basis in evidence. With both institutional and student perspectives very much in mind, this study examines the phenomenon from the perspective of an EAP teacher, or BLEAP (Hadley, 2015), with some power to change this. My research questions are as follows:

1. What view of professionalism is constituted in the BALEAP TEAP Framework?
2. What are the implications for the policy and practice of EAP in British universities?

In answering these questions, this study challenges the assumption that "what goes on in teaching, learning, testing, language policies and so forth is generally describable and understandable from within the rationalist domains of applied linguistic constructions of reality" (Pennycook, 1998, p. 162).

In particular, by challenging EAP's silence on its relationship to (neo-) colonialism, it addresses, "The strangeness of this absence [which] needs to be set against the vast amount of work in colonial and postcolonial studies outside applied linguistics … trying to reread current cultural relationships in light of a different understanding of global politics" (Pennycook, 1998, p. 23).

The study has already identified the very specific area of EAP with which BALEAP's accreditation infrastructure is concerned. The next chapter extends the literature to a combination of English and (neo-) colonialism, the UK HE environment and professionalism in EAP. Methodologically, the study extends the use of auto-ethnography in ELT, of which Mirhosseini (2018) asserts that only Canagarajah (2012) has made any significant use; it also makes rare use of multimodal analysis in an educational context: Rogers et al. (2016) found only 17% of CDA in education articles published from 2004 to 2012 made use of such analysis.

The Data, Anticipated

This section sets out the data on which this study is based, of which there are two elements: my professional auto-ethnography in *Chapter 4: Auto-ethnography* and the semiotic analysis of workplace texts in *Chapter 5: Semiotic Analysis*. There is further discussion of the choice of data for the semiotic analysis in in the *Data Decisions* section (p. 123) of *Chapter 3: Methodology.*

The material in this introductory chapter works with the auto-ethnography in that it provides the backstory to the auto-ethnography's focus on my EAP career. Together, they connect with the literature review's three *Conceptual Contexts* (p. 72) of English and (neo-) colonialism, the UK higher education environment and professionalism. The auto-ethnography is divided chronologically into three periods: *Curiosity* (p. 134), *Disillusionment* (p. 142) and *Confidence* (p. 149); together, these trace my development from TEAP to BLEAP (Hadley, 2015) (see Table 2, p. 44), that is from employment as a temporary summer pre-sessional teacher of EAP through a full-time BLEAP

position managing at EAP course level to another full-time BLEAP position

managing EAP university-wide.

The data in the third section differs from that in the first two. Firmly from

the perspective of me as one of Hadley's TEAPs (2015) (see Table 2, p. 44),

the first two sections serve to develop much that has already been anticipated

in this chapter, that is recruitment, induction, accommodation, course

organisation, workload, assessment, and observation procedures; in so doing,

they also reveal implicit and explicit attitudes towards both EAP teachers and

EAP's predominantly Asian students. From the perspective of my having been

promoted to one of Hadley's BLEAPs (see Table 2, p. 44), the data from the

third section illustrate a tentative future for EAP in my immediate professional

context: this is a start to addressing some of the issues raised by this study and

is developed in *EAP as the Problem it Seeks to Solve* (p.207).

This introductory chapter has already established BALEAP as a feature

of EAP in the UK; indeed, arguably, EAP and BALEAP are virtually

synonymous; both are located in the higher education environment; I have also

argued that both are problematic. The three sites of my TEAP and BLEAP

experience described in the auto-ethnography were BALEAP-accredited

institutions and it is those institutions and BALEAP as an organisation which

provide the sources for the texts for the semiotic analysis are drawn.

I discovered the TEAP Scheme (2014) – see *TEAP Framework or TEAP

Cage?* (p. 41; this chapter) – for the individual accreditation of EAP practitioners

when working as a temporary summer teacher at the first of those three sites. I

was interested in participating in the scheme, but there was no provision for

temporary teachers to do so and, as I have since discovered, there were in any

case only a relatively small membership at that time. It is the TEAP diagram of

the TEAP Scheme Handbook (2014) and a sample page from that document that provide the starting point for the semiotic analysis.

At the time, I found the diagram and the document difficult to understand: the analysis offers some explanation as to why; it also connects with the themes above and the *Conceptual Contexts* (p. 72) in the literature review. The analysis is deepened by a comparison between the TEAP diagram and its HEA equivalent (2015) – see *TEAP Framework or TEAP Cage?* (p. 41; this chapter) for the relationship between the two – and between equivalent sample pages from each document. For both the diagrams and the sample pages, I make use of the semiotics of layout, colour and typography in addition to linguistic analysis. Further insight, and support for my intuition, flows from a key word analysis of the TEAP Framework.

I also analyse two other texts: the BALEAP name and, from my current professional context in the *Disillusionment* (p. 142) period, a pre-sessional job advertisement. The BALEAP name stands out as a curiosity to me because, although the BALEAP website states that it, "is not an acronym now, but the name of our organisation" (BALEAP, 2018b), it is nevertheless almost always capitalised; because it is as much a visual logo as a name, it is amenable to the same types of analysis as the TEAP Handbook. The job advertisement illustrates issues relating to the theme of professionalism and EAP's perception of itself as different from ELT as anticipated in *"Do the TEFLERs really love us?"* (p. 45; this chapter); this I subject to linguistic analysis.

The data work with this chapter and the literature review to illuminate my positionality as a researcher and the issues under analysis. Wherever possible, throughout the study I attempt to connect these. The texts used in the semiotic

analysis are reproduced in *Appendices 1, 3 and 4* (pp. 255, 260 and 261

respectively).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The literature review is in two asymmetric parts. The shorter part,

(Mainly) Empirical Connections (p. 53) explores recent research relevant to this

study; although not exclusively, this part focuses on empirical research. The

longer part, *Conceptual Connections* (p. 72)*, explores three related themes at

the intersection of which this study lies. Finally, there is a conclusion to the

whole. Although this structure has the advantage of bringing together the

empirical professionalism literature in the two sections that follow, it has the

disadvantage of separating it from the conceptual literature on professionalism.

The rationale for this is to enable the empirical section to be read as a whole,

and for the juxtaposition of the three sections of the *Conceptual Connections* (p.

72) section to demonstrate the strength of the relationship between English and

(neo-) colonialism, the UK higher education environment, and professionalism.

(Mainly) Empirical Connections

This section reviews empirical studies in four areas: professionalism in

EAP, related research in other professions, racism in HEIs and auto-

ethnography. Although this is an EAP study, the EAP section is the second-

longest, not least because of the paucity of material; the longest is the auto-

ethnography section because it sets out to demonstrate the range of

possibilities so I can justify my choice of analytic ethnography (Anderson, 2006).

My style here is to review the papers I have chosen, synthesising where this

makes sense, and then to show how they relate to my study, in particular to the

Conceptual Connections (p. 72) part of this literature review and the data, from

Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP (p. 13), *Chapter 4: Auto-ethnography* (p.

103) and *Chapter 5: Semiotic Analysis* (p. 159).

EAP Professionalism Research

This section focuses on the literature relating to the transition from teaching general English to teaching EAP. The three principal studies in this area are Campion (2016), Martin (2014), and Li and Wang (2018); because the first two studies are very similar in method, I have analysed them together; the third I have treated separately. Although all are relevant to my study, Hadley's (2015) book-length study is particularly so: hence I have devoted most coverage to this; along the way, I have also mentioned relevant non-empirical papers. In each case, I describe the study, its methodology, my thoughts on it, and its relevance to my study. Clearly also relevant is Canagarajah's (2012) autoethnography of his development as teacher of English from the Periphery to the Centre; this, however, I have chosen to cover in the section on *Auto-ethnographic Research* (p. 65) partly because it is not strictly EAP-based and partly because its principal contribution is in the use of auto-ethnography. Before examining the first of the empirical studies, it is important, finally, to mention Ding and Bruce's highly-relevant, albeit non-empirical, book-length *The English for Academic Purposes Practitioner: Operating on the Edge of Academia* (2017) from which I have quoted throughout this study. I mention it rather than including it substantively here for two reasons: it is non-empirical, I am unable to access it electronically, and my institution's Covid-19 restrictions mean I am unable to access my copy, which is in my office on the campus.

Both Campion (2016) and Martin's chapter in *Cases on Teacher Identity, Diversity, and Cognition in Higher Education* (2014) explore teachers' views of challenges in moving from general English teaching to teaching EAP and what might assist in that process. Both are interview-based, of six teachers using

semi-structured interviews in the case of Campion, and four teachers using a narrative approach in the case of Martin; in both cases, the research was carried out in the UK and all teachers were native speakers. Campion's literature review is critical in style and anticipates the concerns of this study in highlighting some of the "vacuous over-simplified generalisations" (2016, p. 61) in distinctions made between general English and EAP; Martin's (2014) review is more neutral, setting the context for EAP as practised in the UK and is orthodox incorporating EAP's mission to address student deficits in autonomy and critical thinking – "bewilderingly abstruse to students from other cultural backgrounds" (2014, p. 289) – already criticised in the introductory chapter to this study. In both cases, the existence of EAP as distinct from ELT and its rarefied separateness are implicit in questions exploring the "transition" (word used in the titles of both studies) from general English teaching and EAP, the "challenges" (again, the word is used in both studies) of that transition, and the utility or otherwise of qualifications and training in overcoming those challenges. Although both explore how professionalism in EAP is achieved, this framing of the research leaves little opportunity to critically address the notion or content of EAP. That said the research does relate this study most obviously in the reification and professional mystification of EAP as recounted in *BALEAP or BALAP* (p. 39), *TEAP Framework or TEAP Cage* (p. 41), *and "Do the TEFLERs really love us?"* (p. 45), in my own journey from general English to EAP as described in the auto-ethnography (p. 131) and in the abstruseness of the TEAP Framework analysed in the semiotic analysis (p. 159). In relation to qualifications, it is worth noting that Ding and Campion review "the existing, impoverished base of literature and research" (2016, p. 547) in a description of the current state of TEAP education and development.

Li and Wang (2018) carry out similar research working with four EAP teachers in Shanghai. Their research makes use not only of interviews – in their case unstructured – but also observations and documents; it is ethnographic and longitudinal over periods of between eight months and two years. Methodologically they make no use of research questions in order to avoid preconceptions but there is again no questioning of the notion or content of EAP and their conclusions are broadly similar to those of Campion (2016) and Martin (2014): that the move from general English to EAP benefited from previous ELT experience and the teachers' own experiences of postgraduate education. For this reason, the relevance of Li and Wang (2018) to this study is similar to that of Campion (2016) and Martin (2014), above.

Martin (2014, p. 289) in setting the context of EAP establishes its financial importance to higher education institutions but it is Hadley (2015) and MacDonald (2016) that set EAP firmly in the context of neoliberal higher education. MacDonald's (2016) paper brings together her experience of EAP in Canada with the relevant literature, particularly Whitchurch's (e.g. 2008) notion of the Third Space – like me, she takes a positive view of the potential this offers for TEAPs – which is also used by Hadley (2015), albeit less positively. Hadley (2015) also makes use of Whitchurch's notion of the blended professional (e.g. 2009b) in his book-length empirical study of the Blended EAP Professional (BLEAP), with the nature of BLEAP work being confirmed by Gillett's (2016) description of the scope of EAP management. Hadley's methodology is critical grounded theory, which he applies to EAP as practised and experienced in the neoliberal university through data gained from 123 interviews, and some repertory grid analysis, with 98 participants from universities in Japan, the UK and the US. From the data, three themes emerge,

which are styled, "Hunting and Gathering" (Hadley, 2015, pp. 61–94), "Weighing and Measuring" (Hadley, 2015, pp. 95–126), and "Moulding and Shaping From on High" (Hadley, 2015, pp. 127–156); the conclusion is styled, "Mobbing, Struggling, and Managing: A Story of Professional Disarticulation" (Hadley, 2015, pp. 157–166).

Hunting and gathering relates to resources and has a deliberately provocative atavistic quality, though Hadley also describes more conservative and less mercenary contexts in the "Covariances and Conditions" section (2015, pp. 84–85). Weighing and measuring, or the "external and internal strategies for determining the quality of educational plans, programs and people" (Hadley, 2015, p. 95), with the people here being BLEAPs, students and TEAPs. Moulding and shaping from on high occurs where BLEAPs, through success in hunting and gathering, and weighing and measuring achieve the credibility and relationships to make strategic changes to EAP within the institution. The professional disarticulation of the conclusion arises from the transition from TEAP to BLEAP.

Hadley's (2015) work is impressive in the quantity and quality of data, its analysis, the coding he applies to it, and in the way he eschews "a type of objectivized, hedged and neutral discourse that gives rise to positivist expectations" (2015, p. 17). And, although my context is less mercenary than the majority of those in Hadley's (2015) study, its concerns are also closely related to mine. This can be seen in the way his work relates to *UK Higher Education Environment* (p. 87) and *Professionalism* (p. 92) sections of the *Conceptual Contexts* section (p. 72) of this literature review. Echoes of Hadley's analysis can also be found in the semiotic analysis (p. 159), particularly the analysis of the pre-sessional job advertisement (p. 187), and auto-ethnographic

(p. 131) sections of this study, not least in my own transition from TEAP to BLEAP.

The relatively small number of empirical professionalism studies in EAP indicate the value of this study. Although none question the construct or ideology of EAP, they provide a helpful starting point and illuminate a number of relevant issues. This is particularly true of Hadley's (2015) study which he explicitly sets in the context of neoliberal higher education; his grounded theory approach is also an inspiration for the Reading Between the Lines chapter (p. 193) in the sense that its structure is data-led.

Related Professionalism Research

This section reviews three papers from the last five years in the broad area of professionalism: Blok et al. (2019) covering engineers and landscape architects, doctors and nurses, and engineers and business managers, Ruiz Ben (2019) for project and quality professionals in IT, and Aldous and Freeman for sports educators (2017). I describe the paper's context and methodology before considering its relationship with this study; this review of empirical studies complements the theoretical material in the *Professionalism* (p. 92) section of this literature review.

Blok et al. (2019) examine boundary practices between engineers and landscape architects, doctors and nurses and engineers and business managers in three case studies of water-related climate adaption, lifestyle disease prevention and innovation management respectively; in so doing, their methodology is comparative abductive analysis, a type of grounded theory, which makes use of qualitative interviews, field observations, documents and workplace artifacts. Their research reveals three modes of interprofessional

boundary work: pragmatic re-shuffling, tactical re-negotiation and cross-ecological alliance seeking; the first involves "mutually respectful cooperation" (Blok et al., 2019, p. 603), the second takes the opportunity to "leverage interprofessional boundary work towards competition over organizational scripts and prerogatives" (Blok et al., 2019, p. 605) and the third seeks wider alliances.

Blok et al.'s work relates to this study in a number of ways. EAP as a work area is very much what Blok et al. (2019), after Abbott (1988), describe as a proto-jurisdiction and their three modes make sense in the EAP context: pragmatic boundary re-shuffling can be seen in the way TEAPS negotiate the level of content specificity in English language programmes with academic colleagues; tactical boundary re-negotiation, albeit not between what I regard as two separate professions, can be seen in EAP's desire to distance itself from EFL already documented in *"Do the TEFLERs really love us?"* (p. 45), something that will be further developed in *Chapter 4: Auto-ethnography* (p. 131); and cross-ecological alliance seeking can be seen in the institutional and individual effort of the creation of BALEAP itself, with its associated institutional and individual membership schemes, conference and professional interest meetings.

In contrast, Ruiz Ben (2019) focuses on one work area, examining professional boundary formation in transnational workspaces in the IT industry in Germany. She focuses on project and quality management professionals and, like Blok et al. (2019) uses three, albeit different, components: linkages between tasks and organised action, mechanisms for legitimating work, and the search for professional identity. Her methodology has some parallels with the Blok et al. (2019) study in that it makes use of document analysis, semi-structured interviews, group discussions and workplace observations. Also like

Blok et al. (2019), Ruiz Ben (2019) finds evidence of both cooperation and demarcation between adjacent professions; additionally, she identifies professionalism used by the employing organisation as a means of practitioner/employee control, with, she asserts, the latter being especially true of emergent professions in market-oriented workspaces.

There are some interesting points of connection to this study, not least in EAP being an emergent profession, at best, in a market-oriented workspace and in Ruiz Ben's (2019) findings in relation to linkages between tasks and organised action. Here, there is a blend of consulting and management with a "professional track ('Fachlaufbahn') and a managerial track ('Linienlaufbahn')" (Ruiz Ben, 2019, p. 134) which is not only reminiscent of Hadley's (2015) TEAP/BLEAP distinction but also of my own experience as detailed in *Chapter 4: Autho-ethnography* (p. 131) supported by the *Chapter 5: Semiotic Analysis* (p. 159). Ruiz Ben's observation that "the increasing importance of quality systems places limits on project managers' discretion" (2019, p. 135) recalls the TEAP Framework (BALEAP, 2014) already mentioned in *TEAP Framework or TEAP Cage?* (p. 41) in the first chapter.

In Ruiz Ben (2019), there was an echo of Hadley (2015); the third of these three papers, Aldous and Freeman (2017) anticipates Costas Batlle (2018) in the *Auto-ethnographic Research* (p. 65) section of this literature review in that its context is sport/education, a domain in which, incidentally, my institution is particularly active. Aldous and Freeman (2017) examine how a Foundation Degree in Sport Coaching lecturer, Janet, negotiates the tensions between industry and academia in a six-month case study of pedagogical practice recorded in a reflective diary and subjected to thematic analysis. They conclude that reflective practice on the part of lecturers should be encouraged

as a method of negotiating such tensions and building students' academic skills alongside the more practical content of such programmes.

Aldous and Freeman's (2017) distinction between academic skills and content goes to the heart of EAP, as I suggested in *BALEAP or BALAP* (p. 39). In reflecting on this paper, I ask myself whether EAP's focus on academic skills rather than language (content), particularly given that the teaching of such academic skills requires only ELT training, indicates an undergraduate focus, a focus which conflicts with reality in all the EAP contexts in which I have worked (see *Chapter 4: Auto-ethnography*, p. 131 for more detail of those contexts) or a hierarchy implicit in the (neo-colonial) nature and practice of EAP. I also reflect that in Aldous and Freeman's (2017) distinction, after Bernstein (2000), between strongly- and weakly-framed pedagogy, EAP appears to prefer the former, partly for practical reasons in that there is little time to develop an intensive summer pre-sessional as it unrolls but also to maintain the hierarchy between TEAPs and BLEAPs.

Despite their lack of explicit connection to EAP, the concerns in these papers resonate with those explored by this study; they also provide a model for how such concerns might be approached in their use of thematic analysis. It is reassuring to see that areas of concern to the study of professionalism more widely clearly intersect with the current situation in EAP.

Structural Racism Within HEIs

This section identifies studies that describe structural racism, implicitly making it part of the wallpaper within higher education institutions, despite claims we live in a post-racial world. I introduce this section with a paper that connects firmly with my professional context and then one that extends this to

the US, which has already appeared in this study in my exploration of *EAP, BALEAP, ESOL and More* (p. 21) in the introductory chapter. The remainder considers racism from the perspective of staff, students and the curriculum, briefly reviewing two papers in each area. None of the studies are set in my institution but it is certainly the case that its student and staff bodies are conspicuously white.

At my institution, I recently took the Unconscious Bias refresher module; this is "Mandatory for all managers if it has been more than one year since you completed the full-length Unconscious Bias module" (source not given for reasons of anonymity). I was interested to see exactly this course negatively referenced in the title of Tate and Page's paper, "Whiteliness and institutional racism: hiding behind (un) conscious bias" (2018). Tate and Page argue convincingly that the effect of equality and diversity training is to diminish racism through "training to participate in a constructed 'post-racial' reality" (2018, p. 141); as Hamer and Lang say, quoting Sara Ahmed, this is the"non-performativity of anti-racism" (2015, p. 898); they make a clear case for higher education institutions in the US as being sites of "racism and structural violence" (2015, p. 898) for both students and staff, relating this to the prevalence of neoliberalism in higher education, a connection explored further in the *UK Higher Education Environment* section (p. 87) of this literature review.

I take two papers, both from the UK, to demonstrate the prevalence of racism to which students are subject. Coincidentally, Brown and Jones (2013) was published in the year I started my EdD and Joseph-Salisbury (2019) was published in the year I submitted. Resonating with Hamer and Lang (2015) and the *UK Higher Education Environment* section (p. 87) of this literature review, Brown and Jones (2013) frame their paper with neoliberal concerns about

international student recruitment and from there investigate such students' experiences of racism through a questionnaire followed up by unstructured interviews. Of 153 students surveyed, 48 had experienced racism in various forms, from physical to verbal: these experiences are what Joseph-Salisbury would term microagressions, or "the surface level, everyday, interpersonal manifestation of institutional whiteness and structural white supremacy" (2019, p. 12). With the starting point of the story of Femi Nylander, a black University of Oxford PPE alumnus whose innocent actions were criminalised, Joseph-Salisbury uses the concepts of racial microagressions and bodies out of place with critical race theory to demonstrating convincingly that, far from being post-racial, universities, and particularly British universities, are "*constructed as a place of intellect. Intellect has already been coded as white. Ideologically then, the university is not just an intellectual space but a white space*" (2019, p. 6; emphasis in the original).

Joseph-Salisbury's paper also touches on the significant underrepresentation of people of colour among academic staff in British HEIs and his, "predictable ensnaring of Black bodies in the web of Whiteness that undergirds Higher Education" (2019, p. 2) is echoed in Dar and Ibrahim's, "The post-race university is a space of acute racialisation where the Blackened body is reproduced through a mythology of the academy's own moral and intellectual superiority and a reinvigorated missionary zeal to deliver emancipation from inequalities" (2019, p. 1250). This is the first of two papers, both again from the UK, examining racism as experienced by staff in HEIs. Dar and Ibrahim (2019) theorise the use of shame as a tool of governmentality to "silence, alienate and degrade women of colour" (Dar & Ibrahim, 2019, p. 1241). The paper also recalls Tate and Page (2018), quoted above, and clarifies one mechanism for

racism's invisibility in the academy: "Theorizing race in ways that place whiteness outside of it enables White elites an enormous amount of self-ignorance that means, as racism occurs, White managers feign/experience disbelief" (Dar & Ibrahim, 2019, p. 1247). In the second paper, Bhopal and Pitkin (2020) evaluate the Equality Challenge Unit's Race Equality Charter mark (REC) for its effectiveness in advancing racial equality. This they do by means of interviews with key staff tasked with leading and implementing it in their institutions; of the 45 informants, 22 identified people of colour. Like Tate and Page (2018) in relation to unconscious bias training, Bhopal and Pitkin conclude that the REC "will work to perpetuate the interests of Whites and reinforce White supremacy" (2020, p. 543).

Another aspect of racism is in HEIs is "White-centric knowledge" (Dar & Ibrahim, 2019, p. 1247); Joseph-Salisbury's paper (2019) references this in his discussion of the whiteness of intellect. As with most of the papers reviewed here, Jivraj (2020) could fall into a discussion of racism as experienced by students, staff or as embedded in the curriculum but it is for the latter I have chosen to use it. In the first of three parts, Jivraj outlines the HEI context relating to "BME attainment" and then theorises how to overcome "the policy focus remaining on bodies of colour rather than the problem of institutional and structural racism and whiteness" (2020, p. 561) before describing a decolonising the curriculum project which she led. The outcome of this for its participants was the

confidence to take academic risks in researching topics that are meaningful to them, with less fear that they may be misunderstood or marked down as a result; where knowledges are presented and divulged

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collectively rather than the myth of there being one "canon" (Jivraj, 2020, p. 564)

Epistemic racism in the form of "Eurocentric indoctrination" (Heleta, 2016, p. 3) exists even in the potentially surprising context of South Africa, where one might expect the situation to have changed with the end of apartheid. This is explored and described by Heleta in his paper "Decolonisation of higher education: Dismantling epistemic violence and Eurocentrism in South Africa" (2016). I include this for the same reason that I included the example of contemporary French linguistic imperialism in *Lingua Franca, Nonsense, La Francophonie, and Bricolage* (p. 36): a related example from outside the UK can reveal a truth about my own context which might otherwise remain invisible. Heleta makes a strong case for Eurocentrism which "seeks to universalize the West and provincialize the rest" (Zeleza quoted in Heleta, 2016, p. 3).

As this small collection of papers demonstrates, racism is very much a feature of the HE landscape. While invisible to many, corroborating this was as straightforward as corroborating the (neo-) colonial nature of English language teaching and EAP in *English and (Neo-) Colonialism* (p. 74) later in this literature review. What emerges is the prevalence of structural, institutional racism and how it reproduces itself, in the UK at least, to the benefit of the white majority even as that majority appears to address it.

Auto-ethnographic Research

This section reviews five auto-ethnographic studies from the last five years; it also includes Canagarajah's (2012) highly-relevant autoethnography of his development as a teacher of ESOL: together they inform the

autoethnographic section of this study. To that end, I analyse in particular how the authors make use of autoethnography and how, if at all, they connect it to wider issues. To clarify the style of this study's autoethnography and what it does (not) aspire to, the papers present the range of autoethnography from evocative to analytic on Le Roux's (2017) continuum; they are also arranged in ascending order of relevance to this study. There is further material on autoethnography as a methodology in the *Autoethnography* section of the methodology chapter. I finish my review of each paper with an evaluation of its autoethnographic component. The section finishes with thoughts on how this part of the literature review informs the autoethnographic section of the study.

Nicholas (2016) on divorce and Poulos (2016) on memory are both examples of the evocative style of autoethnography. Nicholas's paper sets out to describe her experience of her parents' divorce in her early twenties; its stated contribution to knowledge is to add to discussions of such experiences. It is divided into a short introduction which addresses auto-ethnography as a research method explicitly albeit fleetingly. This is followed by the auto-ethnography in sections chronologically ordered – "How it all began", "The event" and "The aftermath"; the auto-ethnography is in prose and is a narrative and a description of the events and emotions Nicholas experienced. "Final thoughts" is a reflective conclusion which offers her specific experience as a shared human experience, albeit "an uncommon perspective" (2016, p. 590), with little explicit connection to social issues more widely, or related literature. Although the autoethnographic content is touchingly vulnerable, the author loses my sympathy to some extent because of the distance implied in it being an unusual experience; with this, and the potential for her age to mitigate rather

than exacerbate the effect, there is a danger this example of autoethnography could be regarded as self-indulgently cathartic.

In contrast, although towards the end of his paper, Poulos offers an explicit connection to wider issues by arguing that "all *auto*ethnography is really *co*-autoethnography. It only has being insofar as it engages some relation to a reader, or an audience, and that reader/audience is taking it in, and responding to it" (2016, p. 557; emphasis in the original). The introduction is in two parts, "The Contours of Memory" and "Lyric Memories". The autoethnographic section uses recollection and reflection to "open up a dialogue about the intersections of memory, song, and relational co-being and co-authorship" (2016, p. 552); it makes use of poetry, song lyrics and (self-) dialogue, and it is written in an informal style and follows chronological order: "July 1969", "August 1969", "October 1969", and "Carrying the Weight". Almost certainly in a conscious and effective mirror of the introduction, the conclusion is also in two parts, "Co-Coda" and "Lyric-Coda"; in both the introduction and conclusion, the first section is the more analytical although throughout. To me, Paulos's paper is masterfully written – this is where my interest in literature asserts itself – and demonstrates structural integrity from a literary perspective; I'm not wholly convinced that it fully achieves what it sets out to do in terms of co-being and co-authorship but it is engages me and sets me on a thought trajectory.

In both papers, there is a blurring between the autoethnography and analysis and little explicit sense of wider societal issues which is to be expected from evocative authoethnography (Anderson, 2006). Particularly in the case of Nicholas's paper, which contains little theorising, it is as though they exist in a context in which the rules of this type of autoethnography are accepted and even taken-for-granted. This is not the case with the next three papers, which

all provide and explicit explanation of – and even justification for – using autoethnography.

The next three studies are analytic in style and are closer to this study's autoethnography in that they concern themselves with social and professional issues: education for would-be adoptive parents, difficulties in the supervision of a trainee supervisor in a health setting, and frustrations with the socio-political context of a sports charity. The first two studies aim to solve a problem, or at least to offer possible ways forward; the third offers a frame – neoliberalism and governmentality – to improve understanding of its context.

Including the introduction and conclusion, Sidhu's (2018) paper is structured into eight sections. The second section sets the study in a post-colonial framework with the next section making a (strong) case for autoethnography as "a distinctive post-colonial methodology" (Sidhu, 2018, p. 2178) followed by sections on adoption as population-management and transnational adoption. The autoethnography itself forms part of a section situating adoption in Australia; the autoethnographic text accounts for about 20% of the paper's total number of words; it is set off in italics. The material flows from Sidhu's own experience of adopting as a non-white parent in Australia; she chooses the detail for its relevance to the study and is both reflective and grounded in literature itself. Beyond that, its connections with the literature review are not only implicit – in their juxtaposition – but also explicit in the text and the headings of the text; the concerns are also returned to in the section that follows, "Imagining an alternative education for prospective parents" (Sidhu, 2018, p. 2190). To me, Sidhu's autoethnography is entirely convincing; the part where she describes how potential adoptees are made "adoptable" is

fascinating; the whole is satisfying in how personal it is and yet also so tightly-linked to the issues raised in the literature review.

Like this study, the next two papers are both based in professional practice, although both involve relatively shorter time periods. The Borders and Giordano (2016) paper is explicitly analytical, as revealed in the title: "Confronting confrontation in clinical supervision: An analytical autoethnography". There is a literature review which includes an introduction to autoethnography followed by a more detailed methodology section, which reflects the choice of a particular style of auto-ethnography in which the authors "sought to coconstruct [*sic*] an introspective narrative" (Borders & Giordano, 2016, p. 455). The autoethnography itself takes up approximately 40% of the total number of words and is set off in its own section, with chronological subsections: "Before: A New Role", "During: The Epiphany", "During: The Confrontation Experience", "After: Commitment and Growth". The narrative does not itself refer to theory but clearly exists in relationship to the issues identified in the introduction and the following "Discussion" and "Pedagogical Implications"; there is also "Limitations and Future Research" with a one-paragraph conclusion. I find the quite traditional structure of the paper odd in relation to its use of autoethnography; nevertheless, the autoethnographic text feels authentic to me, and I don't doubt, were I in that field, it would make sense on multiple levels; in fact, there may be a missed opportunity in that principled confrontation is relevant in many situations.

Costas Batlle et al. (2018) is both professionally-situated and concerned with the operation of neoliberalism in the workplace so enjoys a deep connection with this study. It is less heavily structured than the other analytical papers discussed here, with just four sections: an introduction,

"Autoethnography and stories as a research method", "Writing my story and analysing it" and a conclusion. The economy of this structure can be seen in the third section which contains both the autoethnography and the analysis. The autoethnographic text makes use of "stories were crafted from a combination of personal reflections, observations, and semi-structured interviews" (Costas Batlle et al., 2018, p. 3) and is not chronological, instead making use of a layered account format with the use of three stars to separate it from the analysis at the beginning and end and throughout to signal new layers. The autoethnographic section is the only non-chronological example in these papers. The paper is structured such that chronology is an irrelevance; my concern here, though, largely because it is something I need to consider in relation to this study's autoethnography, is that not all the material is made use of in the analysis. That aside, the way it connects to neoliberalism and governmentality does work; the question is whether the unused material is irrelevant or contributes to verisimilitude.

