Training the Gatekeeper: how an EAP pre-sessional programme at a UK university influences the emerging identities of its teachers.

Submitted by Mr Charles Paul Marshall to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Education in November 2019

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

Signature: ……..

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Abstract

Research to date on EAP identities is far from extensive with little to no attention paid to pre-sessional teachers (those employed on short programmes of EAP study for students entering higher education in English medium HE institutions) and description of how their EAP identities emerge, lacking in sufficient depth.

Although an important and informative basis to advance research on EAP teacher identity, Hadley's (2015) analysis does not describe the problem in the context of pre-sessional teachers on short term programmes or provide a description of the more specific mechanisms by which the formation or transformation of identity might happen. Employing a Legitimation Code Theory (LCT) analysis, the study seeks to identify the underlying principle(s) for the basis to (what constitutes legitimate knowledge) and focus (what is selected for study on the programme) of EAP knowledge and how the principles of the pre-sessional programme and those of teachers may align. The pre-sessional programme is found to be influential in the professionals' discursive rationalisations and justifications for what constitutes legitimate EAP knowledge. Practitioners on the programme appear to legitimise the bases and focus of knowledge described and framed by the programme course designers and managers. In legitimising such ideas and beliefs, teachers may re-shape their identities by aligning with the principles