Canagarajah's (2012) paper traces his professional development as an ESOL teacher from Sri Lanka to the USA, so is highly-relevant to the autoethnographic aspect of this study. The paper starts with a revealing Centre/Periphery early-career anecdote from Jaffna; this is followed by a methodology section in which he theoretically grounds his "ethnographic self-reconstruction" (Canagarajah, 2012, p. 258) anticipated in the abstract. The autoethnography is developed in two further sections – "Professionalization Jaffna-style" and "Institutionalized paths to professionalization" – it then considers the TESOL profession more widely – "Relating to the wider professional community" – before arriving at a conclusion that speculates on possible ways forward for the profession. The paper makes extensive use of

Wenger (e.g. 1998), who first appears "Professionalization Jaffna-style", with *Communities of Practice* (Wenger, 1998) even becoming a participant in the narrative: "In 1998, when *Communities of Practice* was published, I was flipping through the pages of the book" (Canagarajah, 2012, p. 269). Wenger's work, critiqued occasionally, is embedded throughout, framing the analysis. I appreciate the scope of this paper; this enables the reader to see Canagarajah's professional development over a substantial period of time. One question is whether the use of Wenger (e.g. 1998), which has a scientific quality, is compatible with authethnography as a qualitative methodology – the issue of consonance between method and paradigm is raised by Holliday and MacDonald (2019) in the context of intercultural communication studies – but in this case Wenger's work provides a framework familiar to English language teachers.

What implications do these papers have for the autoethnographic section of this study? They demonstrate autoethnography as both accepted and valued as a methodology in studies relating to professionalism. They also clearly situate this study at the analytic end of Le Roux's (2017) continuum: it is not enough, as Canagarajah says of evocative ethnography, that "narratives are shaped by and imply our analysis of experience" (2012, p. 261); whether integrated with the autoethnographic content or separate, analytic autoethnography (Anderson, 2006) requires explicit analysis. The choice of that autoethnographic content is motivated: Canagarajah's "Even the memories and perspectives of the subject are socially constructed and ideologically mediated, and do not provide transparent access to 'the truth'" (2012, p. 261) echoes Sidhu's "Like all ethnographies, mine should not be read as a definitive description of 'what really happened', but as my embodied perspective" (2018,

p. 2180). There is a question as to the extent to which autoethnographic material is selected for its relevance in relation to the points it is intended to illustrate: in this respect, I aspire less to the discursive approach taken by Batlle et al. (2018), and more to the economical approach taken by Sidhu (2018), Borders and Giordano (2016), and Canagarajah, who says, "I must focus on a few analytical threads" (2012, p. 261). In the case of this study, autoethnographic material appears in *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP?* as well as in *Chapter 4: Autoethnography;* the discussion of autoethnography as a method appears here and in *Chapter 3: Methodology;* the analysis sits partly alongside the autoethnographic material and in *Chapter 6: Reading Between the Lines.*

Conceptual Contexts

This review draws on the three themes of English and (neo-) colonialism, the UK HE environment, and professionalism; these themes lie at the heart of this study in relation to EAP's students and teachers, and EAP more widely. I start with English and (neo-) colonialism because this is crucial to the intuition that started the study – described in *EAP as "good ole American fun"* (p. 13): given that one of the premises on which the whole is predicated is that discourse both constitutes, and is constituted by, social reality, it seemed overwhelmingly likely that English and (neo-) colonialism were co-implicated, and there is ample evidence to suggest this is the case. There is then a connection between the "E" of EAP and its context of British higher education, and the ideological environment in which British higher education operates. This in turn is the environment in which EAP practitioners work and in which they define their professionalism, and in which that professionalism is defined.

The diagram below (Figure 2) presents a broad topography of this part of the literature review. It focuses principally on the intersections – and tensions – between the three areas: professionalism, for example, conflicts with consumerism in the UK HE environment which is in turn supported by the linguistic imperialism of English which in turn works with professionalism to secure BALEAP's claim to jurisdiction over this professional area. The exception to this focused approach is the first area, English and (neo-) colonialism, which is longer and more wide-ranging in that it explores sub-areas of potential relevance to the understanding the research questions seek. Unlike in *(Mainly) Empirical Connections* (p. 53), I comment on the relationship to the study at the end of each section rather than on each paper.
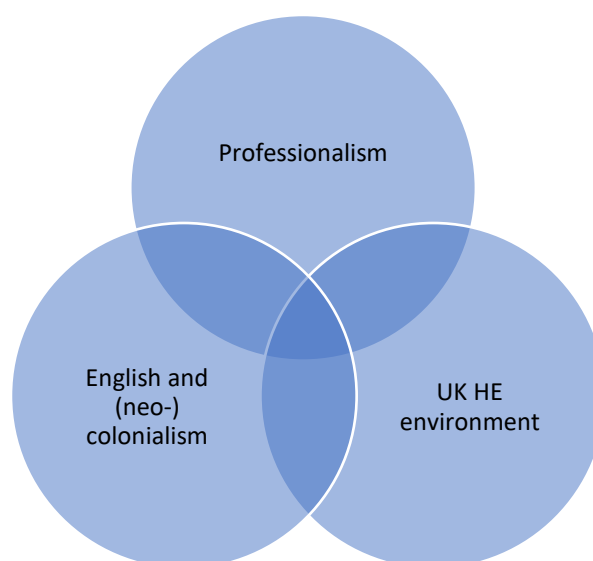
Figure 2: Diagram of literature review

There is one significant area from the applied linguistics literature which is not represented, despite its relevance: native-speakerism. This is the ideology that "native-speakers" are best-placed to teach English (and EAP)

because they are culturally attuned to both the language and to the normative (Centre) methodology for teaching it (Holliday, 2018). Native-speakerism links with all three sections of this part of the literature review and its relevance to this study is multivalent. One example of this is in recruitment practices, described in *EAP as "good ole American fun"* (p. 13) and in *Chapter 4: Autoethnogaphy* (p. 131), which make the assumption that a "native-speaker" teacher is somehow automatically qualified to teach "critical thinking" and to develop "student autonomy": such assumptions are addressed by Holliday and Aboshiha, particularly in the section on "the professionalisation of culture as a problem" (2009, pp. 679–680). I made the decision not to make greater use of native-speakerism because, although it is symptomatic of the issues in this study, I have chosen to highlight issues that might make an easier entry point for EAP colleagues. In making this decision, I am conscious of my "non-native speaker" colleagues past, present and future and of "non-native speaker" colleagues' contributions to the thinking in this study because of their greater consciousness of the issues raised.

English and (Neo-) Colonialism

After first defining (neo-) imperialism and (neo-) colonialism, and arguing for a view of imperialism as a principally material and cultural rather than political concept, this theme covers three areas: English/ELT and imperialism/colonialism, Phillipson's linguistic imperialism and related concepts, and Pennycook's colonial dichotomies. The connections with the other two themes of the literature review are anticipated both here and in *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP?* and they become progressively clearer as each is added.

Said distinguishes imperialism and colonialism; for him "'imperialism' means the practice, the theory and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory; 'colonialism', which is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the implanting of settlements on distant territory" (1994, p. 8). Although this distinction is clear, it lacks nuance. It is unclear here, for example, whether imperialism is a political or economic system, or both (Williams, 1985, pp. 159–160); if purely political then imperialism ends with independence but, if a system of economic control, then changes in political status may make little difference: hence the use of the term neo-imperialism to describe still-existent structural inequalities in favour of former imperial nations. Colonialism in Said's definition is a secondary aspect of imperialism, i.e. the place of its implementation, but can be extended to "the lived experience of those who experience imperialism…. [and] also a lived experience of the colonizers …" (Pennycook, 1998, pp. 34–35), with, by extension, its continuing presence in neo-colonialism. This latter definition is more useful in that it provides a space to consider the cultural implications of colonialism; Pennycook's inclusion of the effects on both colonized and colonizer recognises the significant impact on both and recalls Fanon (2001) and Nandy (2010). Mignolo (2003) uses the concept of coloniality to describe the enduring effects of colonialism, described here by Maldonado-Torres:

> Coloniality survives colonialism. It is maintained alive in books, in the criteria for academic performance, in cultural patterns, in common sense, in the self-image of peoples, in aspirations of self, as so many other aspects of our modern experience. In a way, as modern subjects we breathe coloniality all the time and every day. (2007, p. 243)

The distinction between imperialism as a political or economic system is a crucial one. Hobson's early classic critique of imperialism asks why "Imperialism escape[s] general recognition for the narrow, sordid thing it is?" (1902, p. 207). The implication here is that the emphasis of imperialism is purely economic, but justified itself by a sense of mission. However, reality is more complex because, as Kumaravadivelu observes, "Imperial powers treated colonialism as a civilizing mission they were destined to perform" (2006, p. 2); it may be that the emphasis shifted from the economic to the political over the course of the Robertson's second wave of globalization (2003); certainly Gilmour's recent (2018) study of the British in India suggests this in relation to the eclipse of the (commercial) East India Company and the establishment of the British Raj in 1858.

It has been argued that a similar connection extends to the language itself, particularly in the context of its colonial associations. Fanon's, "To speak means to be in a position to use a certain syntax, to grasp the morphology of this or that language, but it means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilisation," (2001, pp. 17–18) makes this point eloquently. Speaking of German, Pennycook invokes Steiner, saying of its use in connection with Belsen, "Something will happen to the words. Something of the lies and the sadism will settle in the marrow of the language" (1998, p. 1). In relation to English, Pennycook (1994, p. 25) makes a similar point supported with the examples of Fernando and Ndebele, for Southeast Asia and South Africa respectively; his conclusion is that

these connections run deep, that the long history of colonialism has

established important connections to English. Such connections do not

lie so much in 'the marrow' of English but in the intimate relations

between the language and the discourses of colonialism (1998, p. 4).

That language should be intertwined with the world in this way is unsurprising in

that this is the position of CDA and the premise on which this study is

predicated: that discourse both constitutes, and is constituted by, social reality.

One analysis of this connection comes from the literary criticism of Said,

which links to my own literary interests described in *Chapter 1: What's Wrong*

with EAP? Said describes a

general pattern of relationships between the modern metropolitan West

and its overseas territories. … What are striking … are the rhetorical

figures one keeps encountering in ... descriptions of 'the mysterious

East', as well as stereotypes about 'the African [or Indian or Irish or

Jamaican or Chinese] mind' (1994, p. xi),

recalling the quotation from Lowe (1985) in *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with*

EAP?; Said previews this with two short examples relating to *Great*

Expectations (Dickens, 1992) and *Nostromo* (Conrad, 1976). The relevance of

this approach lies in the application of Said's work to culture more generally and

to the ability of analysis to yield up these works' connections to imperialism and,

by extension, the possibility that EAP/BALEAP may be equally amenable to

analysis.

Said argues of culture's "refining and elevating element" (1994, p. 13) that it becomes associated with the nation or the state, differentiating us from them, "almost always with some degree of xenophobia" (1994, p. 13). He addresses the problem that elevating this aspect of culture to this level divorces it from reality, making it "antiseptically quarantined from its worldly affiliations" (1994, p. 15) and thus making it problematic to connect such works with social issues such as slavery or racism. Said seeks to do this by simultaneously acknowledging the strengths of the works and acknowledging and exposing those connections: "I do not believe that authors are mechanically determined by ideology, class, or economic history, but authors are … very much in the history of their societies, shaping and shaped by that history and their social experience in different measure" (1994, p. xxiv); this is an attitude similar to that expressed by Kutzer (2012) cited in *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP?* in relation to children's literature. Both resonate with Pennycook's (1998) point about the relationship between colonisers and the colonised or, as Said puts it,

> to ignore or otherwise discount the overlapping experience of Westerners and Orientals, the interdependence of the cultural terrains in which colonizer and colonized co-existed and battled with each other … is to miss what is essential about the world in the past century. (1994, pp. xxii–xxiii)

From a linguistic perspective, the connection between English and (neo-)imperialism/colonialism, and indeed other global phenomena including globalisation and neo-liberalism, is often hidden. This was anticipated in the first chapter and has been described by Kumaravadivelu as follows:

It is safe to suggest that while naked colonialism in the form of territorial

occupation will not go unchallenged, empire in the form of neocolonial

hegemonic control will go on unchanged. English, as a global language,

will continue to serve the communicational needs as well as the

propaganda purposes of both globalization and empire. (2006, p. 13)

Phillipson, to whom this section later turns, however, has made it his business

to expose these propaganda purposes (Phillipson, 1992, 2008). Holborow

imagines what a change to this might look like, anticipating that "English, once

the language of the oppressor, can become the language of the oppressed.

Speaking that revolt in English … may become the spectre that will come to

haunt the world order which so confidently promotes World English today"

(1999, p. 94; see also Canagarajah, 1999).

The complexity and nuance of these relationships are expressed in the

title of the introduction to a special edition of *Critical Enquiry in Language*

Studies: An International Journal: "Coloniality, postcoloniality, and TESOL: Can

a spider weave its way out of the web that it is being woven into just as it

weaves" (Lin & Luke, 2006, p. 65)? Lin and Luke's title makes the connection to

TESOL (cf. Canagarajah, 1999; Hsu, 2017; Kumaravadivelu, 2006). Pennycook

expresses it as follows:

much of what we do as language teachers, teacher educators, parents,

applied linguists and so on may be directed by popular discourses on

language and education that do not seem – at least on the surface – to

be so current within the rarefied thinking of applied linguistics.

Importantly, furthermore, these popular discourses circulate as part of a European or Anglo-American culture and have their origins in the same colonial context as ELT. Connections between ELT and colonialism, therefore, can be found in the relationship between ELT and the popular discourses on English and other cultures which circulate in the same contexts (1998, p. 22).

Also speaking of the connection between English, colonization and ELT, Motha puts it thus: "The insertion of English into the mouths and hearts of the population was often an inherent part of the project … So a colonial imprint is stamped into our profession and remains there indelibly" (2014, p. 27); this is unsurprising in the light of Willinsky's point that, "given the enormity of imperialism's educational project and its relatively recent demise, it seems only reasonable to expect that this project would live on, for many of us, as an unconscious aspect of our education" (1998, p. 3).

Although it distances itself from TEFL in particular (BALEAP, 2012, p. 220) and ELT more generally, EAP is nevertheless indisputably a part of ELT, being in its own choice of definition, "the study of English for the purpose of participating in higher education" (Bruce, 2015, p. 6). As English language teachers, we should, therefore, be alert to Pennycook's statement above; we should also develop and refine our awareness of the history and politics of ELT, which is not "ideologically innocent" (Holborow, 1999, p. 54); indeed "coloniality is still very much an overt force and an underlying presupposition in the field of TESOL" (Lin & Luke, 2006, p. 67), or, as Tolman puts it, "It must be reasoned that the language classroom epitomizes a self-producing and reproducing colonized world" (2006, p. 192); of EAP in particular, Turner suggests its

"context of emergence associates it with the discourses of economic and technological development which have set up a hierarchical relationship between the developed and developing world or the first world and the third world" (2011, p. 17).

Despite the generally uncritical "technicist" (Turner, 2011, pp. 30–32) approach to EAP – mirrored in BALEAP, for which the 2017 AGM minutes report, "The question over Political Voice [*sic*] provoked a very mixed response" (2017), a quality also alluded to by Ding and Bruce (2017, pp. 187–188) – Phillipson succeeds in setting ELT in his "macro-societal theoretical perspective" (1992, p. 2) of linguistic imperialism. Phillipson's definition is:

> *English linguistic imperialism is that the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages.* Here *structural* refers broadly to material properties (for example, institutions, financial allocations) and *cultural* to immaterial or ideological properties (for example, attitudes, pedagogic principles)" (1992, p. 47; emphasis in the original).

Phillipson has been criticised for understating "the agency of speakers of other languages, who are not always passive recipients of imposed hegemony directed by decision makers in the centre and their puppet elites in the periphery" (Whitehead, 2011, p. 4; see also Canagarajah, 1999), and implicitly in Pennycook's (1994, pp. 67–68) invocation of Nandy's *The Tao of Cricket* (1989) and Crystal's (2012) and Graddol's (1997, 2008) largely uncritical advocacy of English as an international language. However, Phillipson finds

support in Kumaravadivelu, who also connects ELT with (neo-) imperialism and (neo-) colonialism and with economic forces and, in so doing, anticipates the connection between English and (neo-) colonialism, and globalisation and neoliberalism in the next section of this chapter:

> The history of English language and English language teaching (ELT) shows that its colonial coloration has four interrelated dimensions – scholastic, linguistic, cultural, and economic. Briefly, the scholastic dimension of English relates to the ways in which Western scholars have furthered their own vested interests by disseminating Western knowledge and denigrating local knowledge.… The cultural dimension integrates the teaching of English language with the teaching of Western culture with a view to developing in the L2 learners cultural empathy towards the target language community. These three dimensions are linked to a vitally important economic dimension that adds jobs and wealth to the economy of English-speaking countries through a worldwide ELT industry. (2006, p. 12)

Although Phillipson's concept has been instrumental in developing my understanding of influences on EAP, it does have a grand theory quality to it, which means it sits uncomfortably with my research approach. It is therefore a starting point and I here include a number of Pennycook's colonial dichotomies; these are at once smaller in scope and more amenable to analysis in my context. Their relevance can be seen in Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin:

It can be argued that the study of English and the growth of Empire proceeded from a single ideological climate and that the development of one is intrinsically bound up with the development of the other, both at the level of simple utility (as propaganda for instance) and at the unconscious level, where it leads to the naturalizing of constructed values (e.g., civilization, humanity, etc.), which, conversely, established "savagery," "native," "primitive," as their antitheses and as the object of reforming zeal. (2002, p. 3)

Pennycook (1998) identifies among his cultural constructs of colonialism eight colonial dichotomies, which echo Blaut's contrast-sets between the Core and the Periphery (1993, p. 17), of which this thesis makes use of two: Europe and the Other: the Inside and the Outside, and the Adult and the Child. These dichotomies are also prominent in Said (2003) and find an analogue in Tchen and Yeats' "either/or binaries: East or West, good or bad, civilized or uncivilized, understanding how they have been usefully abused in practices of power and knowledge-making" (2014, p. 39).

Tchen and Yeats' (2014) book focuses exclusively on how China and its people have been portrayed in the West; although to a large degree China retained its sovereignty over the period of European imperial expansion, Pennycook establishes the relevance of the colonial perspective in relation to discourses on China which show "clearly how widespread the discourses of colonialism have been and that their production was not necessarily linked to the material conditions of colonialism" (1998, p. 163).

Of the two dichotomies described here, the most written-about is Self-Other (e.g. Pennycook, 1998, pp. 47–51). Said sees both sides of the colonial

equation in his, "there is an 'us' and a 'them', each quite settled, clear, unassailably self-evident … the hallmark of imperialist cultures as well as those cultures trying to resist the encroachments of Europe" (1994, p. xxviii), unlike Venn's,

> it was intrinsic to European self-understanding, determining how Europe and Europeans could locate themselves – as modern, as civilized, as superior – only by reference to another that was represented as the negation of everything that Europe imagined or desired itself to be. (Venn, 2000, p. 3).

Lin and Luke argue that this is embedded in the TE and SOL of TESOL, which "already assigns the dichotomous *Self-Other* subject positions to teacher and learner. It interactionally and officially positions the Anglo teacher as *Self,* and positions the learner in a life trajectory of forever being *Other* – continuing the colonial storyline" (2006, p. 67; see also Pennycook, 1998).

To continue with TESOL, or ELT, and to relate it to EAP, and to BALEAP's iteration of EAP with its teachers and learners, there is clear potential for a manifestation of the Self-Other dichotomy. This can be glimpsed in the high proportion of Chinese students in my professional context (and in other UK universities) and my reservations about some of the generalisations made about them highlighted in *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP?* My example there was of Chinese students' alleged propensity for plagiarism (cf. Pecorari, 2016; Pennycook, 1996) which finds an analogue in Blaut's "Inventiveness/Imitativeness" characteristic of the Core/Periphery (1993, p. 17). Linking Chinese students with the offence of plagiarism also arguably continues

the "nineteenth-century academic and imaginative demonology of 'the mysterious Orient'" (Said, 2003), with demonology being very much the characteristic represented in Tchen and Yeats in their *Yellow Peril! An Archive of Anti-Asian Fear* (2014) and in Vltcheck's (2018) article; it also arguably underlies recent publicity about the treatment of Asian students by Harvard University (e.g. Yang, 2018). That said, such essentialisations do not need to be negative: Pennycook argues that the Other needs simply fixed, i.e. that it be stereotyped, to be indicative of such a dichotomy:

> students are frequently viewed as belonging to "traditional" and static cultures which define their thoughts and behaviours. Such colonial constructions of the Other once again come to adhere to English, so that particularly in contexts of English language teaching they are reinvoked, put back into play in a way that constantly "fixes" the Other. (Pennycook 1998, p. 192)

As English teachers, "it is perhaps always worth asking ourselves … to what extent we are following in Crusoe's footsteps" (Pennycook, 1998, p. 11): this comment on Phillipson's (1992) analysis of the story of *Robinson Crusoe* (2008) draws attention to ELT's potential complicity in generating the Other.

Another of Pennycook's dichotomies, Adult-Child (1998, pp. 60–61) echoes Blaut's "Adulthood/Childhood" characteristic of the Core/Periphery (1993, p. 17). Pennycook provides a summary of the literature supporting this dichotomy and, in so doing, quotes Nandy's distinction between childlike and childish, with the childlike being amenable to reform "through Westernization, modernization or Christianization" , and the childish requiring control by

"providing tough administration and the rule of law" (both quotes 2010, p. 16);
both states, Pennycook argues "required European correction" (1998, p. 60)
and the Adult-Child distinction invoked a link with rationality/irrationality, or
Blaut's "Rationality, intellect/Irrationality, emotion, instinct" (1993, p. 17).

The literature here reveals the extent to which the English language, and
the practices of ELT and EAP, is shot through with its imperial and colonial
associations; these make (neo-) racism an unignorable possibility and provide a
possible explanation for the plagiarism anecdote recounted in *EAP as "good ole
American fun"* (p. 13). This implies a necessity for examining EAP in its
relationships with its teachers and students and even the academic language it
chooses to teach: *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP?* (p. 13), *Chapter 4: Auto-
ethnography* (p. 131) and *Chapter 5: Semiotic Analysis* (p. 159) all provide
examples of potentially (neo-) colonial treatment in these areas. For me, as a
literature graduate – see *Biggles, North Nibley, the Archipelago, Botanical
Gardens and Brexit* (p. 30) – the case is strengthened by Said's (1994) literary
criticism and the consciousness of this in Lowe's (1985) novel. From a more
macro-level perspective, Phillipson's work (e.g. 1992) demonstrates this as a
conscious state-level activity, confirmed by the contemporary example of
France in *Lingua Franca, Nonsense, La Francophonie, and Bricolage* (p. 36);
Pennycook's colonial dichotomies (1998) enable us to see the workings of
(neo-) colonialism at a level of detail that makes comparison with current
circumstances possible. In this context, EAP would benefit from a more self-
analytical – and self-critical – approach to both students and teachers of EAP.

UK Higher Education Environment

The previous theme alluded to the connections between English, ELT, neoliberalism and globalisation; this theme relates those larger forces to the site of BALEAP's iteration of EAP: the modern British university where, as Ding and Bruce assert, "Nowhere have these effects been more profound" (2017, p. 14). Although

> EAP is an educational endeavour … it is also a "business" (Turner, 2004: 96), a "major industry" (Hyland, 2012: 30) and a "multi-million dollar enterprise, not merely around the world, but often within just a single country" (Hamp-Lyons, 2011a: 93). Whilst Hamp-Lyons (2011a: 101) might claim "for us, teachers and scholars, EAP is not about profit", it would be unwise to conclude that EAP practitioners are divorced from the profit imperative that at least partly shapes their world. (Ding & Campion, 2016, p. 547)

The connection between ELT more widely and neoliberalism and globalisation (and therefore also (neo-) colonialism) has been widely documented, for example by Birch and Liyanage (2004), Block and Cameron (2002), Block, Gray and Holborow (2012), Holborow (2006, 2013), Ives (2015), Li (2017), Phillipson (Phillipson, 2001, 2009), Piller and Cho (2015) and Williams (2014). This section of the literature review explores neoliberalism, the financialisation and marketisation of higher education and consequent notion of the student as a consumer; in the light of these changes it also addresses the emergence of the Third Space in higher education; this is further developed in relation to professionalism.

Neoliberalism is not a monolithic concept, being rather influenced by many different types of thought (Jessop, 2002). Its current iteration flows largely from the Chicago School of Economics and Milton Friedman in the 1960s and 1970s and found its political expression in the UK in the policies of Margaret Thatcher, whose era I grew up in (see *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP?).* Boas and Gans-Morse (2009) propose three distinct applications of the term, of which the first and third are most relevant in this study. The third references the Thatcher era, as above; the first is modern capitalism, in particular "knowledge-based forms of property … and the emergence of large service sectors in the developed world" (2009, p. 157), echoing Fairclough's point about the expansion of our understanding of capitalism in its nineteenth century form "to include all sorts of intangibles: educational courses, holiday, health insurance, and funerals are now bought and sold on the open market in 'packages', rather like soap powders" (2015, p. 66). In short, neoliberalism emphasises the freedom of the market and of the individual with "Social Darwinian overtones" (Hadley, 2015, p. 5).

One consequence of neoliberalism is "the financialization of everything" (Harvey, 2007, p. 33) with the result that "Products or services offered by the organisation are delivered to end-users, who are then questioned for feedback via quantitative research methods in order to improve the quality of future process cycles" (Hadley, 2015, pp. 5–6). Hadley then applies this to the HE sector in the English-speaking world, defining a neoliberal university as

> a self-interested, entrepreneurial organization offering recursive
>
> educational experiences and research services for paying clients…
>
> academics become managed knowledge producers…. Students are

recast into the role of knowledge consumers, and have a role in determining the manner in which educational services are packaged and delivered to them. (2015, p. 6)

This can be seen in the modern British university's commodification of knowledge which is revealed in many universities' mission statements (Sauntson & Morrish, 2011); it contrasts with traditional, albeit perhaps romanticised, notions of the university as a site of the advancement of knowledge through research and its dissemination through teaching in an environment of academic freedom (e.g. Giroux, 2014). Ding and Bruce argue this change exerts a powerful influence on outward relations with the university's students, or clients, and inwardly has led to the "imposition of a complex set of intra-institutional relationships that operate under and are shaped overwhelmingly by financial concerns" (2017, p. 16).

The financialisation of outward relations can be understood in the light of marketisation, which Foskett summarises as follows:

Markets are driven by consumer choice, and choice means competition between providers. Competition means that the supply side must continuously seek to gain advantage in the market in terms of price, quality of service or the development of innovative products or services. This will serve to stimulate innovation and promote efficiency and lower costs. (2011, p. 29)

The implication that students are consumers and the universities are service providers is problematic (R. Brown, 2011; Furedi, 2011), with Maringe (2011)

suggesting that the paying of student fees means the potential for some students feel they have bought their education. McMillan and Cheney (1996) draw attention to how the framing of students as consumers highlights education as a product rather than a process; Williams suggests the student-as-consumer means the purpose of university becomes that of "providing a satisfactory service; that is, flattering and appeasing students rather than intellectually challenging them through the rigorous pursuit of new knowledge" (2013, p. 58; see also Naidoo et al., 2011).

Ding and Bruce (2017, pp. 22–24) make a strong case for the influence and prevalence of new public management (e.g. Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2011) in universities in English-speaking countries[5], or Kachru's Inner Circle; it is no surprise that both Whitchurch (2009b) and Hadley (2015) use data from Australia, the UK and the US. In relation to EAP, Ding and Bruce describe four needs which are a consequence of this environment, to "be financially self-sufficient and profit-generating; attract increasing numbers of international students; operate efficiently (in business terms); and participate in marketisation" (2017, p. 40). Ding and Bruce further assert that this makes support-service-located EAP vulnerable in that pre-sessional and foundation

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[5] To continue the comparison started in Chapter 1, Boas and Gans-Morse note that France has experienced "more gradual and less ideologically-driven episodes of market reform" (2009, p. 158); this is very much reflected in French universities' fees for international students, which are identical to those for EU students.

programmes are potentially lucrative and thus attract an approach that maximises profit with the imposition of high teaching loads, with that profit then making the outsourcing attractive to one of a number of private providers (2017, pp. 40–41). The imperative to recruit international students is commented on by Hamp-Lyons who says the "overt use of the international student 'market' by governments to shore up the finances of universities is an embarrassment to many of us" (2015, p. A2). Putting the two together results in a "focus … upon production, processing, quality, and the cost-effective delivery of knowledge content to student consumers (Hadley, 2015, p. 39). Marketisation ironically can work against students' interests: "accelerated EAP pathways … which can result in the enrolment … of students who may struggle with the academic and English-language requirements of the university environment" (Ding & Bruce, 2017, p. 43).

The implications for EAP's location in the organisational structure of universities seems to have changed between Fulcher (2009), who found that most EAP units were within academic departments, and Hadley (2015) whose relatively small sample spread over the UK, the US and Japan suggested that EAP units had "become divested of their scholarly status, relegated to the Third Space, and redefined as auxiliary educational service providers" (2015, p. 39). Although this positions the Third Space negatively, this is not a universally-held judgment: both Whitchurch (e.g. 2008) and Birds (2015) argue convincingly that the Third Space offers opportunities. The Third Space is revisited towards the end of the next section.

Although it has received considerable research attention, I highlight the neoliberal ideological base of higher education partly because ideology is often hidden below the surface and partly because it affects, and even constitutes,

EAP. This is despite EAP's silence on neoliberalism's concomitant commodification and financialisation of education, the operation of which can be seen most clearly in *Chapter 4: Autoethnography* (p. 131) where it explains both my *Curiosity* (p. 134) and *Disillusionment* (p. 142), and also constrains my remedies in its third section, *Confidence* (p. 149), even in a relatively senior BLEAP position. It is also the case that neoliberalism is embedded in the documents in *Chapter 5: Semiotic Analysis* (p. 159), perhaps particularly in the demands of the Pre-sessional Job Advertisement (p. 187).

Professionalism

Given BALEAP's claim to the status of a profession association explicit in its logo's strapline, "The global for EAP professionals", this section of the review explores the changing nature of profession(s) and professionalism as they relate to teaching; it also explores deprofessionalisation and performativity, the notion of professionalitity/ies and identity/ies and that of the Third Space professional (e.g. Whitchurch, 2008). This section of the literature review complements the two earlier sections exploring related empirical research, *EAP Professionalism Research* (p. 54) and *Related Professionalism Research* (p. 58).

A profession is a way of organising work, a way that is, according to Friedson's (2001) typology, distinct from the market and the organisation. Friedman's 1994 definition of a profession is "an occupation that controls its own work, organized by a special set of institutions, sustained in part by a particular ideology of expertise and service" (Friedson quoted in Evans, 2008, p. 24), a definition which recalls nineteenth and early twentieth century perceptions of a professional "based on a model and image of … the medical

and legal professions in predominantly Anglo-American societies" (Evetts, 2011, p. 12) or "licensed Autonomy" (Whitty quoted in Trotman, 2012). That said, professions, and professional associations, are dynamic: as Abbott puts it, "jurisdictional boundaries are perpetually in dispute" (1988, p. 2); he also makes the point that "control of the occupation lies in the control of the abstractions that generate the practical techniques" (1988, p. 8).

Since the beginning of "the growth of the welfare state since 1945 … teaching [though arguably not ELT or EAP] … has been among these emerging professions" (University and College Union, n.d., pp. 4–5). Small wonder, then, that confusion surrounds a term which has passed through the "'new' professionalisms purported to have been fashioned over the past two or three decades across the spectrum of UK education sectors" (Evans, 2008, p. 20) and now applies "fairly indiscriminately across the workforce's diverse, role-differentiated groups making it the terminological norm rather than the exception" (Evans, 2013, p. 483).

So, what has happened? In addition to the expansion of the word professional to embrace occupations not traditionally labelled as such, "professional work is changing and being changed as increasingly professionals … now work in employing organisations … [and] find occupational control of their work and discretionary decision-making increasingly difficult to maintain and sustain" (Evetts, 2011, p. 2). In education, this has resulted in two discourses of professionalism: managerialist and democratic, with "democratic professionalism emerging from the profession itself while managerialist professionalism is being reinforced by employing authorities through their policies on teacher professional development with their emphasis on accountability and effectiveness" (Sachs, 2001, p. 149).

There is a danger of de-professionalization or the "downgrading in status of a professional group" (Evetts, 2012, p. 10). De-professionalisation emphasises a Technical Rational (TR) rather than Professional Artistry (PA) approach described after Schön by De Cossart and Fish as follows: "the PA view values a professional who has been educated roundly, not drilled in skills … the TR view values the centrality of rules, schedules, prescriptions" (2005, p. 29). Another view also relevant to education is that professionalism has become a "representation of a service level agreement, imposed from above" (Evans, 2008, p. 27).

An aspect of de-professionalisation implicated in the move to organisation-based employment is performativity, particularly in state education, where

> Performativity is a technology, a culture and a mode of regulation that employs judgements, comparisons and displays as means of incentive, control, attrition and change – based on rewards and sanctions (both material and symbolic). The performances serve as measures of productivity or output … [which] encapsulate or represent the worth, quality or value of an individual … within a field of judgement. (Ball, 2003, p. 216)

Because "the professional has to keep up, meet newer and ever more diverse targets in which they collude in setting" (Ball quoted in University and College Union, n.d., p. 12), and because these targets are embedded in professional life, and because this necessarily intersects with "teachers' sense of self" (Kelchtermans, 2009, p. 258), this potentially constitutes a challenge to

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professionals' identities (see Day & Gu, 2007, p. 425 for a list of negative

consequences of the performativity agenda in UK primary and secondary

schools) and potentially also constitutes a form of Foucauldian surveillance:

"when people understand that they are constantly monitored they are more

conformist, they are less willing to take up controversial positions, and that kind

of mass conformity is incompatible with democracy" (Paglan quoted in Popham,

2014).

A professional's sense of self is termed professionality, which Evans

describe as: *"an ideologically-, attitudinally-, intellectually- and*

epistemologically-based stance on the part of the individual, in relation to the

practice of the profession to which s/he belongs, and which influences her/his

professional practice" (2002, pp. 6–7;emphasis in the original); professionalism

is "the 'plural' of individuals' professionality orientation: the amalgam of multiple

'professionalities' – professionality writ large" (Evans, 2008, p. 26). These

multiple professionalities can be either as "*officially set-down …* or *… the real,*

enacted version" (Evans, 2008, p. 28; emphasis in the original). In the context of

EAP, these are potentially less officially set down than they are created as part

of a community of practice (Wenger, 1998), although Ding and Bruce suggest

this applies only weakly, if at all, to EAP (2017, p. 110).

That professionality is both individual and social in Evans' (2002) view

further invokes the work of Wenger and, particularly in respect of the changes in

the nature of professionalism outlined above, the notions of identification and

negotiability, participation and non-participation (1998). These are summarised

by Wenger in the diagram (1998, p. 190) (Figure 3, below). Identity is

constructed from identification and negotiability: identification provides

"experiences and material for building identities through an investment of the

self in relations of association and differentiation" while negotiability "determines the degree to which we have control over the meanings in which we are invested" (both quotations Wenger, 1998, p. 188). Each component of identity provides a potential source of either participation or non-participation through each of the three modes of belonging resulting, in the case of identification, in communities and, in the case of negotiability, economies of meaning. Identity is important of itself but, in the context of this study, there is a further importance in that identity is in a dialogic relationship with practice.

The emergence of the Third Space in HE outlined in the previous section of this chapter has brought challenges for EAP teachers' identities. Using Whitchurch's (2008) typology of professionals inhabiting the Third Space, Hadley (2015) distinguishes between TEAPs and BLEAPs, or blended teachers of EAP. Whitchurch describes blended professionals as "recruited to dedicated appointments that span[ned] both professional and academic domains" (2008, p. 384), acknowledging that "there is … likely to be greater uncertainty, if not risk, attached to individual trajectories" (2009a, p. 9). Hadley makes the case for TEAPs having "strong professional identities" (2015, p. 45) while BLEAPs "struggle to define their professional self-identity" (2015, p. 46) and "span the divide between HEI management and their foreign or casual TEAPs" (2015, p. 49). Hadley's view of the Third Space chimes with Turner's "marginalised structure of EAP delivery" (2004, p. 98) and Hyland and Hamp-Lyons' "EAP teachers are frequently employed as vulnerable, short-term instructors in marginalized 'service units'" (2002, p. 10).
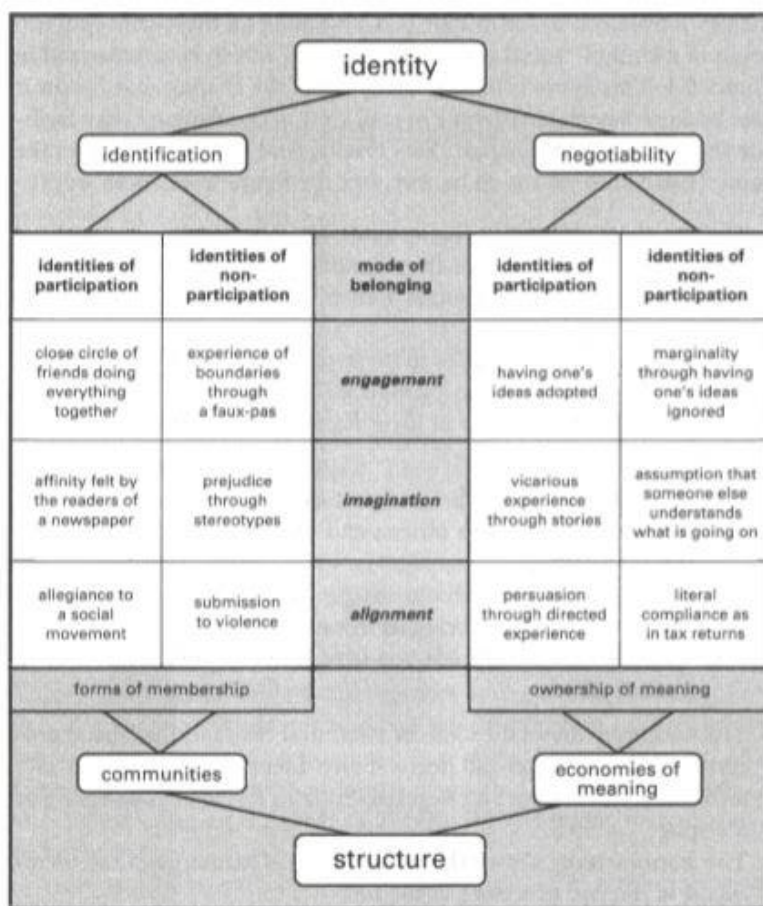
Figure 3: Social ecology of identity (Wenger, 1998, p.190)

The theoretical literature complements the empirical studies reviewed

earlier in *EAP Professionalism Research* (p. 54) and *Related Professionalism*

Research (p. 58); it provides a useful lens through which to view EAP, which the

literature also tells us might most accurately thought of as an emergent

profession. From *TEAP Framework or TEAP Cage* (p. 41) and *"Do the*

TEFLERs really love us?" (p. 45), it is already clear that BALEAP is making a

claim for jurisdiction over EAP and, in the process, distancing itself and its

practitioners from ELT more generally; this is also clear in the professional

paraphernalia BALEAP has gathered: its individual and institutional

accreditation schemes, academic journal and biennial conference. The

professionalism literature enjoys considerable relevance to *Chapter 4: Auto-ethnography* (p. 131) and *Chapter 5: Semiotic Analysis* (p. 159); it also helps to explain the apparent contradiction, revealed in the semiotic analysis of the TEAP Framework (BALEAP, 2014), between the way BALEAP constructs professionalism differently according to its hierarchy.

Conclusion to Literature Review

The three *Conceptual Contexts* (p. 72) demonstrate that my intuition, as described at the very start of the study in *EAP as "good ole American fun"* (p. 13), is grounded in the academic literature. Although it was remarkably straightforward to find material on the relationship between the English language and (neo-) colonialism, as an EAP practitioner, I was neither previously aware of it and nor had I heard it discussed by EAP colleagues. From *English and (Neo-) Colonialism* (p. 74), there is a direct link to EAP and its site of activity, the *UK Higher Education Environment* (p. 87), which the literature demonstrates to be strongly influenced by neoliberal ideology. This in turn affects those working in that environment and notions of *Professionalism* (p. 92) more widely. EAP, having emerged in that environment lacks the historically-based professionalism of medicine and law, with their concomitant residual resistant strength: hence Hadley's (2015) concept of the BLEAP and use of Whitchurch's (e.g. 2008) notion of Third Space professionals. These three *Conceptual Contexts* (p. 72) not only ground the study but also bring together literature which may help to rebut calls of "Nonsense!" by EAP colleagues in the same way the example of contemporary French linguistic imperialism in *Lingua Franca, Nonsense, La Francophonie, and Bricolage* (p. 36) supports Phillipson's (1992) work.

The *(Mainly) Empirical Connections* (p. 53) provide not only situated examples of the three *Conceptual Contexts* (p. 72), particularly of professional issues in both EAP and other professions and of Structural Racism Within HEIs (p. 61) but also potential models for empirical research. In *EAP Professionalism Research* (p. 54), Hadley (2015), in particular is both relevant and useful in relation to this study; in *Auto-ethnographic Research* (p. 65), Canagarajah (2012) fulfils this role. At the same time, the lack of studies addressing the way structural racism and neo-colonialism may be embedded in EAP's professional practices, or of studies through the eyes of a practitioner making use of close attention to everyday practice through auto-ethnography and the semiotic analysis of documents, testify to a need for this study.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The research questions now require consonant methodological procedures, which "like Ariadne's thread, guarantee the researcher a safe route back" (Titscher et al., 2000, p. 6). In the same publication, the authors cite the four questions of Burgoyne's inventory:

(a) What research questions am I trying to answer?

(b) What analysis will provide a useful response to that question?

(c) To conduct this analysis what data do I need and from whom?

(d) What are the practical steps to obtain and record that data?

(2000, p. 31)

Having established the answer to (a) in *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP?,* this chapter answers (b), (c) and (d). It arrives at the combination auto-ethnography and document analysis using semiotic analysis as appropriate methodologies lying at the intersection of my ontological and epistemological stances. That it is a combination is significant: as anticipated in Chapter 1, this study makes use of a bricolage approach: further reasons for this are given here before paradigm issues are addressed. It then details the auto-ethnographic and semiotic methods to be used, explains decisions about data choice, addresses ethical considerations, and alerts the reader to the potential risks of the study. The combination of methods enables me to make use of my professional experience and documents from my professional context to illuminate issues surrounding EAP's students, teachers, and EAP more widely.

If there are negative aspects to EAP, evidence is likely to be difficult to find, a point that can be illustrated through a consideration of the challenges of

using interviews in this context. Interview subjects are likely to be either

unaware of or unwilling to acknowledge such aspects: this could be teachers or

students unaware of the ideological nature of EAP; further, students, are likely

to be caught up in the consumerist function of a pre-sessional course alluded to

in the first edition of the *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* (Hyland &

Hamp-Lyons, 2002) as a product enabling access to their degree, which is itself

a product leading to participation in the job market. There may also be, in the

case of both teachers and students, a potential unwillingness to criticise EAP for

fear of compromising their job or their results respectively. This latter

point makes a direct approach problematic not only from a practical perspective

but also from an ethical perspective where there is potential to violate the

principle of nonmaleficence, "not merely a matter of physical harm but has

many other aspects, including emotional and social harm" (Guillemin & Gillam,

2004, p. 272). From a practical point-of-view, it is also likely that only multiple

perspectives will elicit the understanding the research seeks, which will likely

come from fragmented sources.

Enter the necessity for a post-structural research approach, the essence

of which is "incredulity toward metanarratives"; it also enjoys an emphasis on

text, "a pragmatics of language particles" (both quotes Lyotard, 2005, p. xxiv):

although of a different type to its document companions, an auto-ethnography is

necessarily a text. With Kincheloe and Berry, I believe two or more

methodologies assist in overcoming

> the empiricism of using one methodology or even one single theory
>
> [which] presents only a partial answer to the original research question.
>
> Also there exists the potential of linearity of monological research to

reproduce the political, economic, societal, historical, and intellectual

issues and problems that led to the study in the first place. (2004, p. 105)

Kincheloe and Berry make use of the fractal analogy (2004, p. 48) and this can

be seen not only the data and findings of my research but also in its structure

where *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP?* anticipates later sections which

themselves refer back to the introduction.

Such an approach may give rise to concerns about Lincoln and Guba's

(1985) concept of trustworthiness in qualitative research. This chapter

addresses these concerns in relation to the data produced by both the auto-

ethnography and document analysis sections.

Paradigm Issues

Although Mackenzie and Knipe assert that "it is the choice of paradigm

that sets down the intent, motivation and expectations for the research. Without

nominating a paradigm as a first step, there is no basis for subsequent choices

regarding methodology, methods, literature or research design" (2006), for

Clough and Nutbrown, "research paradigms are *post hoc* frameworks for

characterising the means and concerns of a given study" (2002, p. 15)! I incline

to the latter view because this research has been driven by my research

questions and not by the desire to work within a particular paradigm.

Even though rejecting the dichotomies implicit in a choice of paradigm,

research does need to be consistent, not least for credibility, and locating it in

relation to a paradigm or paradigms clarifies "the assumptions and beliefs that

frame a researcher's view of a research problem, how he/she goes about

investigating it, and the methods he/she uses to answer the research questions"

(Kawulich, 2012, p. 2). That said, there is an important caveat here: given that it will become clear that my research orientation is predominantly critical and that one of my areas of concern is neo-colonialism, I also acknowledge, if only in passing, the alternatives to this Western version of knowledge (e.g. Chen, 2010; Connell, 2011). Tchen and Yeats are explicit about this: "The globalization of knowledge and Western culture constantly reaffirms the West's view of itself as the center of legitimate knowledge, the arbiter of what counts as knowledge and the source of 'civilized' knowledge" (2014, p. 63).

To return to critical theory, as Van Dijk says, "Being critical … is a state of mind" (2018). It is only since starting my journey as a researcher that I have become aware of the critical perspective, and I am now convinced by it having applied the principles to the Ethiopian EAP project mentioned in *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP?* which provided ample evidence of linguistic imperialism in assessment practices and the choice of textbooks. This plays to my own long-standing suspicion of scientific approaches, alluded to in *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP?,* which not only privilege a certain type of knowledge and knower (Wall, 2006) but also restrict potential questions.

Critical theory has its basis in Marxism, for which "violence, hard labour and exploitation bulk large in human history" (Eagleton, 2011, p. 112); it is only relatively recently that applied linguistics has begun to be subject to this type of analysis, being previously almost exclusively technical in its approach, "building bridges between theory and practice to produce efficient teaching methodologies" (Troudi, 2003, p. 776). In contrast, Pennycook urges "a restive problematisation of the givens of applied linguistics, and presents a way of doing applied linguistics that seeks to connect it to questions of gender, class, race, ethnicity, culture, identity, politics, ideology and discourse" (2001, p. 10).

More recently, in a post-invasion-of-Iraq world, Holborow has put it thus: "the old coat of *just-language* seems to have slipped off our shoulders and we find ourselves situated in the real world, having to take sides, and assume rounded social and political roles" (2006, p. 85). Crotty defines critical research as follows:

> Critical forms of research call current ideology into question, and initiate action, in the cause of social justice. In the type of inquiry spawned by the critical spirit, researchers find themselves interrogating commonly held values and assumptions, challenging conventional social structures, and engaging in social action (1998, p. 157).

Epistemologically, the question is, "Are we working towards uncovering the 'truth', the reality behind the words, or are we looking to construct counter-representations?" (Pennycook, 1998, p. 163).

Auto-ethnography

Ellis and Bochner describe auto-ethnography as "an autobiographical genre of writing and research that displays multiple levels of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural" (2000, p. 739); Snow, Morrill and Anderson describe it as a "rather haphazard, fortuitous process" (2003, p. 184)! This section explains why I have chosen to use auto-ethnography, sets auto-ethnography in its historical contexts, justifies my choice of the analytic over evocative form, states what I have done to avoid "analytic interruptus" (Lofland, 1995, pp. 35–42) and to address other threats to validity (e.g. Le Roux, 2017); it also explains why and how I made partial use of Wenger (1998, 2000) to frame

my approach despite the possible criticism of that being incompatible with my post-structural approach (see Holliday & MacDonald, 2019).

The reason I chose auto-ethnography is because my thesis flows from my professional experience. Auto-ethnography makes use of professional and organisational contexts which Boyle and Parry argue are particularly suitable for the "intensely personal process of identity construction" (2007, p. 188); Le Roux (2014) and Blenkinsopp (2007) both use it in these contexts. For inspiration from the field of ELT, in which auto-ethnography seems to be under-represented (Mirhosseini, 2018), I made use of Canagarajah's (2012) paper on his professionalisation as an English language teacher, "perhaps the only high-profile piece of auto-ethnographic research in the field" (Mirhosseini, 2018, p. 82).

Anderson (2006) sets auto-ethnographic research in its historical context, particularly auto-ethnographic researchers' "skepticism toward representation of 'the other'" (2006, p. 377) in earlier ethnographic research. Le Roux (2017) describes a continuum of ethnographic research, from the evocative to the analytic; the evocative "focuses on liberal personal voice rather than systematic accounts of the research topic" (Mirhosseini, 2018, pp. 80–81) but it is the analytic tradition as described by Anderson (2006, and subsequently made use of in his study of skydivers, 2011) into which this part of my research falls.

I share some of Stahlke Wall's (2016) concerns about the validity of evocative ethnography, particularly in relation to my research questions; I also lack the necessary talent! More positively in favour of analytic ethnography, my research meets the five key qualities of such research identified by Anderson (2006), "(1) complete member researcher (CMR) status, (2) analytic reflexivity,

(3) narrative visibility of the researcher's self, (4) dialogue with informants beyond the self, and (5) commitment to theoretical analysis" (2006, p. 378).

As a teacher of EAP in a British university, I enjoy CMR status. Although there is a danger that my dual roles as practitioner and researcher mean my attention will be diverted from "the embodied phenomenological experience" (Anderson, 2006, p. 380), I am with Canagarajah in that I believe "knowledge is based on one's locations and identities. It frankly engages with the situatedness of one's experiences, rather than suppressing them" (2012, p. 260) and it is the source of the insight investigated by this thesis: as Blenkinsopp notes, such research "suggests and evokes, pointing towards possible further avenues for exploration" (2007, p. 264). At the same time, it is important to remember, with Anderson, that "Group members seldom exhibit a uniform set of beliefs, values, and levels of commitment. As a result, even complete membership confers only a partial vantage point for observation of the social world under study" (2006, p. 381).

Analytic reflexivity and narrative visibility of the researcher's self are complementary in that "reflexivity expresses researchers' awareness of their necessary connection to the research situation and hence their effects upon it" (Davies cited in Anderson, 2006, p. 382) and, further, that "the auto-ethnographic interrogation of self and other may transform the researcher's own beliefs, actions and sense of self" (Anderson, 2006, p. 383), requiring narrative visibility. I have attempted to achieve this in my style, in the extra elements of back story included in *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP?* and in a reflexive quality to the findings and conclusions. This mirrors my journey of agency as "they [auto-ethnographers] are in part formed by those processes as the cultural

meanings they co-create are constituted in conversation, action, and text" (Anderson, 2006, p. 383).

The final two of Anderson's (2006) qualities, dialogue with informants beyond the self and commitment to theoretical analysis are also addressed by this study. Throughout, I make use of informants defined as the literature, documents and conversations with others. My commitment to theoretical analysis involves using "empirical data to gain insight into some broader set of social phenomena than those provided by the data themselves" (Anderson, 2006, p. 387). The latter relates to Anderson's paper with Snow and Merrill (2003) which identifies three paths to theoretical development in the context of auto-ethnography: theoretical discovery, theoretical extension, and theoretical refinement. This study most obviously is a dialogue between the first and second in that in the tradition of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), it became clear to me that it was relevant to consider the phenomenon of BALEAP EAP in relation to my three areas of literature; that in turn extended those three areas to EAP. In this sense, my auto-ethnography is almost the opposite of ethnography of which Behar says "the beauty and mystery of the ethnographer's quest is to find unexpected stories that challenge our theories" (2003, p. 16).

The reader might question my use of Wenger (1998, 2000), albeit partial, in framing parts of the auto-ethnography, particularly in the light of Holliday and MacDonald (2019). There are a number of reasons for this. First, Canagarajah (2012) makes use of Wenger in his auto-ethnography of his career in ELT, a debt I acknowledge both here and in the *Auto-ethnographic Research* (p. 65) section of the literature review. Second, much of the apparent relationship to Wenger is *post-factum in that* I had written the *Curiosity, Disillusionment* and

Confidence sections prior to recognising their similarities with Wenger's apprentice/newcomer, oldtimer and pioneer (2000, p. 227). Thirdly, the data do independently inform the themes which compose *Chapter 6: Reading Between the Lines* (p. 193). Finally, Wenger's communities of practice (1998) framework potentially offers an accessible platform into this study to colleagues who may then be more amenable to considering some of the wider issues it raises about EAP.

Semiotic Analysis

My use of auto-ethnography testifies to my belief that the world is socially constructed, and this continues with semiotic analysis applied to documents in my professional context. Of history, Hilary Mantel recently said, "We thought history was out there somewhere glowing like a planet, independent of human agency. Now I know it is something we carry inside" ('Preview of Second Reith Lecture', 2017). This is my ontological view: that the social world is constructed by its members, consciously and unconsciously. I also believe that some of these constructs are harmful and are maintained by vested interests, or power, and that it is important to draw attention to these. I further believe that rigorous analysis can uncover traces of these constructs; this means the analysis of documents from my professional context can support my intuitions about that context; such an analysis can also support my observations and anecdotes in *Chapter 4: Auto-ethnography* (p. 131).

Epistemologically, then, what would count as knowledge, particularly as I believe it is at least sometimes hidden and potentially harmful? An implicit view of how that might be tested, and thus become knowledge, comes from an artificial intelligence study which found that "machine learning can acquire

stereotyped biases from textual data that reflect everyday human culture"
(Caliskan et al., 2017, p. 183; see also Tucker, 2017). That textual data reflect
everyday human culture is one of the assumptions of semiotic analysis; that this
should be so for words explicitly is one of the assumptions of critical discourse
analysis (CDA) in particular; it also makes the use of interviews or focus groups
for the collection of data problematic.

The problems with these methods preclude their use in this research.
First, given that the constructs under investigation are likely to be at least partly
unconscious, it is difficult to conceive of an empirical procedure that might
readily uncover those constructs: as Phillipson says, "individuals with possibly
the most altruistic motives for their work may nevertheless function in an
imperialist structure" (1992, p. 46). Second, even if research subjects were
aware of the constructs, in the case of racism in particular, given its taboo
status and the environment of anti-discrimination legislation in the UK, it is
unlikely research subjects would be willing to acknowledge any complicity,
personal or structural: this would represent an ethical minefield.

In terms of motivation, I acknowledge a personal reason to examine
rhetorical rather than interview data. In the introduction I stated that my journey
to this point started with my interest in English language and literature. Not only
does the type of analysis I propose play to my interests and strengths as a
researcher but also a theoretically-leaning study draws on the inspiration I
derived from Kumaravadivelu's "Dangerous liaison: Globalization, empire and
TESOL" (2006), and Edge's "Imperial troopers and servants of the lord: A vision
of TESOL for the 21st century" (2003).

So, then, what might constitute knowledge in this context? The semiotic
analysis of documents offers the potential to answer the research questions and

to reveal the common-sense operation of ideology. Documents "created through ongoing day-to-day activities unrelated to the present research … can provide authentic records that shed light on multiple facets of the case…. [and] can lead to insights about relationships among case participants, power structures and communication patterns" (Olson, 2010, p. 319). My approach is textual, and twofold. The literature review seeks to find sources which indicate these issues have at the very least been considered by others, both academically and in the media. The research then seeks evidence from relevant texts while at the same time remaining conscious that my approach to those texts is motivated and so requires a methodology to prevent me from simply finding the answers I want, though at the same time acknowledging that such "analysis of language by different people will seldom yield the same result" (Graham, 2011, p. 666).

Semiotic method is a superordinate classification that includes both Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and extra-linguistic modes of meaning-making, in this case layout, colour and typography. Umberto Eco's broad definition of semiotics highlights the field's potential pervasiveness:

Semiotics is concerned with everything that can be *taken* as a sign. A sign is everything which can be taken as significantly substituting for something else. This something does not necessarily have to exist or to actually be somewhere at the moment in which a sign stands in for it. Thus *semiotics is in principle the discipline studying everything which can be used in order to lie.* (1976, p. 7; emphasis in the original)

Magritte's pipe image (Torczyner, 1977, p. 71) is a classic illustration of the difference between signifier and signified (Saussure, 1993). Eco's use of the

word "lie" draws attention to the sign maker's motivation: "Signs are elements in which meaning and form have been brought together in a relation motivated by the interest of the sign maker" (Bezemer & Kress, 2008, p. 170) or, as Flewitt et al put it, "Non-linguistic elements are never semiotically innocent" (2011, p. 41).

Whether conscious or unconscious, this interest is what semiotic analysis sets out to uncover. One example is Merkl-Davies and Koller's paper which finds linguistic techniques are used to "normalise violence and destruction by depicting it in an abstract and sanitised manner" (2012, p. 178) in their analysis of the chairman's statement from a UK defence firm; another example is Kress and Van Leeuwen's analysis of an Australian primary school social studies text book in which they invite the reader to "imagine a reversal of those relations … Suddenly a representation of colonization as the transition from a fixed, stable ('primitive') order of things to the dynamic unfolding of history is changed into something like the revenge of the 'primitive' on the West's technological order" (2006, pp. 45–47). The emotionally-charged language of both analyses points to another feature of semiotic analysis: its association with the critical paradigm, as summarised in Eco's, "If semiotics is a theory, then it should be a theory that permits a continuous critical intervention in semiotic phenomena" (1976, p. 29). As Jewitt puts it,

> signs are analysed as material residues of a sign-maker's interests. The analytical focus is on understanding their interpretative and design patterns and the broader discourses, histories and social factors that shape that. In a sense then, the text is seen as a window on its maker. (2014, p. 33)

It is, of course, also a window on the analyst: as Rose puts it, "the critical goals of semiology are just as ideological as the adverts or whatever are being critiqued; the difference between them is the social effects of the knowledge each depends on, not its truth status" (2016, p. 108).

Although semiotic analysis has tended to focus on the linguistic properties of texts (Iedema, 2003), with Kress and Van Leeuwen arguing that "there has been, in Western culture, a distinct preference for monomodality" (2001, p. 1; see also Scollon & Scollon, 2014), it has been criticised for this bias (Blommaert, 2005; Maybin, 2013). Nevertheless, it is almost inevitable that any such analysis, particularly in education, draws on CDA.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

The term CDA was used for the first time 1989 by Fairclough in the first edition of *Language and Power* (Rogers et al., 2016, p. 1193): it views language as social practice and focuses on how social and political power are constructed, reproduced and challenged by text (Fairclough, 2013; Hardy, 2001). Here, the *Critical* in CDA is a euphemism for Marxist, which derives from the Frankfurt School's exile to the US from Nazi Germany (Scholem, 1982, p. 210). "*Discourses* are 'concrete' in that they produce a material reality in the practices that they invoke" (Hardy, 2001, p. 26; my emphasis): they can be defined as a system of texts that brings objects into being (Parker, 1992), although Fairclough is careful to emphasise the need for a dialectical perspective to avoid "overemphasising on the one hand the social determination of discourse, and on the other hand the construction of the social in discourse" (1992, p. 65). CDA offers the possibility of positive change, i.e. it is reproductive but also potentially transformative of the social order (Fairclough, 2015, p. 17),

fitting with the critical orientation of semiotic analysis described above, and this study.

CDA has, however, attracted criticism, theoretically (Hammersley, 1997) and methodologically Widdowson (1995, 1998), with related arguments being rehearsed elsewhere (e.g. Breeze, 2011; Rogers et al., 2016; Verschueren, 2012). Jones, in his paper "Why there is no such thing as 'critical discourse analysis'" draws particular attention to one consistent criticism, declaring that "nothing less than a concrete analysis *of the entire engagement,* in whatever we take to be the relevant historical, political, economic etc. terms will do" (2007, p. 343). This study aspires to overcome such objections by broadening the analysis to include multimodal analysis and also in its use of auto-ethnography; its approach to linguistic analysis attempts to respond to Breeze (2011), Rogers et al. (2016) and Verscheuren (2012) as described below.

Breeze (2011) explicitly summarises the main criticisms of CDA while Rogers et al. (2016) in their review of CDA in education 2004 to 2012 do so implicitly; a synthesis of both papers' major concerns provides a potential benchmark for this analysis. Both emphasise the necessity of providing adequate context for the study, part of demonstrating the credibility dimension of the trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) of qualitative research: this is addressed by the autobiographical section of *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP?* and *Chapter 4: Auto-ethnography* which aspire to a thick description (Geertz, 1994) of the context, within the limits of what is possible from an ethical perspective; on the level of the researcher, this also addresses the reflexivity concerns of Rogers et al. (2016, pp. 1208–1210) and Breeze's (2011, p. 520) conclusion that the political commitments of the researcher be explicit. Both papers also advocate researchers clarify in some detail the theoretical

background to their work, with Rogers et al. (2016, p. 1200) implying that five to ten paragraphs in an academic paper represents good practice, a benchmark this study comfortably exceeds. Breeze concludes that CDA research "moves[s] too quickly from the language data to the stage of interpretation and explanation of those data in terms of social theory" (2011, p. 520), something I anticipate in the separation of the micro-level analysis from the meso- and macro levels by the review of the literature relating to policy, professionalism and linguistic imperialism and subsequent discussion. The use of WordSmith Tools software (Scott, 2017), albeit only for the key word analysis of the TEAP Framework, is intended to overcome any criticism that the micro-level analysis is "impressionistic" (Breeze, 2011, p. 520) and also anticipates my selective use of Verscheuren's (2012) guidelines, below.

Breeze (2011) and Rogers et al. (2016) also encourage a more positive approach to CDA research in two ways. Rogers et al. (2016, pp. 1210–1212) identify a deconstructive-reconstructive orientation, with a focus on learning and positive transformation and the persistence of "the stronghold of oppression" (Rogers et al., 2016, p. 1211) respectively. Their analysis also identifies a group of studies finding both structure and agency and this I aspire to, towards the reconstructive end of the scale. With Eco (1976, p. 7) in mind, sign and signified differ, so the BALEAP construction of EAP may be subverted, just as Canagarajah (1999, 2012) and Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986) describe the subversion of linguistic imperialism. Rogers et al. (2016, pp. 1212–1213) also identify the strength of papers' calls to social action, ranging from minimal through moderate to action embedded in research design. While this study is not explicitly interventionist, in exploring my and colleagues' unease at

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BALEAP's potentially exclusive construction of EAP, it opens debate about positive alternative futures for the field and the profession.

Verscheuren sets out four theses establishing how ideology functions through language, from a definition of ideology to its manifestation in language use in which "ideological meanings may serve the purposes of framing, validating, explaining, or legitimating attitudes, states of affairs, and actions" (2012, pp. 10–20); from these, he sets out two rules for analysis (2012, pp. 22–50). The first of these is the formulation of researchable questions, which I believe I have addressed, albeit my questions emerge from an iterative process (Maxwell, 2009, p. 232). The second is that, to be seen as ideologically-related, "an aspect of meaning … should emerge coherently from the data" (Verschueren, 2012, p. 201), echoing Breeze's (2011) concern above. To achieve this, Verscheuren argues for data being varied horizontally and vertically, different genres and structural levels of analysis respectively, for an appropriate amount of data, for patterns "found throughout a wide corpus [which] should also be recoverable in (at least a number of) individual instances of discourse" (2012, pp. 28–29), and for the quality of the data being evaluated in view of the research goal in the light of "the motivated link between data sampling principles and research questions" (2012, p. 29). Although the focus of this analysis is the BALEAP TEAP Scheme Handbook, the comparison with the UK Professional Standards Framework (UKPSF) and everything else in the findings section serve to broaden its scope horizontally; vertically, the scope is broadened by the inclusion of supra-linguistic modalities and, linguistically by the use of software for analysis to remove some of the subjectivity (Touri & Koteyko, 2015) for which CDA has been criticised.

Linguistically, this analysis makes use of WordSmith Tools (Scott, 2017) to identify key words to "direct the researcher to important concepts in a text (in relation to other texts) that may help to highlight the existence of types of (embedded) discourse or ideology" (Baker, 2004, p. 347). Scott defines a key words as "a word that occurs with unusual frequency in a given text" (1997, p. 236). Scott suggests the choice of reference corpus "does not make a lot of difference if you have a fairly small p value (such as 0.000001)" (2018) and Berber-Sardinha (2000) has found that there are few gains from the reference corpus being more than five times larger than the study corpus: hence my choice of the newspaper subset of the British National Corpus (BNC) Baby (see Burnard, 2000) for my reference corpus is defensible in that it contains 954,345 tokens used in the word list as compared with the 9,217 of the TEAP Handbook. To confirm this, I also produced a key word list using the academic writing subset of the BNC Baby (1,000,483 tokens): although not in exactly the same order, the first 25 key words generated were almost identical to those from the BNC Baby news subset. In producing the key word list, I set a chi-square cut-off/p value of 0.000001 and a minimum frequency requirement of 3, the default value in Wordsmith Tools, meaning that any word occurring only twice, however outstanding it might otherwise seem, would be ignored. Although the subjectivity of these decisions contrast with what appears to be on the surface a quantitative process, it does nevertheless mean that to a large extent the data are "extracted empirically rather than personally or experientially, removing some of the subjectivity that human judgement entails" (Touri & Koteyko, 2015, p. 605).

The software here is a tool. As Graham says, first quoting Foucault, "'every*thing* is never said' and … the task is to determine … why it is that

certain statements emerged to the exclusion of all others and what function they serve" (2011, p. 667; emphasis in the original); this is similar to Bateman's, "A crucial property of appropriate answers will be that they make 'meaning-carrying alternatives' visible: they need to show us not only what is in the page but also what is not on the page *but could have been* (2014, p. 27; emphasis in the original).

This is the essence and the value of CDA in relation to this study: that it enables me as a researcher to access often-hidden ideology. In the linguistic analysis of the TEAP diagram, the TEAP Framework, the BALEAP name and the pre-sessional job advertisement it means I can see literally between the lines. In the auto-ethnography, it means I can to read figuratively between the lines.

The Semiotics of Layout, Colour and Typography

An important aspect of this analysis is that it is multimodal (Iedema, 2003; Kress, 2010), not least in that it further extends such multimodal analysis to the discipline of education, with Rogers et al. (2016) finding only 17% of CDA in education articles published from 2004 to 2012 to have been multimodal. So, what is a mode? By way of dialogic definition, mode can be contrasted with medium where the mode is the resources for representation, such as writing, colour, typography and layout, and the medium is the method of distribution, such as print or screen (Bezemer & Kress, 2008). Although Kress and Van Leeuwen state that "if the resource is sufficiently developed for sign-making we will call it a mode" (2002, p. 346), Kress later offers potential tests of whether a resource achieves the status of a mode: socially, whether the resource meets the representational needs of a specific community and, formally, whether it

meets the requirements of social-semiotic theory (2010, p. 87): in the case of the latter, Kress (e.g. 2010, p. 87) argues it should fulfil the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions of Halliday's metafunctional theory (e.g. 1994). A multimodal approach, as opposed to a purely linguistic approach, "offers a means of analysing … co-occurent semiotics and their respective roles in great detail" (Iedema, 2003, p. 40), or, as Serafini and Clausen put it, "Readers must address the modal differences among visual images, design elements, and written language as they transact with picturebooks and other print and digitally based multimodal texts" (2012, p. 3): I aspire for this to become apparent in the analysis that follows.

This section describes a method for assessing the meaning of each of the modes of layout, colour and typography. It now addresses each mode in the order in which they were first addressed – although the date of Kress and Van Leeuwen's *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* is given here as 2006, the first edition was published in 1996 – with the exception of language, which it addresses at the end of the section.

Layout. Visual design is the subject of book-length treatment by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) and in it they make a strong case for its consideration as a mode. Although the book is wide-ranging, covering mostly still images, the most relevant part for the purposes of this analysis is that describing layout. This section makes extensive use of the book's dimensions of visual space, or information value, which are also referenced by, for example, Baldry and Thibault (e.g. 2006, pp. 39–42) and included in Margolis and Pauwels (2011, pp. 554–558), in a section written by Van Leeuwen. Information value is determined by "the placement of elements … [which] endows them with specific

informational values attached to the various 'zones' of the image: left and right, top and bottom, centre and margin" (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 177).

Left and right correspond to given and new respectively (Figure 4, below) a phenomenon that has a linguistic analogue in English (Halliday, 2004). Kress and Van Leeuwen explain this by means of their example of media interviews that often place interviewers on the left of interviewees with the implication that this presents interviewers "as people with whose views and assumptions the viewers will identify and are already familiar" (2006, p. 184).
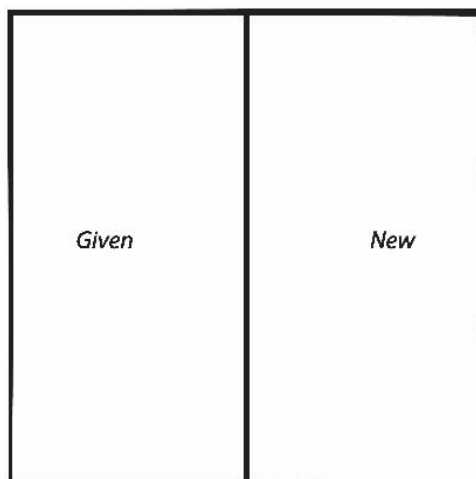
Figure 4: The information value of left and right

Top and bottom correspond to ideal and real respectively (Figure 5, below). Here, the ideal is the idealised essence of the information as opposed to the real which is itsmore specific, down-to-earth or practical components (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 187).
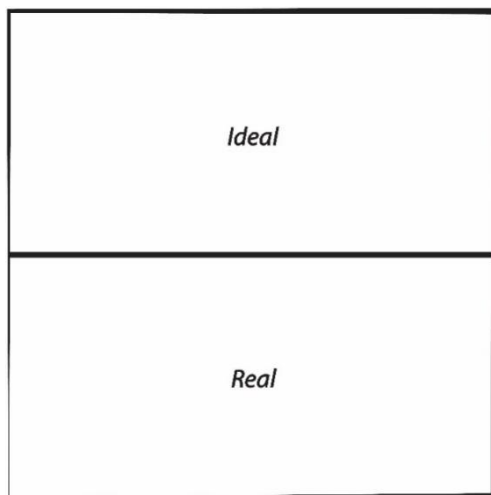
Figure 5: The information value of top and bottom

In the case of the centre and the margin (Figure 6, below) the most important element, or nucleus, is at the centre and all the other elements are in some way subservient to it. Sometimes this stands by itself and sometimes it combines with the polarized given/new or ideal/real. Kress and Van Leeuwen give the example of newspaper pages where this is true (2006, p. 196).
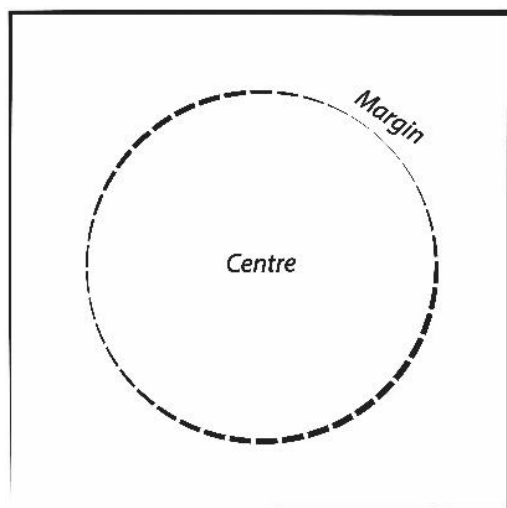
Figure 6: The information value of centre and margin

Although the concept of information value has been criticised by Thomas (2015) and its application was unclear to Alyousef (2016) in his study of international postgraduate students' finance texts, it has been applied convincingly by a number of analysts. Barnard (2005), applies it to advertisements while Baldry and Thibault (2006, pp. 80–82) and Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006, pp. 187–188) apply it to their respective analyses of pages from school textbooks. The lens has also been applied explicitly and in isolation to a diagram representing feedback from a staff feedback survey by Van Leeuwen (2011). A complementary lens is the Gestalt laws of perception as tabulated by Bateman (2014, p. 61): these offer potential corroboration for observations arising from the use of the information value approach.

Colour. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2002) also argue for colour as a semiotic mode and distinguish two types of affordance: a colour's historical and cultural associations, and its visual qualities in terms of value, saturation, purity, modulation, differentiation and hue. Although arguing that colour can fulfil the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions, they also distinguish it from language, image and music in that colour is perhaps a less independent mode: this can be seen particularly clearly in the analysis in its relationship to typography (e.g. Van Leeuwen, 2006, pp. 139–141); it is also difficult to ascribe a particular value to historical and cultural associations with, for example, white being associated with the colour of mourning in China and black being used for the same purpose in many parts of Europe (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2002, p. 343).

Typography. Van Leeuwen (2006, pp. 148–150) offers a taxonomy of typography (Figure 7, below) which he also argues constitutes a mode, as do Serafini and Clausen (2012); Van Leeuwen distinguishes visual qualities of

weight, expansion, slope, curvature, connectivity, orientation, regularity and non-distinctive features, such as "flourishes, ligatures and capricious additions"(2006, p. 150). Some of these characteristics enjoy the potential to be realised in other semiotic modes enabling the possibility of comparing different realisations of the same types of meaning: this is the case, for example, in this study's comparison of the TEAP Handbook diagram (2014, pp. 1 and 9) and the HEA's equivalent in terms of curvature and regularity, and linguistics. This technique has been used convincingly in the exploration of the political orientation of German newspapers (Schindler & Müller, 2018).

Weight → [Bold ↕ Regular]

Expansion → [Wide ↕ Condensed]

Slope → [Upright ↕ Sloping] → [Left-leaning / Right-leaning]

Curvature:
→ [Angular ↕ Rounded]
→ [Angular extenders ↕ Rounded extenders] → [Loops / Flicks]

Connectivity → [Connected ↕ Disconnected] → [External / Internal]

Orientation:
→ [Horizontal orientation ↕ Vertical orientation]
→ [Short extenders ↕ Long extenders]

Regularity:
→ [Internal differentiation / External differentiation] → [Differential size / Differential shape]
→ [Regular differentiation / Random differentiation]

Non-distinctive Features → [Grounding (serifs) / Flourishes] → [Regular ↕ Capricious]
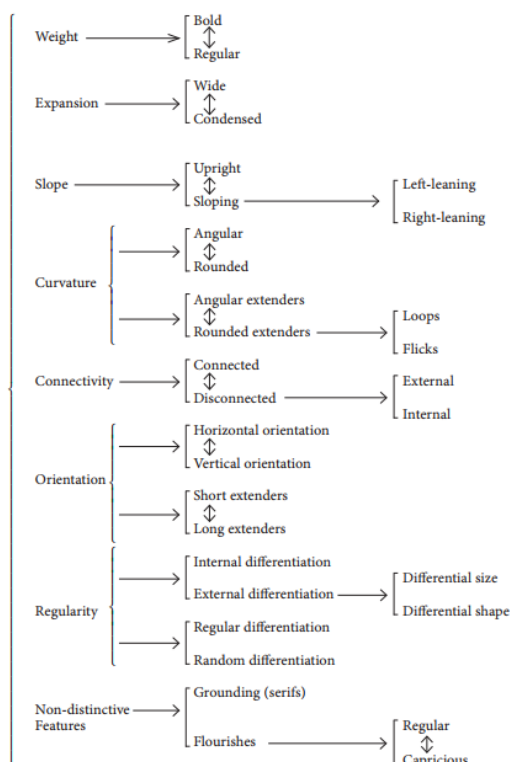
Figure 7: System network of the distinctive features of letterforms (Van Leeuwen, 2006, p.151)

Data Decisions

Although data collection and analysis are often considered separately, in CDA, as in grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), there is a dialogic

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relationship between the two (Meyer, 2001, p. 18); CDA's contingent approach

is further supported by Jørgensen for whom for "the majority of discourse

analytical approaches … there is no fixed procedure for the production of

material or for analysis: the research design should be tailored to match the

special characteristics of the project" (2002, p. 76). Although working to some

extent within this tradition, here the comparisons of the diagrams and pages

aspire to describe the use of layout, colour and typography in their entirety and

with Touri and Koteyko, I would describe my use of these and WordSmith Tools

as "a reflexive process that combines quantitative and qualitative tools in a

similar way as grounded theory methods" (2014, p. 605).

Rose in her section on choosing images for a semiological study, talks

about semiologists' "uninterest in justifying the selection of images to be

analysed … [meaning] the case study stands or falls on its analytical integrity

and interest rather than its applicability to a wide range of material" (2016, p.

110). The danger here is that "applying rich interpretative schemes … may all

too easily swamp the rather weak signal we are currently capable of achieving

from the multimodal artefacts themselves" (Bateman, 2014, p. 13)

In the same way as the selection of data is motivated so, potentially, is

my interpretation. That said, although my interpretation is "not a neutral one –

there are none – but one which reflects my own experience, values and political

commitments" (Fairclough, 2015, p. 63):, I have attempted to overcome this in

the ways described in the section above and in *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with*

EAP? and *Chapter 4: Auto-ethnography* which provide self-analysis and self-

disclosure. As Rapley asserts, "this position, *acknowledging the role of your*

own knowledge in making sense of what is going on for participants, does not in

any way deny that attending to the participants' orientations *is the central task of analysis"* (2007, p. 104; emphasis in the original).

The TEAP Handbook. I have chosen to use the TEAP Handbook because of its apparently uncritical acceptance and use in my professional context, where it provides an example of resemioticisation (Iedema, 2003), or how signs "are embedded in and reproduce, again and again, with each moment, so-called broader contexts and institutions like [EAP]" (Rapley, 2007, p. 97). I make use of comparison with the UKPFS because the TEAP Handbook explicitly references the HEA scheme: "BALEAP has aligned both the Competency Framework and the RAPP with the **UK Professional Standards Framework** and the HEA recognition scheme" (2014, p. 29; emphasis in the original). The relevance of this comparison lies in the observation that utterances exist "against a backdrop of other concrete utterances on the same theme, a background made up of contradictory opinions, points of view and value judgements […] pregnant with responses and objections" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 281), the notion of heteroglossia or intertextuality as "any text is a link in a chain of texts, reacting to, drawing in and transforming other texts" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 262; see also Voloshinov, 1986, p. 139). As Van Leuwen observes, "monomodalilty still persists … in … the writing and publishing of academic papers" (2017, p. 17), and the TEAP Handbook is very much in this tradition: to broaden the analysis I have chosen those parts of each text that use multimodality, i.e. diagrams and the layout, to create meaning, as well as the language.

In the comparison, there are two issues to bear in mind. First, although I believe there is much to be gained from such a comparison between the two documents, they are not directly comparable in function or length. Second is the

question of materiality: unlike the UKPSF, the TEAP Handbook is not physically published and may therefore have attracted less attention from a design perspective; related to that is the fact that the two organisations enjoy very different levels of resourcing, as revealed by a comparison of their most recent accounts, both to 31 July 2016, in which BALEAP's income was £101,296 (2016, p. 7), less than 1% of the HEA's £12,168,000 (2016, p. 10). That said, although design was until recently a specialised professional skill, "digital technology has brought resources for multimodal text design within reach of anyone who has a computer, and introduced multimodal text design in many areas that were previously 'monomodal', for instance in workplace documents" (Van Leeuwen, 2017, p. 22) and these are all choices, and would doubtless have been approved by more than one BALEAP committee member and, at the same time non-professional design is significant because it is "the closest to 'natural' or spontaneous' verbal graphic language production" (Bateman, 2014, p. 29).

Olson makes the point that care needs to be taken in the selection of documents because not only is a variety required to limit bias but also the quantity to documents available is potentially overwhelming; Verschueren (2012) makes a similar point in relation to the credibility of the research.

The BALEAP name. This choice flows from the oddities discovered in the analysis and from their relevance to the findings.

Pre-sessional job advert. The relevance of this choice lies in its providing not only an example of the local resemioticisation (Iedema, 2003) of the BALEAP TEAP Framework (2014) but also of the attitudes implicit in the *TEAP Framework or TEAP Cage?* and *"Do the TEFLERs really love us?"* sections of *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP?*

Ethical Considerations

Although this is a separate section, I acknowledge Farrimond's point that ethics is "embedded in the research process … ethics and research are indivisible, and the choices you make about research design have inherently ethical aspects" (2013, p. 58). In her book, Farrimond states six principles of ethical research, respect for people, beneficence, nonmaleficence, justice, fidelity and academic freedom. In considering ethical issues, I have considered these potential areas of concern and I have also followed the Graduate School of Education's (GSE) ethical procedures (*Ethics Procedure for Graduate School of Education*, n.d.).

This research resolves most ethical issues by avoiding the use of human subjects, other than me, with this approach having been approved by the GSE's Ethics Committee (see Appendix 2). The principal remaining concerns are the organisation for which I work and BALEAP, given that nonmaleficence covers also "social harm" (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004, p. 272), and that the GSE's ethical procedures state that those whose "interests and rights need protection include … institutions such as schools and colleges with which we have professional contact" (*Ethics Procedure for Graduate School of Education*, n.d.).

For *Chapter 5: Semiotic Analysis,* I have anonymised the institutions I work and have worked for and documents and data from the institution; I have also sought and obtained my line manager's permission to use such documents and data. For BALEAP material, I believe that subjecting materials available from its website to semiotic analysis presents no ethical issues given that any such material has been produced for public consumption.

Chapter 4: Auto-ethnography presents more difficult issues. Blenkinsopp (2007, p. 256) identifies two ethical issues beyond those inherent in auto-

ethnography. The first involves accuracy; the second anonymity and confidentiality; to me, these are in conflict in that one way to resolve the second is to compromise on the first. Although it is true "that the author is the main protagonist [which] means that the location and the other protagonists could be identified with a little detective work" (Blenkinsopp, 2007, p. 256), I have anonymised the data in the same way as in *Chapter 5: Semiotic Analysis* and am permanently conscious that my "story is never in a vacuum and others are always visible or invisible participants (Chang, 2008, p. 69)." This means I have compromised on accuracy with a composite account (Caine et al., 2016, p. e.g.), albeit that

> Written narratives – whether newspaper stories, works of nonfiction, novels or Facebook posts – always stand in a complex relationship to reality. The act of writing creates a version of reality which lays claim to validity without, ultimately, being valid in the sense of being true. In their different ways, all these forms of writing can only approach truth. (Kurbjuweit, 2017)

Risks

There are two significant areas of concern. The first is my status as a white person investigating the possibility of racism; the second is the potential arrogance of arguing that others are unconsciously enmeshed in an ideology which I can see but they cannot.

Like the women of the BBC who clarified at the start of their letter about unequal pay to the Director General that "Compared to many women and men, we are very well compensated and fortunate" ('Female BBC Stars' Letter to

Tony Hall Demanding Equal Pay in Full', 2017), I acknowledge my relative privilege. That privilege exists on multiple levels, whether as a white British man or an ELT with a stable and reasonably well-paid job. However, that does not mean I should not challenge or highlight what I see as inequities.

That said, Mills' argument that "Part of what it means to be constructed as 'white'…is a cognitive model that precludes self-transparency and genuine understanding of realities" (1997, p. 18) suggests that it may be futile for me to consider such issues. Others would disagree. Terrance MacMullan, a white philosopher on Whiteness, states that we "must strive to relate the academic and scholarly work on whiteness to policies and laws that affect people's lives, in particular the lives of people of color whose dignity, property and lives were and still are taken from them by a white supremacist society" (MacMullan, 2015, p. 649), and Thompson in her article, "Tiffany, friend of people of color: White investments in antiracism" (2003; see also Applebaum, 2011) presents a nuanced account and echoes Khan's (2017) *Guardian* article quoted in *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP?* My view is that to try to understand the lived experience of those who suffer racism can only help, in however limited a way. Not least, this is important aspect of the understanding this research aims to generate.

There is another potential objection given that the current focus of EAP from a student point-of-view is China. Some might object that three of the accounts above are not informed by racism as experienced by Chinese people, and, indeed, this is also true of Said's *Orientalism* (2003) which concerns itself more with perceptions and constructions of the Middle East than of the Far East. (Although both are used by Said himself, I acknowledge these are Euro-centric terms.) That said, Frayling (2014), Tchen and Yeats (2014) and Vltcheck

(2018) provide a view of this as a specifically Chinese phenomenon and Lowe's fictional account suggests there are some similarities, particularly in his use of the expression the "mysterious orient" (e.g. 1985, p. 483) which also appears in Said (e.g. Said, 1994, p. xi).

The other risk, that of being patronising, cannot be ignored in critical research. That said, as Svensson puts it in the context of organizational ethnography, "the most efficient power is the one operating in silence. Silent power works through the production of consent and common sense" (2014, p. 175) and so it is not unreasonable, although it may be futile, to call such power out. As Fairclough says,

> It also indicates both the basis for critical analysis in the nature of discourse and practice – there are things that people are doing that they are unaware of – and the potential social impact of critical analysis as a means of raising people's self-consciousness" (2015, p. 70).

As Fairclough further says, "consciousness is the first step towards emancipation" (2015, p. 229).

Chapter 4: Auto-ethnography

The observations and anecdotes in this auto-ethnographic chapter address both student and teacher experiences of EAP and relate to a consideration of EAP more widely. A feature of the chapter is the marginal notes, which are of broadly four types. The first type connects the data, both within this chapter and to the material in *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP* (p. 13) and *Chapter 5: Semiotic Analysis* (p. 159); the second comments on how the auto-ethnography carries out its work of providing unique insights into the world of EAP; the third connects the auto-ethnographic material to other parts of the study, particularly *Chapter 6: Reading Between the Lines* (p. 193); the final type offers authorial comment. In all cases, given its interconnectedness, comments are on selected aspects of the data.

At critical points, these marginal notes highlight connections with other sections of the study.

This chapter is organised chronologically into three broad time periods relating to my experience of EAP:

- *Curiosity,* the first period, relates to my initial engagement with EAP, which spans a period of approximately 13 years when I taught EAP at two different universities over a total of eight summers. It also includes my transition to teaching in an international study centre, another one of the social contexts of ELT where teachers are on the one hand better paid than elsewhere and on the other hand criticised for being too EFL-ly [*sic*] (see also *"Do the TEFLERs really love us?"* (p. 45)). It is during this period that I started the Exeter EdD (TESOL),

"opening up … [my] identities to other ways of being in the world" (Wenger, 2000, p. 239). Although the two universities at which I taught in this period were both BALEAP-accredited, they were what I would describe as BALEAP-lite in that BALEAP was seldom mentioned and did not inform recruitment, induction, course design, teaching and observation in any explicit way.

- *Disillusionment,* the second period of approximately two-and-a-half years, relates to my current professional context, from being engaged to teach on the ten-week summer pre-sessional and my subsequent transition to Course Leader and then Acting Head of Pre-sessional. This university was BALEAP-accredited and what I would describe as BALEAP-obsessed in that BALEAP featured extensively in recruitment, induction, course design, teaching and observation.

- *Confidence,* the third period, relates to the most recent iteration of my current professional context, now in the reconfigured role of Head of English Language, bringing together pre- and in-sessional support for ESOL students across the University. This third stage incorporates an alternative future for EAP in my institution which will involve a review of whether to continue our BALEAP accreditation. It is made use of in *EAP as the Problem it Seeks to Solve* (p. 207) of *Chapter 6: Reading Between the Lines* (p. 193).

These three periods record my professional learning, defined as the "interplay between [my] social competence and personal experience (Wenger, 2000, p. 227); it is an auto-ethnography which records the history and development of my competence with examples from personal experience. In its execution, this chapter draws inspiration from Canagarajah (2012) in his use of auto-ethnography; to strengthen that connection, it also makes reference to Wenger's communities of practice (1998). *Curiosity* and *Disillusionment* inform the first four sections of *Chapter 6: Reading Between the Lines* (p. 193); its fifth section makes use of the material in *Confidence.*

With the exception of *Confidence*, I have attempted to be consistent over *Curiosity* and *Disillusionment*, albeit without subtitles to avoid disrupting the narrative. The order in which I address the different aspects of each context is: recruitment, induction, accommodation, EAP as expressed in that particular context, materials, an aside on referencing, course organisation, work expected outside normal working hours, assessment and observation procedure. *Confidence* is organised around a PowerPoint presentation and this is explained at the start of the section.

My experience, albeit not generalisable of itself, makes visible the inside story which is later interpreted in Chapter 6: Reading Between the Lines. *I aim to provide enough "thick description" for colleagues to recognise / judge the veracity of the data.*

This autobiographical account combines with *Chapter 6: Reading Between the Lines* (p. 193) (and the semiotic analysis in the next chapter) to generate the auto-ethnography. As Nixon and Lowe put it, "When biography and autobiography are subjected to analysis within a framework of qualitative enquiry, they become auto-ethnography, which according to Ellis and Bochner is 'a genre of writing and research that displays multiple levels of consciousness,

connecting the personal to the cultural'." (2018, p. 5). In the sense that there is a danger that this type of research could be regarded as too introspective and lacking in objectivity, an additional function of this chapter is to demonstrate the genesis of the insights on which the study is based in a spirit of honesty and transparency; it should also therefore be read with the autobiographical elements of *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP?* (p. 13), particularly *Biggles, North Nibley, the Archipelago, Botanical Gardens and Brexit* (p. 30).

Curiosity

Further research might explore how widespread such motivations are.

Arriving back from Singapore after four years there with the British Council, I was pleased to discover that my qualifications and experience would almost certainly guarantee me an EAP summer job. Like many teachers we now employ, I was attracted partly by the thought of working in higher education and partly, perhaps the greater part, by the thought of earning a reasonable amount of money in a relatively short time over the summer. For me, it was particularly important as the previous year I had given up the job at the British Council in Singapore to pursue my until-then-neglected cabinet-making and lutherie ambitions which would occupy the next four years.

Despite its denial of its ELT antecedents – see EAP as in Denial *in Chapter 6: Reading Between the Lines, it is typical for ELT qualifications to be specified. This can also be seen in the* Analysis of the Pre-sessional Job Advertisement *in Chapter 5: Semiotic Analysis.*

"You appear to be underqualified for our purposes," was a disappointing start to my EAP job search. Fortunately, that disappointment was short-lived. I had sent my CV by email to a number of universities on the basis of around twelve years' experience in a variety of the different social and geographic contexts

of ELT, including a two-year stint as Lecturer and Course Coordinator at the Open Learning Institute of Hong Kong, a first degree in English Language and Literature, a postgraduate Diploma in Business Administration, and the Royal Society of Arts Preparatory Certificate in TEFL (the forerunner of today's CELTA, which is at Level 5 in the UKNQF). The next, and longer-established, university I applied to invited me to an interview, the informality of which was confirmed when I was invited to sign a contract immediately! I was to teach on their six-week course for international postgraduates entering the Business School.

Oddly, shortly before I started, the other university had a change of heart and also offered me a position. At the time, I felt ambivalent about this: on the one hand, I was pleased to be asked; on the other, it had to be because they were desperate! With hindsight, I appreciate the pressures universities put themselves under in order to keep up their BALEAP accreditation, which specifies both the level of qualifications and experience expected of teachers, and expected class sizes. These two factors combine to make it challenging to recruit the necessary numbers of appropriately qualified and experienced teachers.

Meanwhile, back at the university where I had accepted the offer, induction lasted for two days. Academically, the emphasis seemed to be on being able to connect classroom activities to students' degree programmes, a feature of the BALEAP TEAP Framework (BALEAP, 2014) as resemioticised (Iedema, 2003) in the observation documents in my current context. I received little training

This partly explains my approach to recruitment as described in the Confidence *section of the auto-ethnography.*

This was my first contact with BALEAP. I was interested in the individual accreditation scheme but there were few details available. Even 15 years later the total number of Fellows of all grades is only 63, so this is hardly surprising.

in this and, then, knew even less about what it meant to be a postgraduate student. Much of the content of the induction was rather abstract and seemed to miss an opportunity to prepare us practically for the first week's classes. The relative shortness of the induction also meant my mind was occupied with other non-academic issues, such as the location of the nearest supermarket, getting a library card and computer access.

Induction was also a time to settle into my accommodation. This was a student block in the city centre, a forty-minute walk away from the university, with six ensuite bedrooms and a shared kitchen/dining area; it was relatively new, practical and clean. I shared it with the other three teachers who had been recruited from outside the city.

Once I started classes, I began to discover EAP was quite different from the ELT I had done previously. For example, students were not allocated to their classes by language level. There was also much in the curriculum that was not strictly language-related, for example referencing and "critical thinking"; in fact, there was very little explicit language teaching in terms of either grammar or vocabulary. There was also a focus on student autonomy, although it was unclear to me why postgraduate students would need this. Although the expectation was that all, or most, students would pass, assessment was taken very seriously, with the most heavily-weighted component being an extended essay of 1,500 words on a topic related to the students' future studies. There was also the expectation that teachers would act as formal personal tutors to their

For further analysis of this and the points about materials below, see EAP as Complex and Simple *in* Chapter 6: Reading Between the Lines.

students, supporting them with the essay, pastoral concerns, and keeping records of our interactions.

Teaching materials were produced entirely in-house by the university. Although I didn't question it at the time, this is now a point of curiosity to me in that I know there to be more-than-adequate textbooks graded at different levels of the Common European Framework available that would more effectively support students' ongoing language development than materials that make no distinction in level. Although I understand that customised materials are potentially more appropriate for their context, I question whether an EAP practitioner would be in a position to be an expert in any academic discipline, let alone all. There may be an influence from the BALEAP institutional (2018a) and individual accreditation schemes at Fellow and Senior Fellow level (2014) here in that the requirements for materials design heavily imply that courses are produced in-house.

Materials are an important part of Chapter 6: Reading Between the Lines, *for what they reveal about attitudes to both students and teachers. These insights are part of the unique contribution of the auto-ethnography.*

In the classroom, the materials were rather dense, demanded much of both teachers and students, and allowed little opportunity to respond to individual student needs. In retrospect, although on the one hand this is helpful in that it almost certainly reduced my preparation time and meant students in different classes had a shared experience of the course, on the other hand it could be interpreted as a lack of trust in teachers' professionalism and as patronising in respect of students. Despite the qualification and experience requirements for teachers, little use was made of either, and there were extensive teachers' notes and lengthy staff meetings

These points are made use of in Chapter 6: Reading Between the Lines.

to guide us in our approach. Again in retrospect, there was an implication that EAP was so esoteric that simply to access it required a high base level of qualification and experience. It occurred to me only in the second, *disillusionment,* period that, the students were perfectly, if not more, capable of understanding the materials than me. Even before starting my EdD, I was surprised at the materials' insistence on the use of the passive and the avoidance of the first person in reporting research.

As an example of how out-of-depth I was, referencing in particular struck me as a dark art. Neither in my experiences as a student nor as a staff member in higher education had it ever been necessary for me to write a formal reference list. As a student of English Language and Literature and of Business Administration, I was limited in resources to physical copies of books and periodicals in the library and I wrote all my essays by hand; the emphasis in my first degree was very much personal response to texts and the postgraduate diploma was entirely practical.

The long essay was expected to be on a subject related to the students' future degrees. With mixed classes in that respect, and only a very small spread of subject expertise between teachers, and much of that not at postgraduate level, the effective marking of this would appear problematic at best.

The organisation of the course, as I was to discover, was fairly typical of a BALEAP-accredited university. Classes were of 12 to 16 students, with either two or three two-hour classes a day and individual tutorials to support students through the production of the long essay. The course was divided into the four skills or reading, writing, listening and speaking with the skills paired up into reading/writing and listening/speaking; each teacher taught reading/writing to one class and listening/speaking to another so, although the students remained in the same groups for all classes,

they got different teachers for the two parts of the course. This meant all teachers taught everything on the curriculum: we were generalist EAP specialists! This reminded me of the debate I often had with management at the Professional Development Centre at the British Council in Singapore, where it was insisted that all Training Consultants be able to teach all courses, a strategy that for me lead us to mediocrity. Why would a professional organisation pay a premium rate for a proposal-writing trainer when that person taught grammar the previous day and presentation skills the next? The model of a law firm, where specialism commands the premium seemed to me more relevant for our business.

To return from Singapore, though, there was also a lot of evening and weekend work, both preparation and marking. The long essay in particular went through a number of iterations, and it was almost always the case that the essay was due in on a Friday and needed to be turned around for the Monday. Although I didn't reflect on this at the time, I now see this as indicative of the low status of temporarily-employed summer teachers; the next section, *Disillusionment,* records a particularly egregious example of this in my current professional context.

At the university in the Disillusionment *section, this was an explicit expectation in that we were told in advance which weekends were likely to involve a heavy marking load.*

The essay was part of the students' assessment, both formative and summative. Summative assessment was reported as IELTS-type grades for each of the four skills, listening, speaking, reading and writing. We were expected to use IELTS-type marking criteria which were densely packed into grids. This was new to me, as was the IELTS grading system, and it took some time to get used

This is the type of information an auto-ethnographic account is uniquely able to reveal.

to. There was also a clear expectation that all students would achieve the entry grade set for their course.

My teaching was formally observed biennially and the performativity agenda was therefore explicit. However, as I discovered in retrospect, it was an informal and stress-free process at both universities I worked for during the *curiosity* period. It was very much a two-way process, in the manner of De Cossart and Fish's enlightened "those observing their [the learner's] conduct will inevitably make comparisons between themselves and the learner. The potential for unpacking the values of the learner offers both educator and learner … a profound opportunity for educational development"(2005, p. 35); these observations were very much conversations and were both appreciative and wide-ranging.

At the end of the first summer, and indeed even at the end of the sixth, and at the end of two in another more-geographically-convenient university some years later, I was pleased to be finished but at the same time felt a strong sense of satisfaction and looked forward to returning the following summer. That return was in all cases all-but-guaranteed before leaving and confirmed with a contract in the post early the following year. Like Martin's (2014) interviewees, I felt I had graduated to a new level of ELT: my curiosity was not only piqued but maintained. I also felt that I had got away with it, a degree of imposter syndrome. I felt my success was based more on my ability to build relationships by responding to students as individuals and adults, by making myself useful to the Course Leader, and that usefulness being defined to some extent by

I now believe generating these feelings of inadequacy is a feature of BALEAP's iteration of EAP.

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passing everyone. I never did fully understand what the students' future environment was going to be like, referencing, IELTS-style marking grids, or intensity and opacity of the course.

What was it about my qualifications, skills and experience that made me suitable? My only explanation is that a lack of linguistic knowledge on the part of the students was somehow conflated with a lack of academic skills (tendency to plagiarism, lack of "critical thinking", an inability to synthesise etc.) and that conversely, being a native speaker of English with some experience of ELT equated not only to competence in all those skills but also the ability to teach them; it may also have been the case that I demonstrated the correct prejudice in my interviews.

It is also the case that I am British, white and male and it is at least possible prejudice was working in my favour.

From an "apprentice" or a "newcomer" (both Wenger, 2000, p. 227) at the start of this period, at the end I felt I had been assimilated into the EAP community of practice, albeit rather uncritically on my part, as I "negotiate[ed] competence through an experience of direct participation" (Wenger, 2000, p. 229). Looking back, initially I was very much grounded specifically in one university's community of practice; it was only when I went to work for the more-geographically-convenient university that I began to appreciate EAP as a separate construct or reification. Here Wenger's "three modes of belonging" (2000, p. 227), i.e. engagement, imagination and alignment, are helpful to frame an analysis. I felt a sense of engagement in that at the end of this period, I felt very much a full participant; in terms of imagination, even as a temporary summer member of staff, I identified as a teacher of EAP with sufficient competence even to

Part of the value of this account is that it spans 15 years and three sites of EAP.

contribute to the running of a course and to feel competent walking into an EAP set-up at another university; and, in terms of alignment, I felt my practice was sufficiently similar to my colleagues in both, and perhaps other, universities to guarantee that students would recognise a consistency of approach.

Disillusionment

Five years' relative freedom, with a portfolio career made up of English language examining, short ELT contracts abroad, summer EAP work at the geographically-more-convenient university in the previous section and co-founding and developing a successful summer school business, came to an end with an unexpected issue which destroyed my trust in my business partner. Being then part-way through the EdD, it seemed a natural choice to look for work in higher education; at that time of year, that almost inevitably meant a return to EAP. My requirements were a job that was well-paid, and the dates and location convenient; the ten-week course for postgraduates entering the Business School at the university at

This strengthens the case for generating feelings of inadequacy as a feature of EAP highlighted earlier and it continues below in the insistence on retaining the question. This is taken up in Chapter 6: Reading Between the Lines.

which I now work full-time met all of those criteria, so I applied online.

But I nearly didn't get the job. Despite now having the Trinity Diploma in TESOL (at Level 7 in the UKNQF) and, being about to complete the pre-thesis stage of my EdD part-way through that summer, a much clearer understanding of what it meant to be a postgraduate social scientist, there was a question that I was completely unable to answer. That question was, "How would you teach a lesson on 'voice'?" I had to ask for clarification! In addition to

this, I was also sent a pre-interview task, to prepare to explain how I might "exploit it [a text, (McCrimmon, 2009)] within an Academic Skills strand of a Pre-sessional course" [*sic*].

Compared with the two universities I had worked for previously, this seemed onerous. This was particularly true given the length of time it took to complete the compulsory online application form, and the fact that it was a summer job in an interviewee's market. The "voice" question seemed not only to be unnecessary meta-language but I also felt there was a sense in which it was a trap; the latter was also true of the pre-interview task, the objective of which seemed to be to recognise that the source lacked academic reliability. As I discovered the following year, I was right. As a Course Leader, I suggested revising this question (and others) to make it accessible to teachers with no or little experience of EAP but was directed not to. We were also directed to include in the interview process, in addition to a pre-interview task similar to that for the previous year, an abridged version of the TEAP Framework (BALEAP, 2008, p. 10), with the following instruction:

The Pre-sessional Job Advertisement *in* Chapter 5: Semiotic Analysis *was the advert for this job.*

> You have been provided with a copy of the criteria for units A to C of the TEAP Competency Framework for Teachers of EAP which describes the professional knowledge, understanding and values that underlie Academic Practices, Course Delivery and Student Needs. Please familiarise yourself with this information prior to the interview as the TEAP competencies inform our interview questions. We will

This uncritical acceptance of BALEAP and the TEAP Framework was typical of this institution.

not test you on the competencies during the interview. By providing you with this information we wish to show expectations of what an EAP tutor should know and the practice she/he should engage in.

Despite the penultimate sentence, one of the interview questions, for which very few interviewees were prepared, was, "You have received part of the TEAP Competency Framework, how does your teaching reflect this? [*sic*]" I felt there was more than a hint here of developing and maintaining professional conspiracy, and establishing a clear intellectual hierarchy between full-time members of staff and summer staff. As a reminder of this, the chair of the interview panel said several times in each interview, "The TEAP Framework underpins everything we do."

I regret not asking whether the TEAP Framework underpinned the retrospective writing of Intended Learning Objectives for the course in the run-up to the BALEAP inspection mentioned later in this section.

Teacher induction lasted three days, from Wednesday to Friday. There were five of us, with the Course Leader, and the programme was heavily structured, the days densely-packed from 09.00 to 17.00, with an hour for lunch. Once again, there was little that was practically useful from a teaching perspective, except the negative injunction not to be "too EFL-ly", something I had heard before in the Study Centre context. As I discovered the following year, the density of the programme was a deliberate strategy to extract maximum value for the money, despite induction being a clear opportunity for the university to "give" in the context of the "take" that was expected in relation to our evenings and weekends throughout the course. The following year, the length of induction

For details of the Study Centre context, see EAP, BALEAP, ESOL and More *in* Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP?

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was increased to five days in anticipation of an imminent BALEAP inspection but, if anything, we were allowed fewer opportunities to schedule class preparation time and there was more abstract content, including a session on Legitimation Code Theory (e.g. Maton, 2015; Maton et al., 2017), the relevance of which was tangential at best, and recognised as such in teacher feedback.

Once again, I settled into my accommodation during the induction week. This time, it was a house in a tired state of decoration and only a small number of rooms were ensuite. I shared it with another eight teachers. I discovered the following year that, although the university had plenty of better-quality accommodation, it preferred to rent that out over the summer and that the pre-sessional teachers were explicitly a low priority.

A positive aspect of this *Disillusionment* period was that I felt the confidence to challenge at least in my own mind aspects of EAP I might previously have accepted. This confidence flowed partly from a growing amount of experience and partly from my EdD training, particularly in critical approaches to ELT. A recent example illuminates this. In their conference presentation titled, "Fake news and other fictions about reporting verbs", Hopkins and Reid (2018) used linguistic analysis to debunk the notion that academic papers use reporting verbs to express the author's positionality in relation to sources, despite this appearing as a reified feature of EAP with lists of such verbs and exercises with which to practice them. Another example is a four-part framework for analysing an essay question in teaching material for current international postgraduate students in

I often interrogate myself and students about the usefulness or otherwise of materials and exercises because there is a danger we provide what we can give rather than what is necessary or useful.

the Business School: I cannot explain even to myself the distinction between subject, focus, instruction words and scope! Further, astonishingly there are still people who believe that the passive is always used in research, and that the first person should never be used. This relates to the point in this and the previous section about materials being teacher-centred: what use is such meta-language to students? Such materials answer the question, "What can we teach?" not, "What do students need to learn?"

If I thought the materials had been dense previously, these were osmium-like. Although usable and generally liked by teachers and students, they were entirely teacher-centred (cf. Tyack & Tobin, 1994) and required the use of copious notes and answer keys – which were not available to students; there were a surprisingly large number of typos, the layout was messy and there were a number of copyright issues. Once again, there was a focus on critical thinking and the development of student autonomy. In the light of my EdD experience, I was surprised at the insistence on the passive and avoiding the use of the first person in reporting all forms of research. Although there was no formal record of work to complete – the expectation was that teachers would deliver the class as laid out in the materials – there was a space in the register to record any "deviations" [*sic*]. While my colleagues seemed to spend a long time preparing their classes, I winged it, particularly for the writing part of the course; this contributed greatly to my general sanity in increasing the time I had available for marking, making use of the swimming pool, and enjoying weekends. Perhaps partly because of this, partly

My thought here was that, if I needed the answers, students, were equally – if not more – capable of reading them so why not make them available?

because of a related sense that any experienced teacher ought to be able to do the same, and partly because of staffing issues, to my shame I changed little about the materials when that opportunity fell to me.

At about 06.30 one Monday morning, I rolled my car over on a country lane in Dorset; although the car was damaged beyond repair, I was mostly unhurt and back at work the next day. One positive outcome to this was that I missed the one class – usually called lesson here – on referencing! It also drew attention to the organisation of the course: once again, because of the small classes operating in lockstep, the only way to cover me was to split the class between other teachers. In the absence of a more flexible timetable, it also testified to the university's reluctance to make effective cover arrangements.

Once again, there was a lot of work over the weekends, and this was expected: I had an email before the course explaining to me which weekends would involve a heavy marking load. Although I did fit my marking into the working week, I know colleagues were unable to and I felt this was inequitable, particularly in the context of the intensive induction and a contract which stated a work week of 36.5 hours: it seemed to be rather more take than give. My sense of inequity intensified when the senior member of staff for the regime felt she was unable to mark papers at the weekend when called upon to do so and asked others to do the work on her behalf.

Compared with previously, the observation was demanding and stressful. Bearing in mind that there were rigorous qualifications

and skills criteria and a three-member panel interview for selection, I felt this ought not to have been the case. Although mine went well, the appraiser failed to turn up on the first occasion necessitating further preparation for the second. In discussing the process with colleagues, we felt it was rather uni-directional, emphasising "alignment without negotiability" (Wenger, 1998, p. 206) and potentially providing evidence of three of Day and Gu's five negative consequences of the performativity agenda in that it challenged my identity, threatened my sense of agency and resilience, and challenged my capacity to maintain motivation, efficacy and thus, commitment (all three quotations 2007, p. 425). It is also out of alignment with university practice which, for experienced staff, would involve a confidential peer review rather than a hierarchical set-piece.

Assessment was similar to that described in the *curiosity* period. Once again, there was a strong and quietly spoken expectation that students would achieve the grades they required for their courses.

The experience ended ambiguously. Although it had been positive enough for me to make an application for a full-time position, the outcome of which I would know only several months later, we were all invited for an exit interview. At this interview, it was made clear to everyone that not only that we would be required to reapply if we wanted to be considered for work the following year but also that the pay would be less!

Despite that, two months later, and two weeks late after being caught in the Chennai floods that year, I joined the university full-

This understanding has contributed greatly to my ability to read between the lines in Chapter 6.

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time. This led me to a deeper understanding of the situation and hence some of the insights I have described above, and to closer engagement with BALEAP through an accreditation visit and the biennial conference at the University of Bristol which I attended as a presenter. The accreditation visit generated a lot of *post factum* paperwork, including learning objectives (!); I felt the conference would have benefited from fewer better-prepared presentations.

At the end of this period, I felt I had made the transition to "oldtimer" (Wenger, 2000, p. 227). My *disillusionment* caused a "generative tension" (Wenger, 2000, p. 233) which ultimately led to *confidence.* In the meantime, though, as a Course Leader, I was implicated in the very processes I felt uncomfortable about, and this was even more true once I became Acting Head of Pre-sessional. However this extension of my EAP experience, combined with the experience of the EdD, meant not only that I could recognise that I was feeling patronised but also that I could glimpse and begin to analyse the ideology that was responsible for that feeling.

It also provided the motivation and data for this study.

Confidence

This next section records my thinking as I took on the newly-created position of Head of English Language. This gave me the power to use the insights above "to pull … [my] community's competence along" (Wenger, 2000, p. 227) as a "pioneer" (Wenger, 2000, p. 227) and to an understanding that the ELT/EAP boundary "merely reflect[s] relations of power among practices, in which case they are likely to reinforce the boundary rather than bridge it"

(Wenger, 2000, p. 234). *Confidence* is organised in a different way to *Curiosity* and *Disillusionment*, which were wholly narrative. It is based around the PowerPoint presentation I made for the job interview for Head of English Language on my five-year vision for English language. I take up towards the end of the section those areas not covered by the presentation, i.e. recruitment, induction, accommodation, referencing, the amount of preparation and marking expected of teachers, observations. The presentation reveals much about my own ideology, in particular a belief in addressing students' declarative needs rather than those that arise as part of an orientalist fantasy.

The reader will recognise that I am attempting to address some of the issues identified in the previous two sections.

<div>

English Language Framework

- Simple

- Resource-effective

- Flexible

- Connected
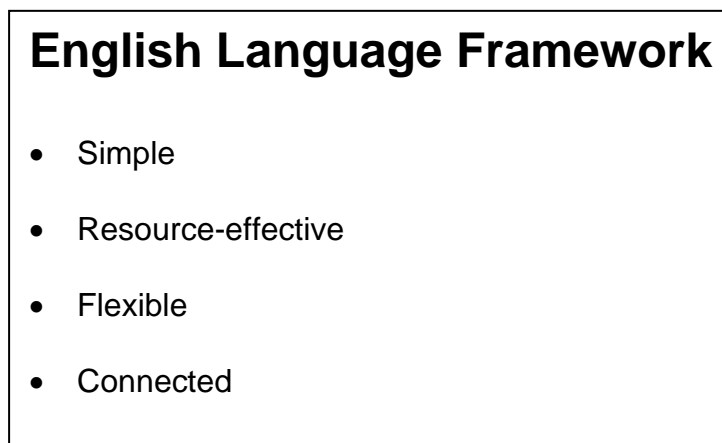
</div>

Figure 8: Presentation slide 1

The first slide (Figure 8, above) anticipates the themes developed in later slides.

Although the second slide (Figure 9, below) is a plea for less complexity, there is one instance in which I wanted more. I wanted less complexity in relation to systems, processes and materials. As things stood, there were six distinct pre-sessional courses; although

there had been some attempt to rationalise these, there was much duplication of effort and, to me, unnecessary differences and complexity. That said, I wanted more complexity in the materials. Previously, there had been no provision for students entering the programme at different levels of linguistic proficiency; this was counterintuitive from an ELT perspective and also ran counter to student feedback which was almost universally in favour of more explicit language development work. I also hope that the pre-sessional might 'front-load' a properly-structured English language development programme, perhaps leading to one of the Cambridge English certificates; not only would this make a long-term improvement to students' language but it also enjoys the possibility of contributing to their wellbeing and employability.

This is on-going and has been advanced this year by the unique circumstances surrounding Covid-19 meaning the pre-sessional programme needed to be offered online.

Of the remaining two points, the third relates to the discipline-specificity of the programmes. This is a source of concern to me

Given that much is now online, another possibility is to produce a generic course customisable by departments.
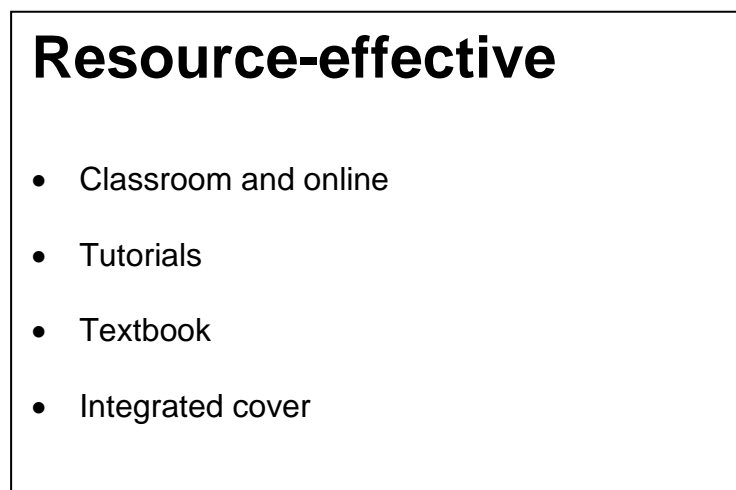
Simple

- 1 course with 4 entry points
- 3 language levels
- Faculty-run sessions
- Reduced assessment

Figure 9: Presentation slide 2

because I question the extent to which an EAP teacher is competent and able to bring a discipline-specific focus to his or her teaching,

particularly in a multi-disciplinary class. My suggestion for overcoming this was that the faculties themselves were allocated time on the programme to spend with their future students.

The final point relates to demands on resources, teachers and students; it should also be seen in the context of the University's institutional commitment to a reduction in assessment. The demands on resources are high because the production of tests requires particular expertise and time; for teachers, there are also time implications for marking, often under pressure at the end of the course; and for students, there are wellbeing issues particularly given that for some pre-sessional is a high-stakes situation. All of that said, although the long essay may in future become a formative exercise, there is likely to be more formal language testing to meet requirements set by United Kingdom Visas and Immigration (UKVI), one of our key external stakeholders.

Figure 10: Presentation slide 3

The third slide (Figure 10, above) makes a plea for the more effective use of resources. As it stood, the pre-sessional programme was relatively staff-intensive due to the size of the classes (no more than 16) – to some extent determined by BALEAP – a lockstep approach to timetabling and an outdated internal interpretation of UKVI documentation that meant students were required to attend class for 20 hours a week. In the future, I hope to relieve the pressure by reducing that figure to 15 hours, making a small number of classes larger where that would be effective, putting some materials online and arranging more student-centred activities such as group projects.

Rather than teaching autonomy, I hope to make use of students' existing autonomy.

One-to-one tutorials for the long essay, although much appreciated, were resource-intensive with the latter making them unsustainable. Shifting to a model of group tutorials used in the Faculty of Engineering overcomes the resource issue and enjoys the potential to be more effective by capitalising on the power of peer/social learning. Separating the writing tutorials from personal tutorials also enjoys the potential to offer more wellbeing support.

As things stood, there were six different writing courses! Not only was this an inefficient use of staff time but it was also a missed opportunity to make use of purpose-produced materials that had gone through a rigorous QA process. The use of a textbook with multiple language levels makes it immediately possible to cater for students with different levels of linguistic competence, something that would previously have been impossible; the current materials could be repurposed into more academic skills-type sessions. That said, I

am ambivalent about the use of a textbook in that it reduces flexibility, potentially emphasises a skills-based form of EAP and could be a "Trojan horse of globalisation" (Birch & Liyanage, 2004).

With the lockstep timetable and an inflexible employment contract that specified 18 to 20 hours' teaching a week, there were difficulties arranging cover for absent teachers. A more flexible contract could incorporate cover and allow the possibility of, say, more training rather than teaching time when relevant. Such a cover system has positive implications not only for teachers' wellbeing but also for the students' experience of their course.

Flexible

- Scaleable 2021
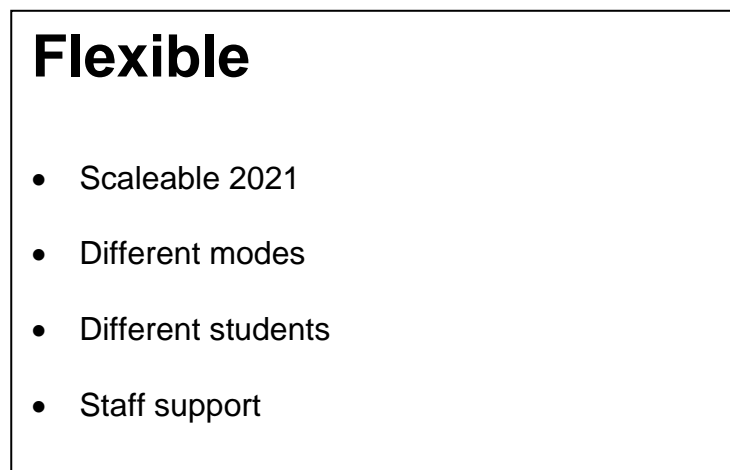- Different modes
- Different students
- Staff support

Figure 11: Presentation slide 4

This is an indication of the presence of the neoliberal environment of HE in the UK.

The fourth slide (Figure 11, above) has few implications for this study: it anticipates the flexibility that might be required for a large increase or decrease in numbers, a switch from graduates to undergraduates etc.

Figure 12: Presentation slide 5

The important point about the fifth slide is the aspiration to make use of existing systems and processes rather than pre-sessional-specific ones. One feature of the department had been an almost complete separation between its systems and processes and those of the wider university, analogous to BALEAP's TEAP Scheme and the HEA.

The recruitment process that had been so onerous the previous year I completely changed. Working with colleagues in HR, I arranged a much-reduced process for returning teachers. Not only did feedback suggest this meant the teachers felt valued but dismantling a potential barrier meant we were able to recruit nearly all the teachers we needed from a tried and tested pool. This significantly reduced Course Leaders' workload in terms of shortlisting and interviewing and also meant that we retained the previous year's expertise to help induct teachers new to the

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university. In terms of administrative support, where in the past we had recruited two temporary dedicated administrators over the summer, we were expected to make use of only the regular operations team.

The teacher induction programme the previous year had been criticised as being rather top down and lacking in opportunities for teachers to get to know each other and to spend time preparing practically for the first week's teaching. In response to this feedback, we made more time for preparation, reduced the length of the formal working day, introduced teacher-led sessions to share expertise and increased the variety of presenters: to the latter we added alumni, and academic and wellbeing staff. Feedback indicated these changes were successful both in improving the atmosphere and in preparing teachers for the programme.

The quality of the teachers' accommodation had been a significant source of discontent in the past. Although the allocated accommodation was given to us because it was adjacent to a building site, it was nevertheless much more acceptable than in previous years.

In terms of workload, the Course Leaders planned the course to avoid the need for significant preparation and marking over the weekend; they also wrote a timetable to show teachers where preparation and marking could be done within the working week. Again, feedback suggests this was much appreciated.

Finally, the system for teacher observations was completely overhauled to make it more effective and less time-consuming for

both Course Leaders and teachers. We instituted a system of drop-ins in the first two weeks of the course. Formal observations have become biennial for returning teachers who, in the interim year are asked to complete a confidential peer observation in line with university practice. Again, feedback was positive.

Chapter 5: Semiotic Analysis

This chapter analyses the BALEAP TEAP Scheme Handbook (2014), the BALEAP name, and the advertisement for the summer tutor job described in the *Disillusionment* section of *Chapter 4: Auto-ethnography.* A feature of the chapter is the marginal notes, which are of broadly four types. The first type connects the data, both within this chapter and to the material in *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP* (p. 13) and *Chapter 4: Auto-ethnography* (p. 131); the second comments on how the semiotic analysis carries out its work of providing unique insights into the world of EAP; the third connects the semiotic material to other parts of the study, particularly *Chapter 6: Reading Between the Lines* (p. 193); the final type offers authorial comment. In all cases, given its interconnectedness, comments are on selected aspects of the data.

At critical points, these marginal notes highlight connections with other sections of the study.

The chapter makes use of a number different methods of analysis and also makes comparisons. These are summarised in Table 3, below: The format in which the multimodal analysis is presented is similar in all three instances. The whole-document linguistic analysis using Wordsmith Tools for the TEAP Scheme Handbook and the linguistic analysis of the job advertisement both require different formats for reporting: the former makes use computer-generated concordances and the latter tabulation to highlight salient features and possible interpretations. In doing this, this chapter offers insights into the student and teacher experience of EAP, and EAP more widely.

(Aspect of) Document	Type of analysis	Comparison
Diagram of the TEAP Competency Framework (BALEAP, 2014, p.1 and p. 9); referred to as *the TEAP diagram*	Multimodal	Diagram from HEA UKPSF (2011, p.2); referred to as *the UKPFS diagram*
Sample page from the Framework (BALEAP, 2014, p. 15)	Multimodal	Page from HEA UKPFS (2011, p. 5)
TEAP Scheme Handbook (BALEAP, 2014)	Key word analysis using Wordsmith Tools (Scott, 2017)	Reference corpus used: British National Corpus Baby
BALEAP name and strapline	Multimodal	N/A
Job advertisement	Linguistic	N/A

Table 3: Application of types of semiotic analysis

The literature describes three levels of analysis, with Koller (2012) describing these as micro-level for the text, meso-level for the discourse practice context, and macro-level for the social context; these correspond to Fairclough's (2015) description of the text, interpretation of the relationship between the text and interaction, and explanation of the relationship between interaction and social context. This section focuses on the first two levels, in the spirit of Flowerdew's, "By familiarising oneself with the situation of the text, one is able to interpret it; but at the same time, in analysing the micro

features of the text one also gains insights into the situation in which it was produced" (1999, p. 1093) or, as Cole et al. put it, "Forensic consideration and analysis is then used to gain and develop understanding of this and the context; the researcher gradually revealing new levels of understanding that is informed throughout by academic, corporate and the researcher's self knowledge" (2011, p. 142); *Chapter 6: Discussion* relates the findings to both the literature and the macro environment, with that combination an attempt to overcome the often criticised dichotomy between text and context (Blommaert, 2005; Breeze, 2011, pp. 512–516; Phillips & Hardy, 2002).

A number of themes emerge from the analysis, of which the three most salient are anticipated below:

1. A hierarchical quality to BALEAP's iteration of EAP. This places, in descending order of importance: the academic environment, the creators of the TEAP Framework, teachers in permanent roles, teachers engaged on short-term contracts, students. Related to this is the implication that teachers of "general English", and "general English" itself, are of less value than teachers of EAP and EAP.
2. A high degree of complexity.
3. A lack of connection and dynamism.

Themes 1 and 2 are taken up in Chapter 6: Reading Between the Lines.

The analysis in each case begins with a justification for its subject as a choice of data; it ends with a paragraph summarising the findings and these are developed in *Chapter 6: Discussion.*

Comparison of TEAP and HEA Diagrams

Figure 13: TEAP diagram (left) and UKPSF diagram (right)

This analysis first turns to the TEAP diagram. The diagram occurs on the cover of the TEAP Handbook, potentially foregrounding its importance to its creators and again on page 9; on the cover it appears as above and on page 9 there is a version without the green background and with more detail; I have used the cover version because of its relative simplicity: "in some genres, language will be pared back as much as possible but not entirely excluded" (Baldry & Thibault, 2006, p. 12). Although the TEAP diagram could be analysed in isolation, the Handbook's explicit invocation of the UKPSF (BALEAP, 2014, pp. 4 and 29) invites comparison with the parallel UKPSF diagram (see Figure 13: TEAP diagram (left) and UKPSF diagram (right), above, for a visual comparison between the two). These diagrams are particularly amenable to multimodal

I first became aware of the TEAP Framework in the Curiosity *section of the auto-ethnography – although this version of it became available only in the* Disillusionment *period.*

It is also the case that the TEAP Scheme explicitly compares itself to the HEA Scheme as cited in the Data Decisions *section of the methodology.*

analysis given their relative paucity of text, the meaning potential in the interactions between the modes, and in that such an analysis largely avoids the linearity and sequence implied in a linguistic approach. The analysis follows the order in which the modes are described above, i.e. layout, colour, typography and linguistics; it starts with a consideration of diagrams as distinct from descriptions and depictions.

Although it seems obvious to use the word "diagram" for these two signs, it would ground the analysis to first confirm this. Norman (2000) suggests distinguishing between descriptions, diagrams and depictions using the two properties of assimability and discretion, where the former is the speed with which the information can be grasped and the latter the level of concision of the information. Norman's representation of this confirms both signs as diagrams; his dynamic representation (Figure 14, below) provides a potential framework for a critique of a diagram's effectiveness, as does his concept of perspicuousness [*sic*], where "a perspicuous representation … does not convey more information that it requires to make its point … and it does so in the way most assimilable to the observer" (2000, pp. 115–116). This resonates with Baldry and Thibault's distinction between a table and a diagram, where "the table is partly embedded in language – it integrates language and visual semiotic resources – as opposed to a diagram which tends to be much more abstracted from the thematics of language" (2006, p. 65; emphasis in the original).
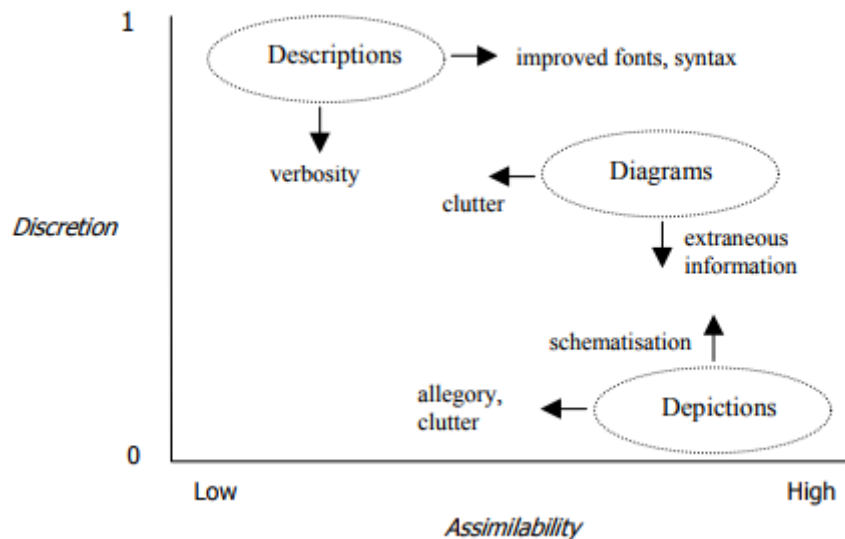
Figure 14: Factors affecting the location of different types of representations along the axes of assimability and discretion (Norman, 2000, p.113)

A superficial visual comparison of the TEAP and UKPFS diagrams reveals the TEAP diagram to be relatively more complex than its UKPFS analogue; Norman's (2000) concept of perspicuousness indicates the diagrams' concision as one productive focus for more detailed analysis: are the assimilability and discretion compromised by the "clutter" and "extraneous information" from Figure 14?

Layout. Both diagrams are non-linear texts, implying paradigmatic rather than syntagmatic organisation: "In the design of such texts there will be pressure to put more of the meaning in the individual elements of the composition, to use more highly-coded images" (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 208). That said, before moving to the paradigmatic analysis, there is an ostensibly syntagmatic element of the TEAP diagram that requires consideration because of its oddness.

Although their sequence is not given on the cover diagram,
the six elements are sequenced in the diagram on page 9 and
elsewhere in the TEAP Handbook as follows:

A. Academic Practices

B. The Student

C. Course Delivery

D. Programme Development

E. Professional Development, Research, Scholarship (with the

Optional TEAP Mentor and Assessor Unit)

And yet, in another diagram from the TEAP Handbook (Figure 15,
below) on the facing page, they are ordered differently and without
seriation:

These oddities anticipate those in the analysis of the Pre-sessional Job Advertisement *later in this chapter.*

PROFESSIONAL KNOWLEDGE,
UNDERSTANDING & VALUES

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT,
RESEARCH & SCHOLARSHIP

PROGRAMME DEVELOPMENT:
Course Design.
Quality Assurance & Enhancement.

ACADEMIC PRACTICES:
Academic Contexts.
Academic Discourse.
Academic Disciplines.

THE STUDENT:
Student Needs.
Student Learning.

COURSE
DELIVERY:
Teaching.
Assessment &
Feedback
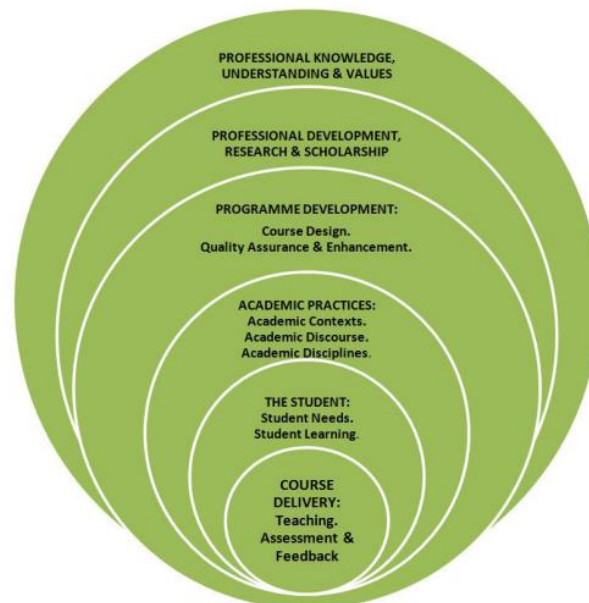
*Figure 15: Diagram "The TEAP Competency Framework Explained"
(BALEAP, 2014, p. 8)*

Albeit in a more mathematical context, Liiv defines seriation as
"an exploratory data analysis technique to reorder objects into a

sequence along a one-dimensional continuum so that is best reveals the regularity and patterning among the whole series" (2010, p. 71). In this case, it is unclear what to understand by the inconsistency or, possibly, complexity. There is perhaps some explanation in the choice of alphabetic as opposed to numeric seriation: A=Academic, C=Course Delivery/Core and D=(Programme) Development, with this being partly suggested by the text (2014, p. 9). The implication here is that there is a tension between "Course Delivery" and "Academic Practices" as the most important element which also contradicts the centrality of "Course Delivery" in the diagram and the Handbook's assertion that the student academic experience is at the "heart" (BALEAP, 2014, p. 9) of the TEAP Competency Framework. This tension perhaps reveals EAP's tentative position in the academy which is highlighted in Ding and Bruce's distinction between a support service and an academic field of study in its own right (2017).

Figure 16: Information values of centre and margin superimposed on TEAP diagram (left) and UKPSF (right)

To return to the paradigmatic analysis, on the surface at least, the TEAP diagram appears to be structured "along the dimensions of the centre and the margin" (Kress & Van Le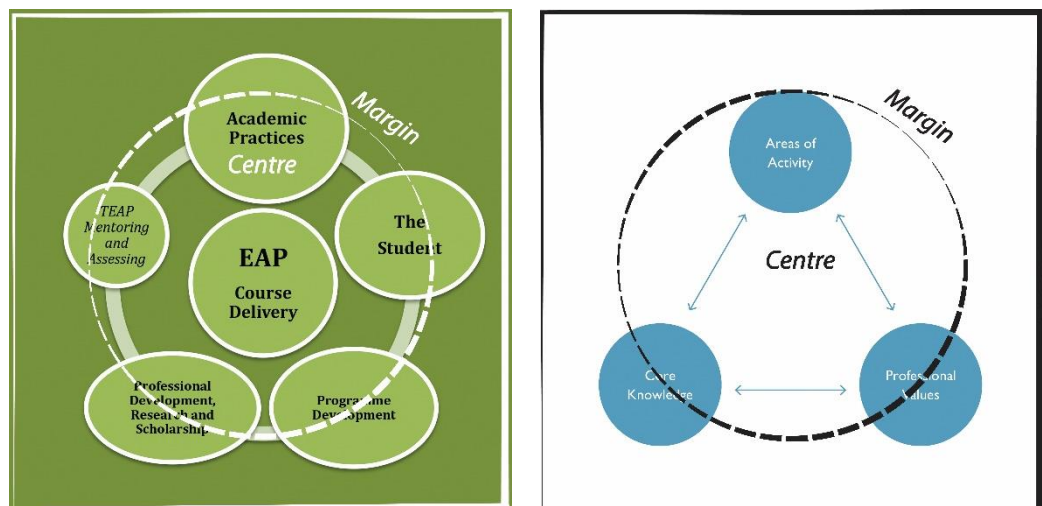euwen, 2006, p. 194) (Figure 16, above). This implies that the dominant element is that in the middle, with no particular hierarchy in the supporting elements which surround it. This does appear to be the case in that "EAP Course Delivery" takes the central position and this dominance reflects the significance given to classroom practice by the TEAP Scheme which prioritises this as the "core Programme Delivery TEAP Framework units: Teaching Practice and Assessment & Feedback" (BALEAP, 2014, p. 5; emphasis in the original) which is the only pathway to Associate Fellowship and is a pre-requisite for both Fellowship and Senior Fellowship. This contrasts with the empty centre of the UKPFS diagram which may reflect the possibility of gaining Associate Fellowship through a combination of any two of the five Areas of Activity (HEA, 2011, p. 3).

It is also the case that the HEA Scheme is available to support workers and therefore not wholly teaching-focused.

Although the dominant organisation of the TEAP diagram is Kress and Van Leeuwen's centre and margin, their information values of left and right, and top and bottom (2006, pp. 175–214) offer potential illumination of the placement of the remaining five elements of the competency framework.

Left and right correspond to the given and the new respectively (Figure 17, above). Here, the given foregrounds those responsible for the TEAP Framework, i.e. those who have the time, knowledge and skills to carry out "TEAP Mentoring and Assessing", an activity typographically distinguished as described below and also
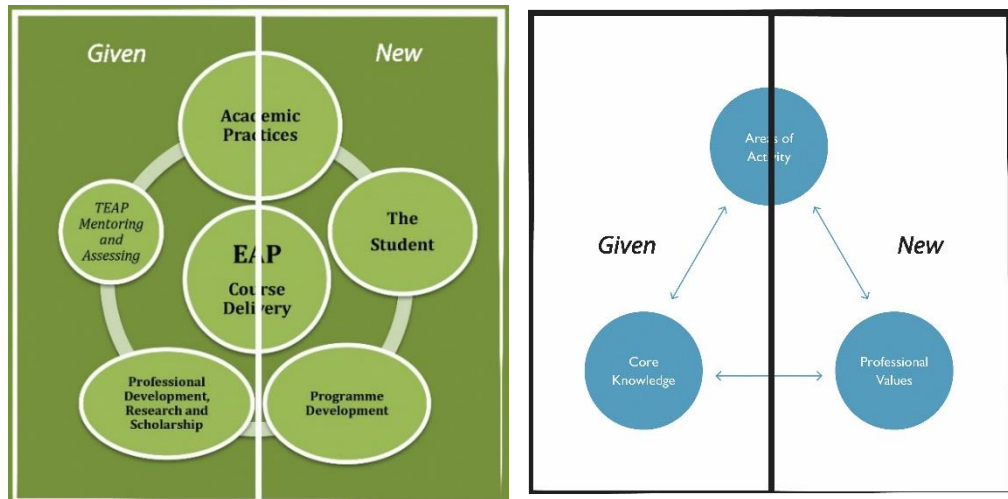
Figure 17: Information value of left and right superimposed on TEAP diagram (left) and UKPSF (right)

highlighted by the relative size of its circle: "When sharing a common area of the visual field, smaller areas are generally seen as objects placed in front of larger areas, which are seen as the background" (Bateman, 2014, p. 61). Also on the left-hand side of the diagram is "Professional Development, Research and Scholarship", again, the activities and preserve of full-time HE EAP practitioners and which provide the antecedent for "Programme Development". "The Student" is also positioned on the right-hand side of the diagram, with the implication that EAP students are constructed by, and less important than, the authors of the Framework, or the "interactive participants" (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 48); it seems odd, then, that the caption for the version of the diagram on p. 9 of the TEAP Handbook states that, "The TEAP Competency Framework has at its heart the student academic experience" when "The Student" appears to the right rather than in the centre of the diagram. Insofar as the left to

See The EAP student as "Mule, horse, elephant, or bullock" *in* Chapter 6: Reading Between the Lines.

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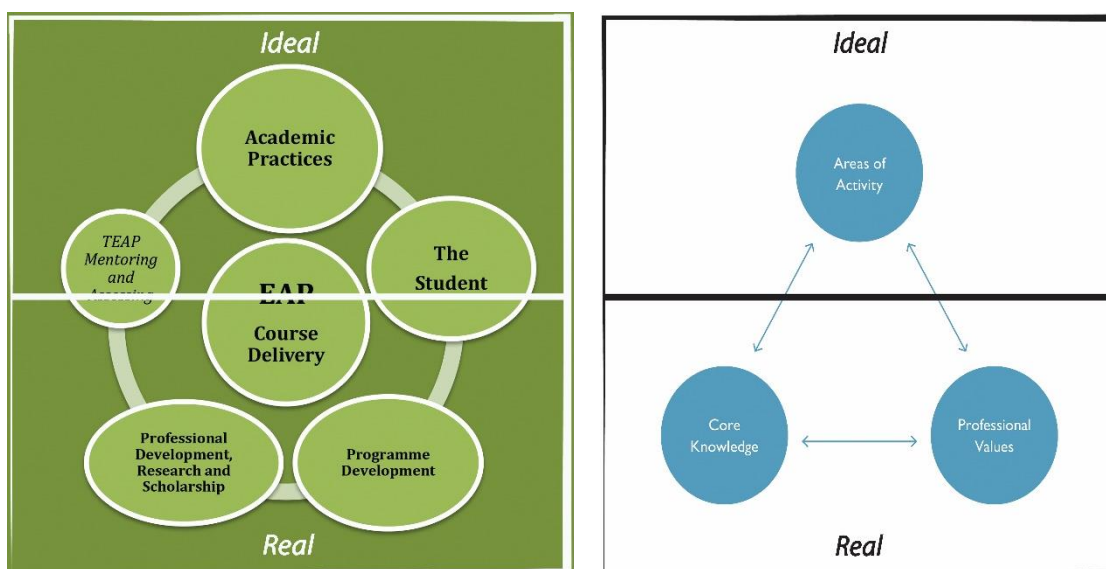
Figure 18: Information value of top and bottom superimposed on TEAP diagram (left) and UKPSF diagram (right)

right orientation applies to the UKPSF diagram, it positions "Core Knowledge" as the given and "Professional Values" as somehow flowing from this; one potential implication of this is the primacy of research over teaching in academia.

Top and bottom correspond to the ideal and real respectively Figure 18, below). Again, it appears these have been constructed in relation to the writers in that "Professional Development, Research and Scholarship" and "Programme Development" are real for a full-time HE EAP practitioner; their position at the bottom of the TEAP diagram suggests they are more "real" than teaching, perhaps acknowledging that during the summer peak season for EAP in the UK, such practitioners are more likely to be managing EAP teachers than they are teaching themselves. That they are clustered together may also be significant: as Bateman says of proximity, "Objects which are closer together are generally assumed to belong together" (2014, p. 61). At the apex of the hierarchy, the ideal, are "Academic

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Here it is almost as though EAP is excluding itself unnecessarily from academic colleagues. This theme is taken up in The TEAP as "driver" and the BLEAP *as "sergeant" in* Chapter 6: Reading Between the Lines.

Here it is important to remember colour is a choice, conscious or unconscious, and is another semiotic lens through which hidden ideology can be seen.

Practices", isolated from the EAP practitioners' own "Research and Scholarship", with the implication that their "Research and Scholarship" is somehow both different and less important than that of academics in the wider university. In the UKPFS diagram, "Core Knowledge" and "Professional Values" occupy the bottom of the diagram and "Areas of Activity" the top: a potential interpretation of this is that the UKPSF, the ideal, is grounded in reality of academic life, making it perhaps more acceptable.

Colour. In describing the two diagrams, with Kress and Van Leeuwen (2002), I regard both black and white as colours. Counting as one colour the three values of the yellow-green principal colour of the TEAP diagram, the white of the borders around the six components, and the black of the type, the TEAP diagram makes use of three different colours. The UKPFS diagram, on the other hand, makes use of two: the principal colour is blue and the text is white.

Visual comparison with a colour wheel (The Color Wheel Company, 2001) reveals the principal colour of the TEAP diagram, yellow-green, to be complex in that it is not only a tertiary colour but also a shaded version of the colour, i.e. with black added; this complexity is extended by the use of modulation: different tinted versions of the same yellow-green, i.e. with white added, used for the components and the circle on which five of the components of the diagram are placed; the addition of both the black and the white mean the yellow-green is less saturated and so appears less vibrant than the UKPFS diagram's blue. Use of the colour wheel identifies

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the blue of the UKPFS diagram to be a pure colour; with the diagram's connecting arrows also the same blue, and with the lack of modulation, this creates an impression of simplicity; in addition, not only is blue a primary colour but in this case appears fully saturated.

White functions in very different ways in the two diagrams. In the TEAP diagram, the white appears to separate the six components by acting as a border; the contrasting angularity of the white space around the TEAP diagram also serves to accentuate the diagram's separateness from the document as a whole; the white here functions as a separate colour, adding complexity. In contrast, white appears to unite the three components of the HEA diagram and, through its connection to the white paper of the document, to visually integrate the diagram with the document as a whole; being used with only one, pure, colour, this also strengthens the impression of simplicity.

The black text of the TEAP diagram adds another colour and accentuates the separateness of the diagram from the document and the separateness of the components from each other. Here, as with the text of the UKPFS diagram, perhaps more obviously than in other areas of colour analysis, colour is one aspect of a complex multi-modal environment in which typography is also an important element.

Differentiation relates only to hue so, in this instance, black and white do not apply. That said, because the variation in the TEAP diagram involves the use of tint and shade alongside white and black, contrast is lost. In the UKPSF diagram, the contrast between the blue and white is strong. In Kress and Van Leeuwen's example,

"high differentiation means 'adventurousness' and low differentiation 'timidity' but it is clear that in another context restraint might have a more positive value" (2002, p. 357); here it seems the positive value is that of the high differentiation of the UKPSF diagram.

Hue relates to the relative warmth and coolness of the colours. Both colours are cool, with blue being the ultimate cool colour with yellow-green being only just into the cool side of the spectrum. In this case the blue is also pure, highly saturated, unmodulated and undifferentiated, playing into its stereotype as an academic/neutral colour. Its neutrality potentially emphasises the inclusivity of the UKPFS: there is a wide range of possibilities for making a convincing claim for any level of fellowship, unlike the more prescriptive and hierarchical BALEAP scheme. In contrast, the yellow-green of the TEAP Handbook appears odd; the lack of saturation and the use of modulation/differentiation only within yellow-green make it potentially less dynamic.

Once again, typography is a choice, conscious or unconscious, and is another semiotic lens through which hidden ideology can be seen.

Typography. I analyse the three typefaces below in relation to the relevant aspects of Van Leeuwen's (2006) taxonomy (see Figure 7, p. 123) of distinctive features but there are some perhaps more obvious points to make first, the first two of which offer further confirmation of the relative complexity of the TEAP diagram. Where its UKPSF counterpart makes use of only one typeface, one weight and one point size, the BALEAP diagram makes use of two, two and three respectively; both diagrams make use of title case.

In the UKPFS diagram, the typography is entirely regular. The weight remains the same, there is no slope, the curvature stresses

roundness with some connectivity realised by the relative closeness of the letters, and the orientation is perhaps more vertical than horizontal. Together, these qualities suggest contemporariness and academic neutrality.

The TEAP diagram uses two weights: regular for "TEAP Mentoring and Assessing" and bold for the remainder of the text. The majority of the text makes use of two point sizes, creating a sense of irregularity which is mirrored in the variation in the spacing of both the letters and the lines; the letterforms themselves make use of serifs, giving them an old-fashioned quality, accentuated by the weight. The second typeface is different, with greater slope, curvature and connectivity and a subtly more horizontal than vertical orientation: the cursive quality of this second typeface, with its relative regularity creating the impression of neat handwriting, is suggestive of a more personal, special quality. It is this text, also placed in one of only two perfect circles in the diagram that relates to the authors of the diagram. Potentially this is suggestive of specialness and membership of an elite, particularly when in dialogical relation to the first typeface.

Linguistics. In this instance, the linguistic forms are relatively simple, and there are few of them. The UKPSF diagram makes almost exclusive use of noun phrases using nouns and adjectives, with the exception of the one occurrence of "of"; this distinctiveness is potentially significant in that the semantics of "activity" are dynamic and which could be regarded as relating to the "Areas of Activity"

Again, words are a choice and provide an insight into (hidden) ideology. My training, experience and inclinations as described in the first chapter make this a familiar area of analysis.

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which are owned by the UKPSF as opposed to "Core Knowledge" and "Professional Values" which are owned by the target fellowship.

Although it also makes use of noun phrases, the BALEAP diagram is more complex again. There is one instance of an unmodified noun – "The Student" – and the way the remaining noun phrases are constructed appears to reflect the conclusions drawn for the UKPFS diagram above. The element of the diagram most clearly connected with its authors makes use of two gerunds, a form of verb used as a noun, implying activity; the other two elements connected to the authors both make use of the nominalisation "development", with its closeness to the verb "develop" again implying activity; in contrast, "EAP Course Delivery" and "Academic Practices" are more static. Although subtle, the implication here is that the authors of the Framework are dynamic, which perhaps justifies the positions they hold relative to those who lack their expertise; students in the meantime, seem to be homogenised, comparatively static and unsophisticated.

Other considerations. There are a number of other areas of analysis that appear relevant: the related areas of (non-) connections and (non-) dynamism, and the potential symbolism of the overall shape, particularly in the case of BALEAP.

In the case of the TEAP diagram, there are multiple borders. Not only is there a border created between the solid background colour and the white of the page but there are also white borders around each of the six elements of the diagram and, to some extent, the circle underneath each of the five peripheral elements also acts

as a border between those and the central element; the latter circle is also a variation of the background colour rather than white. Each of the discs for each element also appears to be shaded underneath implying the separateness of the elements at the same as they appear to be united by the circle, which also sets separately "EAP Course Delivery". This is very different from the UKPSF diagram. Here, the white text connects the elements with the page, creating the impression of a lack of borders; the two-way connections indicated by arrows suggest the dynamism of verbs (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 48; see also Bateman, 2008, p. 37). The TEAP diagram, by contrast, minimises the connections and any sense of dynamism: it is almost as though the whole is going round in circles.

Although there is potential symbolism in the shape of both diagrams, it can be almost discounted in the case of the UKPSF diagram, but is intriguing in the case of the TEAP diagram. Without their connecting arrows, the three circles of the UKPSF are associated with both rain and silver and with mathematics and geometry (Liungman, 1991, p. 460); the latter perhaps invokes academia but the connection seems distant. An even cursory glance at the BALEAP diagram, however, suggests both an anthropomorphic quality and a pentagram, with each potentially invoking the other. The impression of anthropomorphism is strengthened by the two lower ellipses resembling feet in their horizontal orientation. Liungman describes the pentagram as one of "some 20 basic gestalts in Western ideography" (1991, p. 298), with it being discovered, rather than created, through specifically Western

It would be intriguing to research the religious – or otherwise – beliefs of the creators of the Framework to discover whether these may have influenced the design of the diagram.

astrological research, and to have become associated with the crusades by being having been used as a sign on the seal of Jerusalem from 300 to 150 B.C. (Liungman, 1991, pp. 298–300); it is also often related to military power and sovereignty (Liungman, 1991, pp. 43–45).

Comparison of TEAP and HEA Sample Pages

This section compares page 15 of the TEAP Scheme Handbook (see Figure 19, p. 260) and page 5 of the UKPSF (see Figure 20, p. 260). This choice reflects that fact that both documents present their respective descriptors in table form and that the presentation of this information appears to be the main purpose of each document. Eleven of the forty pages and four of the eight pages in the BALEAP TEAP Scheme Handbook and UKPSF respectively carry out this purpose. I selected page 15 in particular because an earlier page (BALEAP, p. 12) explaining the layout of the competency framework uses page 15 as its example so there is no doubt about the intended functions of the different parts of the text; I selected page 5 of the UKPSF partly because it relates to Fellow in the HEA hierarchy, with Fellow and Senior Fellow, rather than Associate Fellow, being the predominant focus of the BALEAP page, and partly because it is also a recto page.

This analysis follows pattern established above, i.e. layout, colour, typography, linguistics; the linguistic section is less developed because language is covered by next analysis which considers the totality of the TEAP Handbook. That said, as I have already

observed, it is in the nature of semiotics that modes overlap: here, for example, both language and seriation impinge on layout.

Layout. The two documents make different use of page orientation, with the TEAP Handbook and the UKPFS being landscape and portrait respectively. Although the latter potentially foregrounds the information values of top and bottom, the strength of the two-column layout seems to negate this, making the two documents more comparable than they might appear at first glance. The TEAP Handbook's landscape orientation is disrupted by the header and footer which are in portrait orientation: this adds an element of potentially unnecessary complexity, as does the use of three columns of different widths rather than two columns of equal width, and the use of grid lines and no grid lines.

As with the analysis of the TEAP and HEA diagrams the comparison between two similar documents is helpful in revealing ideology.

The given to new information value of left and right respectively offer insights into the meaning of each document. Given in the TEAP Handbook is the creators' potentially arbitrary choice of "Professional Knowledge & Values" in relation to "Academic Discourse". Not only is the left-hand column, which is the widest of the three columns, dense with potentially opaque linguistic terms but there appear to be no values as such, unless there is value implied in being conversant with such terms. This structure could be regarded as an implicit display of the creators' knowledge of the terms listed; it is also potentially a move to distinguish the creators of the document from those who might aspire to becoming BALEAP Fellows, who implicitly are not yet fully conversant with those terms. The use of the word "values" is potentially more a move to align the TEAP Scheme

This is returned to in The TEAP as "driver" and the BLEAP as "sergeant" *and* EAP as Complex and Simple *in* Chapter 6: Reading Between the Lines.

with the UKPSF than it is an indication of the column to which it relates. The right-hand column, the narrowest of the columns, is titled "Indicative evidence" (and is in sentence rather than title case), and is relatively much less complex: each point, for example, contains a mean of 3.8 words rather than 15.0 for the "Professional Knowledge & Values" column (mean rounded to one decimal place with compound words counted as one word). The distinction, with the left-hand column aimed at aspiring Fellows, subtly reinforces the relative sophistication of the creators of the document. By contrast, the UKPSF page is relatively simple. Although the respective figures, 13.0 and 8.5 for the left- and right-hand columns respectively, imply a similar distribution of complexity, the difference is less obvious and the language in both columns is of a similar level of complexity.

Although not strictly a matter of layout, and also impinging on typography, the two documents' use of seriation also demands comment. Albeit differently, both documents use both Roman and alphabetic seriation. On the UKPSF page, the upper-case Roman numerals are suggestive of top-level concepts, with the use of Roman rather than Arabic numerals suggesting the relationship here is not one of hierarchy; the lower-case alphabetic seriation in the right-hand column again suggests a lack of hierarchy. The whole retains a sense of simplicity in its consistency, for example in the use of sentence case for the text and in the consistent use of a tab between the numerals and letters on the one hand and the text on the other. On the BALEAP page, lower-case Roman numerals are subordinate to alphabetic seriation in the left-hand column and

This is reminiscent of the point about the TEAP diagram earlier and anticipates the oddities of the Pre-sessional Job Advertisement *later in this chapter.*

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exclusively lower-case Roman seriation is used for the middle and right-hand columns. The information value of given to new suggests the subordinate status of the lower-case Roman numerals in the left-hand column can be taken as given, with the implication that their exclusive use in the middle and right-hand columns suggests the information is less important, as does the fact that they are lower-case. This could be extended to the implied status of those aspiring to BALEAP Fellowship in contrast to the creators of both the scheme and the document. Albeit explicable in this way, the logical inconsistency in the use of seriation and the fact that the text of the right-hand column uses sentence case whereas lower-case is used exclusively elsewhere, and the consistent avoidance of the use of a tab between numerals and letters on the one hand and the text on the other hand, again contribute to a sense of complexity. The strength of this is implied in Martin and White's observation that, "Taken-for-grantedness thus has the strongly ideological effect of construing for the text a putative addressee who shares this value proposition with the writer/speaker and for whom the proposition is, likewise, not at issue" (2005, p. 101).

   Colour. The documents make continued use of the colours as described in the analysis of their respective diagrams. The UKPSF page appears clean, simple and modern in its use of only two colours on the white of the page: black and the same blue as used in the diagram. The TEAP Handbook page makes use of a similar green to the diagram in the footer, a different green in the header which also contains the BALEAP logo, itself made up of three variations of the

The colour is perhaps also a little old-fashioned; together perhaps they anticipate the complexity and backwards-looking nature of The BALEAP Name *later in this chapter.*

central green on which BALEAP is written in white, and a further green for the title of the table. In addition, the TEAP Handbook makes use of two different shades of grey in the table, with their distribution again serving to emphasise the given, and implicitly its creators. In its use of at least five different greens and two greys with no apparent meaning, the TEAP Handbook again presents an image of complexity.

Typography. Setting the header and footer of the BALEAP page aside, both documents make use of both regular and bold weights of different sans-serif typefaces. The UKPSF bold uses the colour of the diagram analysed above, with its cool character minimising the salience normally associated with bold; the BALEAP Handbook's use of bold is more standard, with its use correlating once again with the relative importance of its creators, highlighted above, and the hierarchy of the levels of BALEAP membership. When compared side-by-side, the most salient quality of the two typefaces is in their relative expansion. The BALEAP typeface is the more condensed, or narrow, of the two, in this case contributing to a sense of being "cramped, overcrowded, [and] restrictive of movement" (Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 148). The use of the ampersand in the title of the left-hand column, strictly unnecessary because there is plenty of space for "and", again adds an old-fashioned quality and a further element of complexity.

Linguistics. As in the linguistic analysis of the two diagrams earlier, although there are introductory sentences to both columns of the UKPSF page, both pages make extensive use of noun phrases.

In the case of the TEAP Handbook, this has a "monoglossic" (Martin & White, 2005, pp. 98–102) effect in that it makes no reference to other voices and viewpoints, perhaps testifying to the creators arrogating to themselves what constitutes an EAP professional; the UKPSF, by contrast, is "heteroglossic" (Martin & White, 2005, pp. 98–102) in referencing, for example, "pedagogic research and/or scholarship" and "related professional practices" (HEA, 2011, p. 5), suggesting it is open to difference.

The TEAP Handbook's one exception to the exclusive use of noun phrases is in its assertion that "An EAP practitioner will have a high level of systemic language knowledge including knowledge of genre and discourse analysis" (BALEAP, 2014, p. 15). This is significant in two ways, which corroborate the conclusions about how the creators of the Handbook perceive themselves generated in the preceding multimodal analysis. First, although on the face of it, it appears unnecessary and tautologous to emphasise genre and discourse analysis when they are referred to in the right-hand column, this potentially serves to emphasise that the creators enjoy specialist knowledge and to distance them from aspirant members of the profession who are not yet conversant with this. Second, the use of the modal "will" is almost the only indication of the creators' presence in the text and their sense of entitlement as arbiters of the qualities of an EAP practitioner; it would have been equally possible to write "An EAP practitioner demonstrates …"

This relates strongly to theme of hierarchy explored in The TEAP as driver and the BLEAP as "sergeant" *in* Chapter 6: Reading Between the Lines.

Considering what other choices might have been made can reveal hidden ideology.

Key Word Analysis of the TEAP Framework

The linguistics of the TEAP Handbook as described here are those that are relevant to the question, "How does the TEAP Handbook construct EAP students and EAP teachers?" To bring a measure of objectivity to this, the analysis makes use of a key word search using WordSmith Tools, which produced 247 key words and six negative key words; the top 25 key words are shown in Table 4, below.

The subtleties and nuances revealed using WordSmith Tools encourage me to make greater use of this in the future.

I have left in the Roman numerals "iii" and "ii" at positions 17 and 19 respectively because they both illustrate one of the quirks and possible limitations of using this software, and nevertheless indicate a quality of the TEAP Handbook. The numerals appear in reverse order because "iii" is less common than "ii" given that there are almost certainly more two-part than three-part lists; "I" does not appear because, as the first person pronoun, it would be relatively common in the newspapers which form the reference corpus. Conversely, the Roman numerals appear so high in the key word list probably because they are particularly unusual in newspapers; some corroboration of this can found when the Handbook is compared with the BNC academic subset in place of the BNC Baby as a reference corpus, in which they appear at positions 28 and 36 respectively. That position is still surprisingly high, suggesting complexity, conscious or unconscious, in the use of Roman numerals given the potential choices of Arabic numerals, letters or bullet points for seriation.

N	Key word	Freq.	%	Texts	RC. Freq.	%
1	TEAP	135	1.43	1	0	
2	PROFESSIONAL	134	1.42	1	99	0.01
3	PRACTICE	121	1.28	1	71	
4	ACADEMIC	94	1.00	1	18	
5	FELLOW	105	1.11	1	74	
6	BALEAP	76	0.81	1	0	
7	FEEDBACK	61	0.65	1	2	
8	EAP	58	0.62	1	0	
9	KNOWLEDGE	71	0.75	1	61	
10	EVIDENCE	82	0.87	1	171	0.02
11	PORTFOLIO	56	0.59	1	22	
12	ASSESSMENT	53	0.56	1	19	
13	TEACHING	57	0.60	1	47	
14	LEARNING	55	0.58	1	41	
15	COMPETENCE	42	0.45	1	7	
16	VALUES	53	0.56	1	53	
17	III	42	0.45	1	9	
18	PRACTITIONER	39	0.41	1	4	
19	II	46	0.49	1	38	
20	ACCREDITATION	34	0.36	1	3	
21	DEVELOPMENT	64	0.68	1	256	0.03
22	RAPP	29	0.31	1	0	
23	SENIOR	51	0.54	1	156	0.02
24	COMPETENCY	27	0.29	1	1	
25	STUDENT	43	0.46	1	87	

Table 4: First 25 key words of the TEAP Handbook produced using WordSmith Tools

There are a number of surprises in the key word list above. While it could be anticipated that contextually-specific words such as "TEAP", "Fellow", "BALEAP", "EAP" and "RAPP" (Reflective Account of Professional Practice) would occur in such a list, the less specific "professional", "practice" and "academic" appear in the first five positions. The salience of these words suggests a concern with being perceived as professional and closely associated with the academy and perhaps also an attempt to shape perceptions accordingly.

Effectively, "student" and "teacher": these are discussed in the first two themes of Chapter 6: Reading Between the Lines.

Two key words appear particularly germane to how students and EAP teachers are constructed: "student" and "practitioner". There are 39 instances of "practitioner" and 43 of "student": despite the fewer instances of "practitioner" it appears first in the list because its key-ness is relative to the reference corpus rather than to the absolute number of instances. Although there are also 21 instances of "students" and 17 instances of "practitioners", I here restrict the analysis to the singular form in order to maintain consistency with the key word analysis. Concordances for both words, produced using WordSmith Tools, are reproduced in Appendix 4.

In the use of "student", it is striking that in 38 of the 43 instances it is used as a modifier in a noun phrase; only once in the total of 43 instances is "student" the subject of the verb (see line 8 in Figure 21 on p. 261). In contrast, "practitioner" is used as a modifier in a noun phrase in 14 of the 39 instances; in 25 of the 39 instances, it appears as the subject of the verb.

There are a number of possible implications of these observations. First, the almost exclusive use of "student" as a modifier implies students exist in a subordinate relationship to EAP and strengthens the earlier point in *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP?* about a deficit model in relation to EAP students. Second, the complexity of the construction of some of the noun phrases, e.g. "the importance and means of tracking student academic progression and applying …" (see Figure 21, p. 261, line 36), in which "student" is embedded strengthen the earlier point, again in *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP?,* about EAP as unnecessarily complex. That

"student" appears as the subject of the verb only once implies a lack of dynamism in contrast to "practitioner" which is active in more than half of the instances in which it appears.

The BALEAP Name

The BALEAP website states that BALEAP "is not an acronym now, but the name of our organisation" (BALEAP, 2018b) and has been since 2010; it derives from the organisation's previous name, the British Association of Lecturers in English for Academic Purposes (1989 to 2010). Despite having worked for a BALEAP-accredited institution for two years, and having attended the BALEAP Conference (2017), I had been unaware of this, and I decided to analyse the name in the expectation that it might somehow contribute to this section. In this case, the analysis draws mostly on linguistics with some observations related to the semiotic modes used earlier.

I thought BALEAP a curious name when I first heard it. That feeling has greatly intensified now.

In its logo, BALEAP uses two weights, with BAL appearing in regular weight and EAP in bold; it co-occurs on the website, and on the cover of the TEAP Scheme Handbook, with the strapline, "The global forum for EAP professionals" in regular weight. Despite the assertion that BALEAP is not an acronym, there is no instance, other than as a URL or Twitter handle, of the name appearing in anything other than upper case letters in either the document under analysis or on the BALEAP website; in both places, the only other fully-capitalised words are acronyms; the use of bold for "EAP" also contradicts this. It seems at least possible that the assertion is aspirational and that, nominally, BALEAP somehow inhabits a liminal

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space; it is also possible that the elements of BALEAP as an acronym may illuminate aspects of the organisation in that, although as a proper noun its history is played down, that history is at the same time necessarily invoked.

This is one of the denials in EAP as in Denial *in* Chapter 6: Reading Between the Lines.

There is an instant mismatch between "British" and the strapline; this is suggestive both of the increasing primacy of the use of English in academia worldwide (Crystal, 2012, pp. 110–113) and linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992; see also Chrisafis, 2018 for a contemporary francophone example). Given that "words are always chosen from sets of possible alternatives" (Verschueren, 2012, p. 135), there is a choice, why choose "Association" in preference to, say, "Academy", "Institute", "Institution" or "Society", or, on the model of BALEAP's previous name, Special English Language Materials for Overseas University Students (SELMOUS) (BALEAP, 2018b), anything at all? Potentially here, "Association", which foregrounds people rather than the organisation of which they are part, positions the inner core of BALEAP, also the creators of the TEAP Handbook, as the persons with the knowledge; the other possibilities imply the knowledge somehow resides in the organisation. "Lecturers" is also a curious choice in that EAP is typically located not within academic structures but with professional services or outsourced to a private provider: in the GW4 Alliance, for example, the latter is true of the University of Exeter, and the former of the Universities of Bath, Bristol and Cardiff (although it seems there are moves in the private provider direction for some or all provision at both Bristol and Cardiff). EAP is an acronym in its own right and, as observed above,

is typographically distinguished as such even though BALEAP is claimed as a name in its own right. "English" here is a misnomer, in the BALEAP context at least: there is a tendency for EAP classes to take academic skills as their content, i.e., insofar as it is possible to separate, for example, criticality or the use of sources from their linguistic contexts, these are taught as skills. In my experience, students resist this, perhaps because they are anticipating an English language course because a pre-sessional course is sold a vehicle for meeting the English language conditions of their offer of a place to study in the UK, and partly because they arrive with these skills from their home countries.

This recalls the fictional Mei in BALEAP *or* BALAP *in the first chapter.*

Pre-sessional Job Advertisement

This is the advert for the summer EAP job when I started at my current institution, the job described in detail at the start of the *Disillusionment* section of the auto-ethnography. Much like the potential criticism of the analysis of the TEAP Handbook as being based on a text produced with amateur design and typesetting, it might be argued that some of the following analysis fails to take account of the possibility that various pressures may have resulted in the oddities analysed below. However, as with the TEAP Handbook, I believe there analysis to be useful: however inconsequential they may appear, such oddities gain salience in a text of only 560 words (in the original rather than anonymised version) produced by a literate individual surrounded by other literate individuals. The full, albeit anonymised, text of the advert is reproduced in Appendix 1.

The analysis is divided into three tables: oddities of capitalisation, oddities of logic, and repeated or unnecessary information.

Oddities of capitalisation. There are a number of oddities and inconsistencies in the use of capitalisation which provide potential insight into the writer's attitude to what is signified by the relevant words and phrases (see Table 5, below).

Item	Analysis
English for Academic Purposes	This is consistently capitalised and never used in its abbreviated form, EAP. The capitalisation suggests reification; the lack of abbreviation suggests a degree of importance is attached to it. In contrast, "higher education" is uncapitalised.
Pre-sessional	The initial "P" of Pre-sessional is capitalised throughout, which suggests a degree of importance is attached to it. There is, however, an inconsistency: it is unclear, why the "courses" in "Pre-sessional English language and academic skills courses" is uncapitalised when the "Programme" is capitalised in "Pre-sessional Programme". A possible interpretation of this is that "courses" in the writer's mind relates more closely to "academic skills" than to "Pre-sessional", supporting the analysis above.
English L/language T/teaching	The treatment of English L/language T/teaching is inconsistent, suggesting a more ambivalent attitude towards its importance. The qualification section asks for "A postgraduate qualification related to English Language Teaching or equivalent". For example, Diploma in English language teaching …" Here,

	normal usage would be more likely to dictate the use of initial capitals either for only the qualification or perhaps for both whereas it is the qualification which makes use of lower case initial letters.

Table 5: Oddities of capitalisation in the pre-sessional job advertisement

Oddities of logic. This appears in the juxtaposition of apparently unrelated ideas, of which there are two instances (Table 6, below):

Item	Analysis
Employment period includes 5 days induction, and standard university accommodation is available, subsidised by the Centre.	Here, although apparently unrelated, a possible explanation for the juxtaposition is that the writer sees induction and subsidised accommodation as benefits applicants should be grateful for. The use of the word "subsidised" is again inward-looking in that an applicant would almost certainly want to know how much it was going to cost; it also draws attention to the financial aspects of the relationship.
All payments will be subject to tax and National Insurance. Due to the complex nature of the Pre-sessional Programme, we request that applicants do not have	This assertion is both unnecessary and misleading; by using the word "payments", it also again draws attention to the financial aspects of the relationship. Further, by juxtaposing this with a second statement that teachers need to be available throughout the course – the first is also oddly formal – it suggests the

any pre-existing leave requirements as this cannot be facilitated.	writer resents that teachers are paid as well as they are; the curiously formal way in which this is expressed suggests the writer is, probably unconsciously, distancing him or herself from that feeling, particularly as there is no logic in the reason given, the programme's "complex nature": in fact, it is the simplicity and leanness of the system that means no leave is possible. This is borne out by the auto-ethnographic section in which I was told in the exit interview that the pay would decrease the following year.

Table 6: Oddities of logic in the pre-sessional job advertisement

Repeated and unnecessary information. There are a number of instances of repeated and unnecessary information which also potentially offer relevant insights (Table 7, below).

Item	Analysis
A postgraduate qualification related to English Language Teaching or equivalent. For example, Diploma in English language teaching, MA in Applied Linguistics, TESOL or equivalent combination of experience and study, DELTA (or equivalent	The word "equivalent" is used three times in 42 words, as is the virtual synonym "or similar". Putting aside the generic "postgraduate qualification", an "MA in Applied Linguistics" gets two mentions, and it could be argued that a "Diploma in English language teaching" (synonymous with the "DELTA (or equivalent diploma in EFL)" mentioned later) gets three! A

diploma in EFL) and/or an MA Applied Linguistics (or similar)	possible interpretation of this is that the writer is, consciously or unconsciously, enjoying his or her power, within this hierarchy, to specify them.
You will teach between 18 - 20 contact hours per week …	Here, normal usage would dictate either … "between 18 and 20 contact hours" or "You will teach 18 – 20 contact hours". A possible interpretation here is that the writer prefers to avoid committing himself or herself to a particular figure, despite a potential candidate's need for clarity, so the focus is firmly on the writer. A better choice in the circumstances would be "up to 20 hours a week"; this would also avoid "per", thus reducing complexity.
You will be working in a progressive and successful Centre, which was for over 25 years the English Language Centre. In 20xx, it was restructured as the Centre to reflect its extended remit to provide academic as well as English language skills support and development to all students across the institution.	To a potential applicant, this information adds little to an understanding of the role. The emphasis here on the change from "English Language Centre" to an "extended remit" is anticipated in the topic sentence, which implies the change away from English is "progressive"; it also links English language skills to academic skills. This anticipates the focus of the materials, as described in the auto-ethnographic section earlier, and

	EAP's seeming desire to distance itself from English language.
Competitive salary Weekly pay of **£790.31** (gross) including marking supplement and holiday pay.	It is unnecessary to state both "Competitive salary" and the actual amount; it is also unnecessary to mention that this is the "gross" salary. It is inward-looking to mention a "marking supplement" because it is unclear what it is and because the contract is for a 36.5 hour week. It seems the writer is conscious of how much is being paid, perhaps with a feeling of resentment, or with an anticipation of gratitude on the part of the applicants.

Table 7: Repeated and unnecessary information in the pre-sessional job advertisement

Chapter 6: Reading Between the Lines

This chapter synthesises the data with my insider perspective as an EAP practitioner in a BALEAP-accredited institution; in so doing, I aspire to bringing insight to the issues facing EAP students and teachers, and EAP more widely. That perspective has to a large degree prompted the choice of the data for this study; it has also led me to extract from that data the five themes below, with the fifth theme also acting as the conclusion:

1. The EAP Student as "Mule, horse, elephant or bullock"
2. The TEAP as "driver" and the BLEAP as "sergeant"
3. EAP as Complex and Simple
4. EAP as Denying and in Denial
5. EAP as the Problem it Seeks to Solve

The first two themes address students and teachers and the remaining two address BALEAP's iteration of EAP more widely. The whole is drawn together in the conclusion which also explores positive aspects of EAP, both current and future. Structurally, the first three themes begin with an introduction and then follow the data through *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP?* (p. 13), *Chapter 4: Auto-ethnography* (p. 131) and *Chapter 5: Semiotic Analysis* (p. 159); in the fourth theme the data are grouped around subthemes. In terms of the material from the auto-ethnography, the four themes make use of the *Curiosity* (p. 134 and *Disillusionment* (p. 142) sections; the conclusion makes use of the *Confidence* (p. 149) section.

The quotations in the titles of the first two themes come from the following lines from Kipling's *The Jungle Book:*

Mule, horse, elephant, or bullock, he obeys his driver, and the driver his

sergeant, and the sergeant his lieutenant, and the lieutenant his captain, and

the captain his major, and the major his colonel, and the colonel his brigadier

commanding three regiments, and the brigadier his general, who obeys the

Viceroy, who is the servant of the Empress. (cited in Said, 2003, p. 45)

From one of the pre-eminent authors of British imperialism, the choice of words is

intended to echo the themes of the potentially (neo-) racist deficit model as applied

to students and hierarchy as applied to both students and teachers. This material is

contextualised by the *English and (Neo-) Colonialism* (p. 74) section of the literature

review which explores the (neo-) colonialism of the English language, ELT and EAP.

The discussion of teachers is further contextualised by the *Professionalism* (p. 92)

section of the literature review.

The remaining two themes offer an interpretation of BALEAP's iteration of

EAP. Before previewing them, here is a reminder of the focus of that iteration of

EAP. In the *EAP, BALEAP, ESOL and More* (p. 21) section of the introductory

chapter, I made the case for the principal focus of BALEAP as pre-sessional courses

for students with an IELTS score of 5.5 – 6.0 or 6.5; once a student achieves IELTS

6.5 or 7.0, depending on the entry requirements of her or his course, he or she

becomes a "direct entry" student, i.e. he or she is not required to take a pre-

sessional programme. If we step back from this a moment, it is clear we are dealing

with a very restricted group of students who are unfortunate in being 0.5 or 1.0 away

from an IELTS 6.5 or 7.0.

EAP as Complex and Simple (p. 201) interprets the surprising complexity – and to a lesser degree – simplicity of EAP as a sign that there is something to be investigated; it draws the conclusion that this complexity and simplicity are intended, consciously or unconsciously, to camouflage the potentially unnecessary nature of EAP. *EAP as in Denial* (p. 204) shows how EAP can be said to be in denial: this adds further support to the previous section in that it implies either a deliberate strategy or both a lack of awareness and surprising ignorance of reality. Both themes are contextualised by the literature review sections on *Professionalism* (p. 92) and the *UK Higher Education Environment* (p. 87).

The concluding section, EAP as the Problem it Seeks to Solve (p. 207) builds on the four themes to propose questions BALEAP's iteration of EAP may wish to ask of itself. Although the study identifies a number of issues with EAP, it is positive about BALEAP's commitment to evidence-based practice and the conclusion makes use of the *Confidence* (p. 149) section of the auto-ethnography to set out the beginnings of a possible alternative future for EAP.

The EAP Student as "Mule, horse, elephant, or bullock"

Although hierarchy is a feature of social life more widely (see Pumain, 2006), and is reproduced in organisations and education, it was very much a feature of colonialism, as expressed in the words of Kipling cited by Said (2003) in the introduction to this chapter. In the context of the association of English, ELT and EAP with (neo-) colonialism, this section explores the position of the student in the EAP hierarchy, what this tells us about whose interests EAP serves, and what the implications might be for the practice of EAP.

In the context of Pennycook's (1998) assertion that another "culture" need only be seen as static, i.e. stereotyped, to imply a (neo-) racist attitude, *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP?* (p. 13) provides two pieces of evidence of the potential implication of EAP in (neo-) racist attitudes. The first is the attribution of a tendency to plagiarise to Chinese students in general, as described in the interview anecdote in *EAP as "good ole American fun"* (p. 13). The second is in the same section in the quotation from De Chazal (2014) which ascribes a lack of criticality to EAP students in general, students who, in my context at least, are 95% Chinese.

This is also demonstrated in *Chapter 4: Auto-ethnography* (p. 131) in the insider description of EAP recruitment practices, and in the density, focus and presentation of the materials. When recruited in the *Curiosity* (p. 134) section, I had no postgraduate training or experience and I was asked to provide no evidence of a knowledge of "academic skills" yet I was considered competent to teach them on the basis of my training and experience as an ELT; this implicitly devalues the students, who may already have had such "academic skills". In both the *Curiosity* (p. 134) and *Disillusionment* (p. 142) sections, the materials were so dense that there was little opportunity to make use of any prior knowledge students may have had; instead, it erased them as individuals – again indicative of a (neo-) racist attitude – in the implication that the university knew all their needs in advance of arrival. The emphasis on criticality and autonomy could be regarded as patronising and, in the sense that the materials assumed all students lacked these skills, also potentially (neo-) racist. A lack of respect for students was also implied in the way the materials were presented, with a clear lack of proofreading and general untidiness.

Chapter 5: Semiotic Analysis (p. 159) offers corroboration of the material from the first chapter and the autoethnography. The placement of the student in the TEAP

Framework (BALEAP, 2014) suggests a subordinate position. Perhaps even more striking are the findings from the *Key Word Analysis of the TEAP Framework* (p. 182) which not only position the student as subordinate to the teacher and lacking in agency but also accentuate the opposite qualities for the teacher. This, with the evidence from the first chapter and autoethnography at the very least is suggestive of the operation of the Adult/Child dichotomy.

What emerges from the data is that BALEAP's iteration of EAP can be seen as serving its managers and teachers first and students last, despite the TEAP Framework's assertion that it "has at its heart the student academic experience" (BALEAP, 2014, p. 9). While it could be argued that this applies to social constructions of teacher and student in HE more widely, students' substantive programmes are a matter of choice whereas EAP in its BALEAP form is remedial and acts as a gatekeeper to those programmes. More importantly, given that EAP students are "international" and given the (neo-) colonial associations of English and ELT, and therefore EAP, it may be that EAP should maintain an awareness that its hierarchy in respect of students may replicate some of the negative qualities of (neo-) colonialism, particularly (neo-) racism.

The TEAP as "driver" and the BLEAP as "sergeant"

Having suggested how the TEAP Framework's (BALEAP, 2014) hierarchical construction affects its students, here I show how it affects those who work in EAP. As observed in the previous section, there is nothing remarkable about a hierarchy as such; the issue with the EAP hierarchy is its potential (neo-) colonial associations and, from that, its potential toxicity in instantiating and perpetuating inequalities; I also wonder whether the apparent necessity for a hierarchy, perhaps an imperative

of the (neo-) colonial connections of English, ELT and EAP, excludes alternative perspectives and creates for EAP a trap of its own making.

In *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP* (p.13) the TEAP Scheme, my synthesis of it with Hadley's (2015) typology and my professional context (Table 2, p. 44) and the literature cited are suggestive of a strong hierarchy created and sustained by an elite. The TEAP Scheme's until-recently high proportion of Senior Fellows potentially implies such an elite working across institutions to create and/or direct the development of EAP. This sense of an elite is implicit in the arguably patronising quotation that forms the title of the section *"Do the TEFLERs really love us?"* (p. 45) and is explicit in the quotation describing the creation of SELMOUS, the forerunner of BALEAP in the same section. A small group of people working together is often one of the most efficient ways to ensure the achievement of goal, so this is not of itself a cause for concern, and, indeed, the relatively large number of Senior Fellows suggests this is the case; however, if the group excludes or marginalises other voices, perhaps because those other voices are employed only in the summer, it may become an issue. From Table 2 (p. 44) it could also be argued that the hierarchy involves more levels, following Kipling's quotation at the start of this chapter, with summer teachers equivalent to drivers, full-time TEAPs as sergeants, Course Leaders as lieutenants and the Head of English as captain. That EAP is accepting of these multiple and arguably unnecessary levels of hierarchy offers support for my point about hierarchy being implicit in EAP and ELT more widely; this is also implicit in the casualisation of EAP teachers, particularly those employed only during the summer period.

The hierarchy theme can also be seen in a number of observations and anecdotes in *Chapter 4: Auto-ethnography* (p. 131). The recruitment practices

described in *Disillusionment* (p. 142) amount potentially to a professional conspiracy where an elite not only arrogates to itself control of the "profession" but also seeks to assert its control in the use of argot. This applies not only to the description of my interview for a summer position, where it was expected that I would understand the term "voice" and in the expectation that my teaching would already be aligned with the TEAP Competency Framework, but also in the manager's considered retention of that same approach the following year. This continued into the induction with the arguably hierarchy- (or ego-) serving – and pedagogically irrelevant – session on Legitimation Code Theory (e.g. Maton, 2015; Maton et al., 2017). Had this been in the *Curiosity* (p. 134) period, it might have strengthened my sense of being an imposter but by this time I felt my cynicism was justified.

The hierarchal nature of EAP can also be seen in the materials and the way they were used, and in implicit forms of disrespect. Despite the qualification and experience requirements for summer teachers and the rigorous recruitment procedures, little use was made of teachers' experience, at least partly because of a fear they might be too EFL-ly [*sic*]: this can be seen in the density of the materials, teacher's notes and the provision of answers. Although this could be regarded as a positive in that it perhaps ought to have reduced the workload, preparing the materials and carrying out the marking to the required standard meant there was an expectation – implicit in *Curiosity* (p. 134) and explicit in *Disillusionment* (p. 142) – that summer teachers work beyond the contractual 36.5 hours. To me, given that the materials and marking were created in-house and could therefore have been adjusted to fit the working week, this implies a lack of respect. This interpretation is also implied in *Disillusionment* (p. 142) the anecdote of the senior full-time member of staff who delegated their marking workload, in the same manager's failure to

attend an observation, in the choice of top-down observation practices despite the contextual paradigm of peer review for academics, and in the quality of the accommodation in the same period.

The material from the introduction and the auto-ethnography is corroborated in *Chapter 5: Semiotic Analysis* (p. 159). The analysis of the TEAP Framework diagram (p.162) supports my understanding of the hierarchal nature of the relationship between summer teachers and the creators of the Framework (who are generally equally-qualified). This analysis also shows how EAP views itself in relation to its organisational context in that it implies research carried out in EAP is lower in the status than that carried out by academics. Further, the analysis of the sample pages (p. 176) and the key word analysis of the Framework (p. 182) serve to support my sense that argot is used to strengthen the hierarchy. Although the analysis of the pre-sessional job advertisement (p. 187) could be considered more subjective, it is possible to interpret it as also asserting the hierarchy in relation to summer teachers, particularly in the oddities of logic and repeated and unnecessary information.

The data suggest that EAP as practised by BALEAP has trapped itself in a hierarchy that potentially marginalises certain TEAPs and the "profession" itself. In terms of observation practices, for example, which are taken from ELT and are therefore potentially implicated in (neo-) colonialism (see literature review section on *English and (Neo-) Colonialism* (p. 74), these could be modelled on the more democratic system of peer review, particularly as summer teachers are recruited through a rigorous process and are required to meet stringent qualification and experience requirements. The analysis of the TEAP Framework diagram (p.162) sows how unnecessarily marginalises itself in relation to the academy. In my experience, academic colleagues are exactly that: colleagues. I feel sure they would

welcome more evidence-informed practice and some would likely be pleased to mentor BLEAPs and TEAPs and co-author with them in the education field occasionally. EAP would benefit from this and there is little excuse for not doing so: higher education is the home of research.

EAP as Complex and Simple

This section explores a tension in EAP and in so doing contributes to an understanding of the previous two themes of this chapter and anticipates the next. It identifies elements of EAP that strike me as either surprisingly complex (more often) or surprisingly simple (sometimes) or, perhaps more accurately, surprisingly complicated or surprisingly simplistic respectively. This is one of the unique contributions of the auto-ethnography: that it enables me to identify these elements and to investigate them as sources of information about the essence of EAP. In so doing, it finds evidence that they camouflage elements of the profession that could be interpreted as unnecessary. It further argues that these elements draw attention to a little-explored aspect of EAP: that it is the creation of and serves potentially serves its creators rather than its students; this in turn potentially mirrors the self-serving nature of (neo-) colonialism.

This theme emerges in *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP* (p.13) with example of the Chinese student and the introduction of the TEAP Framework. The fictional Mei in *BALEAP or BALAP* (p. 39) gets a one-size-fits-all EAP programme that covers the four language skills and "academic skills". This is both simple in that it is one-size-fits-all and also complex in that it addresses the "academic skills" requirements of students' future disciplines. This is unnecessary: the pre-sessional students have only to wait until term starts and they will either learn this content

explicitly or absorb it from their destination academic department – just as their direct entry classmates will do; what is necessary is that their language skills – as measured by IELTS – reach the level of those required of direct entry students. Ironically, those direct entry students do not need the linguistically-challenging "academic skills" input to which their less linguistically-able classmates are subject; nor do they need to make the considerable cost outlay for a pre-sessional course. The TEAP Framework, BALEAP's accreditation scheme for EAP practitioners, is introduced in The *TEAP Framework or TEAP Cage* (p. 41). One need only step back for only a moment to see the potential for hubris in BALEAP's creation of its own accreditation scheme. Not only is it more complex in expression and more onerous in execution than its HEA analogue but the HEA scheme welcomes EAP practitioners. This is another example of a potentially entirely unnecessary aspect of EAP as practised by BALEAP and, indeed, one which sets EAP practitioners apart from their colleagues in the academy rather than bringing them closer to them.

Chapter 4: Auto-ethnography (p. 131) highlights the complexity of the induction, materials and observation practices described in *Disillusionment* (p. 142), again pointing to their being unnecessary. The induction session on Legitimation Code Theory (e,g, Maton, 2015; Maton et al., 2017) was entirely so; in terms of materials, there are appropriate and more-than-adequate textbooks which benefit from publishers' huge resources in their production which make the in-house materials unnecessary – particularly in the context of a relatively small year-round team and a relatively small cohort of students; the complex observation practices are also potentially unnecessary in the context of the considerable investment in time and resources to recruit experienced teachers and in the failure to make use of institutional QA which provides for peer review. To return briefly to materials, there

are elements of the those described in *Disillusionment* (p. 142) that are not only

unnecessary but also misleading and even wrong: this is true of EAP's love of

reporting verbs, which research (Hopkins & Reid, 2018) shows are seldom used, and

its admonition against the first person in research; also in *Disillusionment* (p. 142),

the referencing system used on the pre-sessional was a variant of Harvard but,

because as a STEM university, there are a number of very different systems in use

around the institution.

     Chapter 5: Semiotic Analysis (p. 159) provides further support for the notion of

complexity, particularly in the analysis of the TEAP Framework and the job

advertisement; the oddness of the BALEAP name also contributes to this discussion.

The complexity of the diagram and sample page from the TEAP Framework is

brought into sharp relief by the comparison with its HEA equivalents in all respects:

layout, colour, typography and linguistics; the complexity of the content, in particular,

recalls Abbott's point from the *Professionalism* (p. 92) of the literature review that

"control of the occupation lies in the control of the abstractions that generate the

practical techniques" (1988, p. 8). The *Pre-sessional Job Advertisement* (p. 187) also

enjoys relevance here: the oddities of capitalisation highlighted in Table 6 (p. 190)

indicate at once the writer's perception of the importance of EAP and a sense that

that importance is insecure; the repeated and unnecessary information in Table 7 (p.

192) is exactly that: unnecessary. The analysis of *The BALEAP Name* (p. 185)

indicates not only multiple levels of complexity but also the potential for both hubris –

particularly in the global pretentions of the strapline – and disingenuousness in the

assertion that it "is not an acronym now, but the same of our organisation" (BALEAP,

2018b) when it is customarily written in uppercase letters.

So, what do these surprising complexities and, to a lesser extent, simplicities tell us about BALEAP's iteration of EAP? Set in the context of the restricted range of EAP as set out in the introduction to this chapter, they point to much of the EAP described being unnecessary. It seems at least possible that, consciously or unconsciously, my posited BALEAP elite – explicit in the quotation from Jordan (2002) cited in *"Do the TEFLERs really love us?"* (p. 45) – have created the need for EAP to serve their own ends, including a place in the academy, relative job security – explicit in the quotation from the BALEAP website (BALEAP, n.d.-c) in the same section – and better pay and prospects than in TEFL; a strong case could be made for framing this as an attempt to establish jurisdiction (Abbott, 1988) over the profession. I believe this is not only unnecessary but can be said to work counter to the interests of EAP students and summer teachers. In my experience, academic colleagues feel no discomfort with a more traditional TEFL-type approach and, indeed, this is what they expect rather than what some might see as encroachment on their areas of expertise by non-specialists; I also feel confident EAP students would concur because I believe their perception of EAP is that it is designed to bring their level of English to the same level as their direct entry classmates.

EAP as in Denial

If the premise of the previous theme is correct, that EAP is unnecessary and serves first and foremost its elite, it follows that EAP may be in denial about aspects of its practice; while this may be conscious or unconscious, any evidence of such a denial further strengthens the premise. This short section explores the following subthemes where I believe I sense such denial; they are presented in the order they appear in the study:

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- EAP as (neo-) racist

- EAP as UK-centric

- EAP as not-ELT

- EAP as a profession.

Structurally, because these subthemes cut across the data, the approach is different to the previous three in that each subtheme synthesises the evidence from the introduction, auto-ethnography and semiotic analysis rather than presenting the evidence separately.

EAP as (neo-racist). This study opened with the possibility that EAP is (neo-) racist, like attitudes to the Waco shootout; it also makes the point that if this is the case, it is unlikely EAP practitioners will acknowledge it. This chapter has already identified potential (neo-) racism in *The EAP Student as "Mule, horse, elephant, or bullock"* (p. 195) where it cites the example of the EAP interview in which it seemed expected to view (all) Chinese (postgraduate) students are likely to plagiarise; this is also implicit in attitudes and the teaching materials that are born of them that cast (all) Chinese (postgraduate) students as lacking in the ability to think critically or to study autonomously. Possible explanations for this include the (neo-) racism embedded in society at large and in the English language, ELT and EAP in particular and the taboo in admitting complicity in this. Albeit for TESOL – of which more shortly – the title of Kubota's (2002) article, "(Un)ravelling racism in a nice field like TESOL" highlights the difficulties of EAP practitioners seeing this, let alone addressing it in a meaningful way.

EAP as UK-centric. BALEAP's strapline, "The global forum for EAP professionals", implicitly denies the UK parochiality of BALEAP's version of EAP. However, not only is this parochiality supported by Ding and Bruce (2017) and the

correspondence from my American colleague, both in *EAP, BALEAP, ESOL and More* (p. 21), but also on BALEAP's own website. In the section that lists affilated institutions (n.d.-a), of the 102 names, only two are outside the UK, in China and Kazakhstan, and both have connections with UK institutions; of that 102, only 29 are currently accredited. Potential reasons for this denial include the feel-good factor of attaching global importance to BALEAP/EAP for the elite and as a tool to convince university leadership of the approach, particularly in the context of the current internationalisation agenda in UK higher education; this may in addition be an example of British exceptionalism.

EAP as not-ELT. EAP explicitly distances itself from ELT, and is thus in denial about what is a clear – and perhaps its only, and certainly most important – antecedent: to re-quote Ding and Bruce, from *Do the TEFLERs really love us?* (p. 45), ELT "is rarely defined but provides an abstract and utterly undifferentiated negative construct from which the virtues of EAP can be highlighted and emphasised" (2017, p. 138). This is implicit in the lack of a graded approach to language, in the eschewing of published materials, in the apparent necessity for the TEAP Framework – to train experienced EFL teachers in "EAP" – and anecdotes that warn against practice that is "too EFL-ly" [*sic*]. Potential reasons for denying this obvious antecedent are that TEAPs and BLEAPs regard EAP as a form of career development but somehow want to avoid acknowledging the route by which they have arrived in EAP for fear that they will return to ELT, and to justify – although I would argue such justification is unnecessary – their place in the academy.

EAP as a profession. the professional paraphernalia established by BALEAP – the two accreditation schemes, institutional and personal, the *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, the biennial conference, special interest groups – and not least

the appearance of "professional" at second position in Table 4 (p. 183) in the *Key Word Analysis of the TEAP Framework* (p. 182) indicate BALEAP believes EAP to be a profession. However, BALEAP has yet to meet Freidson's (2001) definition in that it has yet to control EAP or access to it (Ding & Bruce, 2017, p. 127). Even if it were a profession, TEAP would be difficult to place on the cline between the democratic and managerialist discourses (Sachs, 2001) in that the TEAP Framework has come from within the profession making it democratic but with its prescriptiveness making it managerialist. BALEAP's hierarchical quality described in the first two sections of this chapter suggest an explanation for this: that the TEAP Framework is democratic in relation to its creators and managerialist in relation to those lower in the hierarchy. Potential reasons for believing EAP has already reached professional status, include the self-respect inherent in professional life and, again, to justify a position in the academy.

These four subthemes support the conclusions of the previous section, *EAP as Complex and Simple* (p. 201). If one accepts the idea that BALEAP's iteration of EAP is unnecessary and exists more to serve its creators than its students, then these four examples of EAP in denial make sense in that TEAPs and BLEAPs may feel they strengthen the position of EAP in the academy. That said, I would argue that this is unnecessary and counterproductive: I believe academic colleagues appreciate what we do for students' language skills and that we are not simply tolerated but welcomed into the academy, or at least its periphery.

EAP as the Problem it Seeks to Solve

To summarise this chapter so far, BALEAP's iteration of EAP is potentially the problem it ostensibly seeks to solve. Consciously or – more likely – unconsciously, it

is possible to make a case that it creates its students' deficits and, albeit in a more nuanced way, creates its teachers' deficits. It does this partly through self-interest but also through the (neo-) colonialism and (neo-) racism imbued in the English language – particularly in the UK – and in ELT. Setting EAP in the context of its restricted application makes this clear.

That said, BALEAP's iteration of EAP also has positive characteristics. It at least aspires to the self-respect of professional status and, although I find the TEAP Scheme patronising, the *Confidence* (p. 149) section of the auto-ethnography shows many summer teachers appreciate the development it offers. There is little doubt, too, that the academic journal, biennial conference and special interest groups all contribute to a growing professionalism.

It also very much the case that neither students nor teachers are not passive recipients of this form of EAP. Like the teachers in Canagarajah's *Resisting Imperialism in English Language Teaching* (1999), they are more than capable of seeing it for what it is, resisting it, and changing it. This study is further evidence of that, both generally in its attempt to reveal a different understanding of EAP, and specifically in the auto-ethnography's *Confidence* (p. 149) section which describes one on-going attempt to redress some of the issues identified.

The *Confidence* (p. 149) section presents alternative futures for EAP students, teachers and administrative arrangements. For students, it acknowledges their imperative to learn English rather than "academic skills". This approach is embedded in multiple levels of materials to suit differing entry levels of linguistic achievement and in the use of textbooks which leverage the resources of publishing companies; it is also embedded in an element of choice in the curriculum. For teachers, there are changes throughout the summer course cycle. The recruitment

process is slimmed-down, induction focuses on practical preparation for teaching, the workload is designed to fit the 36.5-hour week, and the observation system is more democratic. Administratively, assessment is reduced and a flexible timetable incorporates the choice outlined above and makes a cover system possible; both changes benefit both students and teachers. In terms of the programme more widely, aligning it with institutional QA brings us closer to our academic colleagues and means they both understand the programme more clearly and enjoy greater confidence in its quality.

I have argued that EAP in its BALEAP iteration is ultimately unnecessary; that said, there may be little harm in it if it becomes more self-aware and self-critical. To be effective, and by that I mean to serve its students, it may wish to consider embracing not only its ELT antecedents but also university systems. If those systems can confer a PhD, then there is little doubt about their ability to quality-assure a 10- or 5-week EAP programme, with or without BALEAP accreditation. To return to Adams' babel fish in *Lingua Franca, Nonsense, La Francophonie, and Bricolage* (p. 36): linguistic competence in English is what EAP students need so they are able to demonstrate, and develop where necessary, their knowledge of "academic skills".

Chapter 7: Conclusion

"I want to focus in this section upon one motivation, not necessarily or even normally conscious, that people have for producing texts: the resolution of problems of various sorts in their own relationship to the world and to others" (Fairclough, 2015, p. 177). I recognise that Fairclough is right: this thesis study has attempted to bring to consciousness the reasons for my unease with the practice of EAP because I am invested in it as an EAP practitioner. This conclusion explores the extent to which I have been successful in that attempt, how hindsight would inform me if I were once again at the beginning, and how the process has affected my professional practice.

Although I wasn't aware of it when I started, I now realise I subconsciously wanted to produce a thesis at once rigorous and edging towards the avant-garde; it transpired this aspiration was in a dialogical relationship with my developing topic, which demanded a methodologically novel approach because a combination of methods offered a way to view the disparate parts of an incomplete picture which could only be accessed by glimpses. The result was a combination of auto-ethnography and semiotic analysis.

The auto-ethnography is complemented by some of the material in *Chapter 1: What's Wrong with EAP?* and the whole follows the approach of making use of a range of data as befits a professional doctorate, with my professional experience taking a crucial role in both initiating and guiding the study. It was the starkness of the attitudes implied in the interview/plagiarism anecdote that drove me to question the practice of EAP in the first place and from this flowed the growth in my own consciousness from my early and potentially imperially-nostalgic career choices of Singapore and Hong Kong, both firmly in Kachru's Outer Circle, through involvement

in EAP, to more recent extensive engagement with China and Chinese people. This experience, and this study, have led me to consider broader societal forces and their impact on, and implications for the future of, professional practice in EAP.

I started with two research questions. As a reminder, they were:

1. What view of professionalism is constituted in the BALEAP TEAP Framework?
2. What are the implications for the policy and practice of EAP in British universities?

As will be clear from the introductory chapter, these questions flow from my professional preoccupations. Although the first question may appear rather narrow in scope, BALEAP looms large over EAP in the UK and, given that we are a BALEAP-accredited institution, over my professional context in particular. I started with professionalism/the TEAP Framework (or TEAP Cage) because I had an intuition that the Framework instantiated an undemocratic approach to TEAP and that it restricted rather than created opportunities for TEAPs despite EAP's status as a profession being nascent at best. Might it be that BALEAP's iteration of TEAP needed challenging? If so, the TEAP Framework offered at the very least a Point of Entry Text (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004); it was also an area that had been little researched.

The second question flowed from the first. If there are issues embedded in BALEAP's iteration of EAP then it becomes important to ask what can and should be done about this. Given that I lead EAP provision in my professional context, this second question was a natural focus for me, and a natural focus for a professional

doctorate. I am invested in this! This question also enjoys potential in terms of originality and contribution to knowledge in that it opens a discussion about what an alternative future for EAP might look like.

If I were to start the study again, how might those questions change? Although the first question did incidentally reveal (neo-)colonialism as a potential source of EAP's attitudes to its students, it was incidental in that the question did not explicitly address this. For that reason, one direction for change might be a question that interrogates the relationship between how EAP constructs its students and the connection between English, ELT, EAP and neo-colonialism. That said, this was an insight that grew as a result of the study and so the original question can be said to have functioned effectively and to have pointed to a direction for future research. The second question relates the first to my professional concerns and to my professional context and contributes to the study's status as a professional doctorate, so I would retain the question in its current form.

In the light of the actual research questions, a reader might question my choice of literature. Although the relevance of the two themes of the *UK Higher Education Environment* and *Professionalism in EAP* is clear, what about *English and (Neo-) Colonialism?* This theme of the literature review surprised me with the relative ease with which it was possible to find sources corroborating my intuition that not just the English language but also ELT and EAP can be considered imbued with, or even carriers of, (neo-)colonialism and its negative associations. Before carrying out this part of the literature review, I had asked myself whether I was reading too much into the tentative insights prompted by Waco; I now believe strongly that it is impossible to consider EAP without reference to English and (neo-)colonialism. That this study

has brought together the relevant literature is an important first step in generating consciousness of that connection.

This is controversial. I say that because, for most EAP practitioners that connection seems to be hidden. It is hidden either passively as an ideology or actively by those who gain by it, and to assert that it exists is to arrogate to myself immodest and potentially patronising special powers of perception. However, I now know that perception is supported by the literature and I have also found it surfaces in conversations with non-native speaker TEAPs.

The question here, given how little this aspect of the literature review is made use of in the discussion, should I have included it or made less of it? To this, I would respond that the omnipresence of (neo-)colonialism, with its negative associations, offers a potential explanation of my sense of EAP as toxic and mediocre, particularly in relation to its students but also to teachers in the lower levels of the hierarchy. I would argue, therefore, that this aspect of literature is contextually essential.

As for the remainder of the literature review, the *UK Higher Education Environment* section functions as a necessary bridge to the *Professionalism in EAP* section through neoliberalism, another global force in which English is implicated, and which provides EAP with its students. Although is also important to be sceptical in that it is surely possible to talk about neoliberalism in languages other than English, were I to repeat the study, I would feel this section of the literature review needed little revision; certainly, it achieves the twin purposes of setting the context of EAP and connecting *English and (Neo-) Colonialism* to *Professionalism in EAP.* In terms of *Professionalism in EAP,* were I to repeat the study, I might research further literature specific to EAP but I would also want to make use, as I have done, of the

wider literature on professionalism to put BALEAP's claims of professional status to accepted tests.

Of the methodology, one might ask whether it were overly introspective in its use of auto-ethnography, or lacking in focus in its use not only of a combination of auto-ethnography and semiotic analysis but also in the use of three different approaches to semiotic analysis, albeit related. To that, I would reply that the introspective quality was necessary to access and clarify my intuition for this exploratory study without which I would have been unable to demonstrate potentially substantive issues for further research. I would also reply that multiple perspectives were necessary to test that intuition. The auto-ethnography explicitly explores the basis of that intuition; the semiotic analysis and the literature review triangulate the more free-flowing narrative of the auto-ethnography.

If I were carry out the auto-ethnography again, there are a number of ways in which it might be done differently. I could, for example, make more use of subheadings or tables and present the information asynchronously to foreground the similarities and differences in, for example, the accommodation available to EAP teachers. Another possible change could be to weave the analysis into the text of the auto-ethnography rather than using the discussion chapter for the bulk of the analysis.

All of that said, as it stands the auto-ethnography provides a longitudinal account of a twenty-year career in EAP and that account covers three sites of EAP. Not only is this an original contribution in that auto-ethnography has been little used in ESOL (Mirhosseini, 2018) but, with the introductory material in Chapter 1, it also provides transparency which contributes to the study's overall trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) as qualitative research. It is also the case that the writing of

the auto-ethnography enabled me to see patterns that might otherwise have remained obscure and which contributed to my understanding of EAP ideology and therefore also to the insights in the discussion section which take the application beyond my immediate professional context. I believe the section is rigorous in that it not only takes Canagarajah's (2012) paper as inspiration but also meets Anderson's (2006) five key qualities for analytic auto-ethnographic research and the points that arise from it are corroborated by the semiotic analysis.

For the semiotic analysis, I am also largely satisfied. Of the five parts, this is particularly true of the three which make extensive use of multimodal analysis as expressed in the work of Kress and Van Leeuwen (e.g. 2006; 2006; 2002). On the one hand, it might be argued that the analysis is over-dependent on this body of work; on the other, the study cites other authors who have either contributed to the development of multimodal analysis or made use of the techniques. In relation to educational research, this study represents a contribution in that Rogers et al (2016) in their review of critical discourse analysis in education report that only 17% of education articles published between 2004 and 2012 made use of multimodal analysis. It is also the case that the analysis produced unexpected insights which both shaped my thinking and corroborated findings in the auto-ethnography.

The other two parts of the semiotic analysis also produced relevant insights which corroborated the auto-ethnography. It could be criticised in that the key word analysis of the TEAP Framework could have made make further use of the data produced by WordSmith Tools, perhaps by analysing other key words, extending the analysis to lexemes rather than words – "student(s)" and "practitioner(s)" rather than simply "student" and "practitioner" for example – or by making use of a different reference corpus for alternative insights. However, I believe the focus was about

right, given the research questions and the fact that this was just one part of the semiotic analysis which was in itself only one of two methods used. One might also criticise the final analysis, of the pre-sessional job advertisement, for being rather intuitive. While I would acknowledge this as a weakness I would, at the same time, set the analysis in the context of the other evidence which points to its plausibility, and emphasise the advert's importance as an example of resemioticisation (Iedema, 2003) from BALEAP documentation to my professional context.

What, then, of those insights from the auto-ethnography and semiotic analysis? The auto-ethnography provides some evidence of practices that can be interpreted as marginalising TEAPs, particularly summer teachers; it also provides evidence that can be interpreted as demonstrating a deficit approach to students on the part of EAP. In both cases, the study adds verisimilitude to the claims in previous work cited. In terms of summer teachers, the study shows how marginalisation manifests itself in the sometimes poor quality accommodation set aside for such teachers, in explicit and implicit expectations that they will work beyond their contracted hours, and in a top-down observation system which ignores the model of the more democratic systems in place in HE. In terms of students, the study demonstrates how EAP constructs them as being in deficit given that a TEAP is somehow regarded as enjoying the academic expertise their students lack; this manifests itself in the lack of attention to English language development in EAP materials, in the insistence that TEAPs teach referencing, and in the explicit expectation that students will lack autonomy.

The semiotic analysis provides triangulation of these findings and extends them to a greater understanding of BALEAP's iteration of EAP and its construction of both teachers and students. The analysis of the TEAP diagram and the TEAP

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Scheme Handbook provide evidence of a BALEAP elite, and the hierarchy needed to sustain such an elite, which this study noted in the first chapter in *"Do the TEFLERs really love us?"* The complexity of both (diagram and handbook), as revealed in the comparison with the HEA diagram and UKPFS, and of the BALEAP name and in the pre-sessional job advertisement, is suggestive of a conscious or unconscious attempt to create an arguably unnecessary profession from a proposition (EAP) that I would argue would best serve students by being framed as English language development, particularly given its focus on students in a very restricted range of language level. The fictional Mei from the introductory chapter helps us to see this: if her direct-entry degree classmates are ready to start their programmes without the (debatable) benefit of an EAP programme focusing largely on academic skills rather than language, why isn't language the focus of EAP?

The macro-perspective emerges from the study's juxtaposition of the introductory chapter, the findings from the auto-ethnography and semiotic analysis, and the discussion. The study provides evidence of the operation of (neo-) colonialism in EAP with the implication, in relation to its large proportion of Chinese students, that EAP ought to maintain a constant self-awareness in order to distance itself from claims that its practices could be regarded as racist, imperially-nostalgic or linguistically-imperialist. In relation to the neoliberal environment EAP inhabits, it should also guard against the potential conflict of interest inherent in accepting payment for what is, for some students, a high-stakes course. In relation to its professional aspirations, as embodied in BALEAP and the TEAP Framework, it should also ask whether there are ways in which the Framework could be used to define a new and more inclusive approach to both students and TEAPs. A concerted

effort for EAP to rediscover and reconnect with its ELT antecedents would help this process as would attention to a flattening of the hierarchy explicit in the Framework.

So, at the end of this almost five-year process, what are the implications for my professional practice? I have been lucky in that a recent promotion means I have greater power to steer and to redefine EAP in my professional context. The final section of the auto-ethnography details how I have made use of this opportunity. I continue to do so, shifting the emphasis of our pre-sessional programme from academic skills to language, making more extensive use of flipped classroom techniques to acknowledge and leverage our students' existing knowledge and skills, and improving conditions for teachers. In so doing, I believe my actions are consistent with the ideological awareness to which I aspire.

And BALEAP? Institutionally, we remain accredited by BALEAP and I acknowledge that accreditation was useful in attesting to the rigour of the programme during a recent UKVI audit of Tier 4 visa holders. Despite its potential to marginalise them, or to reproduce their existing marginality, there is also a significant number of staff who aspire to BALEAP fellowship. I would not want to deprive them of that opportunity and so am actively supporting applications and at the same time attempting to change the system from within by increasing the number of Senior Fellows and Fellows from my institution. This returns me to the introductory chapter, in particular to Brexit. From a BALEAP perspective, I was a leaver, but as a committed Brexit remainer, I can see the sense in embracing BALEAP and attempting to change it from within.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Job Advertisement

Institution

University

Job Type

Temporary Summer Pre-sessional Tutors – English for Academic Purposes

Location

The Centre, University

Job Details

The Centre is seeking to appoint well-qualified and experienced tutors of English for Academic Purposes for its BALEAP-accredited summer Pre-sessional English language and academic skills courses.

Teaching on our summer Pre-sessional is rewarding, challenging and, we hope, professionally developmental. In order to be considered, we ask you to have the following:

- A first degree
- A postgraduate qualification related to English Language Teaching or equivalent. For example, Diploma in English language teaching, MA in Applied Linguistics, TESOL or equivalent combination of experience and study, DELTA (or equivalent diploma in EFL) and/or an MA Applied Linguistics (or similar)

We also particularly look for:

- Proven knowledge and experience of teaching English for Academic Purposes in a higher education context
- Excellent communication and team-working skills

Please understand that the volume of enquiries we receive means we will not be able to reply individually to candidates who do not meet minimum requirements. If you meet the relevant requirements of the Person Specification, we will be in touch to arrange an interview.

You will teach between 18 - 20 contact hours per week, attend staff meetings and standardisation sessions, assess student progress, perform administrative duties related to teaching and report to the appropriate Course Leader to ensure that the course runs smoothly. Teaching materials are provided but you will be expected to adapt them as appropriate to the needs of your classes.

Employment period includes 5 days induction, and standard university accommodation is available, subsidised by the Centre.

You will be working in a progressive and successful Centre, which was for over 25 years the English Language Centre. In March 2014 it was restructured as the Centre to reflect its extended remit to provide academic as well as English language skills support and development to all students across the institution.

Course dates:
10 week Pre-sessional General (PSG4):
5 day teacher induction 4 July 2016 – 8 July 2016
Teaching 11 July 2016 – 16 September 2016

10 week Pre-sessional Management (PSM4):
5 day teacher induction 4 July 2016 – 8 July 2016
Teaching 11 July 2016 – 16 September 2016

5 week Pre-sessional General (PSG5):
5 day teacher induction 8 August 2016 – 12 August 2016
Teaching 15 August 2016 – 16 September 2016

5 week Pre-sessional Management (PSM5):

5 day teacher induction 8 August 2016 – 12 August 2016

Teaching 15 August 2016 – 16 September 2016

Please specify on your application form which period(s) you are available and note that all tutors must be available for the full period of the course.

Job Salary

Competitive salary

Weekly pay of £790.31 (gross) including marking supplement and holiday pay.

All payments will be subject to tax and National Insurance. Due to the complex nature of the Pre-sessional Programme, we request that applicants do not have any pre-existing leave requirements as this cannot be facilitated.

Further Information & how to apply

For further information about the Centre, please visit: http://

To apply for a position, please use the application procedure: https://

Only online applications will be considered.

Interview dates: Interviews will take place in person or via Skype from March 2016. Early application is recommended.

Closing date: 29 February 2016

Appendix 2: Ethical Approval

SSIS - GSE Ethics Submission & Queries <ssis-gseethics@exeter.ac.uk>
Mon 10/07/2017, 09:07
Lee, Clive;
Baumfield, Vivienne Marie;
Martin, Fran
☐
Dear Clive

Thank you for your application. I have been advised that, as your research does not have any participants ethics approval is not necessary. If this were to change in the future (and your research involved participants) you would need to resubmit your application accordingly.

Best wishes,
Natasha

Ethics Administration
Graduate School of Education

Research Services
University of Exeter
Innovation Centre, Rennes Drive, Exeter EX4 4RN

From: Lee, Clive
Sent: 04 July 2017 21:20
To: SSIS - GSE Ethics Submission & Queries <ssis-gseethics@exeter.ac.uk>
Cc: Baumfield, Vivienne Marie <V.Baumfield@exeter.ac.uk>
Subject: Ethics Submission from Clive Lee

Please find attached my EdD (TESOL) thesis ethics application and approval from my supervisor, Professor Baumfield.

Best regards

Clive Lee

RE: Ethics Submission from Clive Lee

SSIS - GSE Ethics Submission & Queries <ssis-gseethics@exeter.ac.uk>
Mon 10/07/2017, 09:07
Lee, Clive; Baumfield, Vivienne Marie; Martin, Fran

Dear Clive

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From: Lee, Clive
Sent: 04 July 2017 21:20
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Cc: Baumfield, Vivienne Marie <V.Baumfield@exeter.ac.uk>
Subject: Ethics Submission from Clive Lee

Please find attached my EdD (TESOL) thesis ethics application and approval from my supervisor, Professor Baumfield.

Best regards

Clive Lee

Appendix 3: TEAP and HEA Sample Pages

A2. ACADEMIC DISCOURSE

An EAP practitioner will have a high level of systemic language knowledge including knowledge of genre and discourse analysis.

Professional Knowledge & Values: A2	Fellow Area of Activity competence in: A2F	Indicative evidence: A2F
a. approaches to text classification, e.g. theories of genre and text type b. the core characteristics of academic compared to non-academic discourse c. the range of genres and types of texts existing in academic contexts d. the nature of texts including discourse features and sub-technical vocabulary enabling practitioners to process and utilize texts without being subject specialists: i. discourse features beyond the sentence ii. cohesion and coherence iii. semantics and pragmatics e. grammar and syntax at the level of phrase, clause and sentence	i. selecting academic texts for teaching purposes ii. applying theories of text and discourse analysis to text exploitation iii. integrating academic discourse into lesson plans and task design	i. Example text selection with rationale ii. Sample text analysis iii. Sample self-produced, text-based lesson plan and materials with rationale
	Senior Fellow Area of Activity competence in: A2SF	Indicative evidence: A2SF
	i. applying theories of text and discourse analysis to materials design ii. applying theories of text and discourse analysis to syllabus design iii. applying theories of text and discourse analysis to assessment design	i. Self-developed materials ii. Self-developed syllabus iii. Sample assessment

Figure 19: Sample page from TEAP Framework

Descriptor 2	Typical individual role/career stage	Related HEA recognition
Demonstrates a broad understanding of effective approaches to teaching and learning support as key contributions to high quality student learning. Individuals should be able to provide evidence of: I. Successful engagement across all five Areas of Activity II. Appropriate knowledge and understanding across all aspects of Core Knowledge III. A commitment to all the Professional Values IV. Successful engagement in appropriate teaching practices related to the Areas of Activity V. Successful incorporation of subject and pedagogic research and/ or scholarship within the above activities, as part of an integrated approach to academic practice VI. Successful engagement in continuing professional development in relation to teaching, learning, assessment and, where appropriate, related professional practices	Individuals able to provide evidence of broadly based effectiveness in more substantive teaching and supporting learning role(s). Such individuals are likely to be established members of one or more academic and/or academic-related teams. Typically, those likely to be at Descriptor 2 (D2) include: a. Early career academics b. Academic-related and/or support staff holding substantive teaching and learning responsibilities c. Experienced academics relatively new to UK higher education d. Staff with (sometimes significant) teaching-only responsibilities including, for example, within work-based settings	Fellow

Figure 20: Sample page from HEA UKPSF

Appendix 4: Concordances for Chapter 5

N	Concordance
1	Discourse 15 Academic Disciplines 16 B Units: The Student 17 Student Needs 17 Student Learning 18 CORE
2	15 Academic Disciplines 16 B Units: The Student 17 Student Needs 17 Student Learning 18 CORE C Units:
3	Disciplines 16 B Units: The Student 17 Student Needs 17 Student Learning 18 CORE C Units: Course Delivery 19
4	and accreditation scheme to enhance the quality of the student academic experience through facilitating the
5	TEAP practitioner with substantive teaching and student support responsibilities through working towards
6	Programme Development; Academic Practices , The Student and Course Delivery . Each of these general
7	. The TEAP Competency Framework has at its heart the student academic experience . This is reflected in its
8	communities in Academic Disciplines (A3). The student is the focus of the B Units where the importance
9	is the focus of the B Units where the importance of Student Needs (B1) and Student Learning (B2) and their
10	Units where the importance of Student Needs (B1) and Student Learning (B2) and their application to practice is
11	practitioners who aim to contribute to enhancing the student academic experience through supporting the
12	is expanded and communicated . B Units The Student an EAP practitioner will : B1 Student Needs
13	. B Units The Student an EAP practitioner will : B1 Student Needs understand and apply knowledge of
14	requirements of their target academic situation . B2 Student Learning understand the relevance of individual
15	of own teaching practice , course quality and the student academic experience . E Unit Professional
16	: i. course structure ii. teaching and learning iii. staff/student communication c. modes of knowledge
17	ii . intellectual property iii . disciplinary procedures f. student support systems g. institutional values and their
18	pedagogic materials for specific disciplines iii . raising student awareness to discourse features of texts in their
19	with relevant reports iv. Witness statement B THE STUDENT B1. STUDENT NEEDS An EAP practitioner will
20	reports iv. Witness statement B THE STUDENT B1. STUDENT NEEDS An EAP practitioner will understand
21	Indicative evidence : B1F a. the theory and practice of student needs i. using the results of a principled and
22	iii . championing the more effective targeting of student needs in the institution and in the wider sector. i
23	Team Communication records Witness statement B2. STUDENT LEARNING An EAP practitioner will
24	planning , task or learning resource design v. fostering student autonomy through group activities , one-to-one
25	differences in critical thinking e. the principles of student autonomy f. the pedagogy of supporting student
26	of student autonomy f. the pedagogy of supporting student autonomy through group activities and
27	. employing institutional and national level data on the student academic experience to inform practice . iii .
28	techniques of communicative language teaching and student support , be able to locate these within an
29	guidance , progress or feedback tutorials . xi. exploiting student feedback and other quality assurance
30	feedback forms by BALEAP recognized mentors . Student feedback data . ii. Syllabus specification ,
31	attendance records One-one session recording xi . Student feedback and quality assurance records with
32	v. giving appropriate feedback and feed-forward on student assessed performance vi . evaluating assessment
33	the link between assessment content and procedures to student needs and academic studies f. the principles ,
34	, test results demonstrating the relationship between student needs and the design and delivery of a syllabus
35	of own teaching practice , course quality and the student academic experience : Professional Knowledge
36	and analysis d. the importance and means of tracking student academic progression and applying results to
37	of quality assurance mechanisms iv. Tracking student progress to evaluate and inform own practice i.
38	and analysis iii . Resulting action plans iv. Individual student progress reports Senior Fellow Area of Activity
39	and national quality assurance mechanisms v. using student cohort progress and attainment tracking data to
40	A3F Academic Disciplines Accredited Fellow B1F Student Needs B2F Student Learning C1Teaching
41	Disciplines Accredited Fellow B1F Student Needs B2F Student Learning C1Teaching practice C2 Assessment
42	. A2. Academic Discourse A3. Academic Disciplines B1.Student Needs B2. Student Learning C1.Teaching
43	A3. Academic Disciplines B1.Student Needs B2. Student Learning C1.Teaching practice C2. Assessment

Figure 21: Concordance of the use of the word "student" in the TEAP Handbook produced using WordSmith Tools

N	Concordance
1	scholarship and research in EAP through its course and practitioner accreditation schemes , Professional Issues
2	and working parties . BALEAP has developed the TEAP practitioner competency framework and accreditation
3	: BALEAP Typical candidate TEAP Pathways TEAP Practitioner role descriptors Recognised Associate
4	Fellow Reflective Account of Professional Practice . A practitioner who has reached a level of professional
5	and feedback . Accredited Fellow An experienced TEAP practitioner with substantive teaching and student
6	a Fellow Reflective Account of Professional Practice A practitioner who is able to apply with a high level of
7	their own practice . Accredited Senior Fellow A TEAP practitioner with sustained experience across all areas
8	Fellow Reflective Account of Professional Practice A practitioner who is able to apply with complete
9	DESCRIPTORS A Units Academic Practices an EAP practitioner will : A1 Academic contexts have sufficient
10	and communicated . B Units The Student an EAP practitioner will : B1 Student Needs understand and apply
11	to develop these . C Core Units Course Delivery an EAP practitioner will : C1 Teaching practice be familiar with
12	feedback . D Units Programme Development an EAP practitioner will : D1 Course design understand the main
13	Development , Research and Scholarship an EAP practitioner will : E recognize the importance of applying
14	and assess portfolio-based evidence for BALEAP practitioner accreditation purposes . THE COMPETENCY
15	PRACTICES A1. ACADEMIC CONTEXTS An EAP practitioner will have sufficient knowledge of the
16	of dissemination . A2. ACADEMIC DISCOURSE An EAP practitioner will have a high level of systemic language
17	assessment A3. ACADEMIC DISCIPLINES An EAP practitioner will be able to recognize , explore and apply
18	B THE STUDENT B1. STUDENT NEEDS An EAP practitioner will understand and apply knowledge of
19	Witness statement B2. STUDENT LEARNING An EAP practitioner will understand the relevance of individual
20	: COURSE DELIVERY C1. TEACHING PRACTICE An EAP practitioner will be familiar with the approach , methods
21	lessons to the standards expected of a competent TEAP practitioner ii . designing activities and tasks for lessons
22	C2. ASSESSMENT AND FEEDBACK PRACTICE An EAP practitioner will be able assess academic language and
23	DEVELOPMENT D1. COURSE DESIGN An EAP practitioner will understand the main types of language
24	D.2 QUALITY ASSURANCE AND ENHANCEMENT An EAP practitioner will be able to use, design and implement a
25	, RESEARCH AND SCHOLARSHIP An EAP practitioner will recognize the importance of applying to
26	and assess portfolio-based evidence for BALEAP practitioner accreditation purposes . Professional
27	. There is a portfolio of evidence supporting the practitioner's competence in specific areas of
28	Account of Professional Practice (RAPP) where the practitioner reflects on , makes explicit and provides a
29	are indicative in nature rather than compulsory as a practitioner may be able to satisfy the evidence
30	practice? Authenticity : Is the evidence the work of the practitioner? It is important to note that one item may
31	are two types: A personal statement - written by the practitioner themselves to explain why no direct
32	of the portfolio provided • additional support to the practitioner's claim of competence . There is no specified
33	. It should be written to convince the reader that the practitioner is fully competent and meets the relevant
34	of the portfolio provided • additional support to the practitioner's claim of competence . There is no specified
35	, online record of individual awards and accredited practitioner status. No hard copy of certificates are
36	Evidence Met Not yet met TEAP descriptor An EAP practitioner who has demonstrated the level of
37	Evidence Met Not yet met TEAP descriptor An EAP practitioner who has demonstrated the level of
38	Evidence Met Not yet met TEAP descriptor An EAP practitioner who has demonstrated the level of
39	and assess portfolio- based evidence for BALEAP practitioner accreditation purposes . The candidate has

Figure 22: Concordance of the use of the word "practitioner" in the TEAP Handbook produced using Wordsmith Tools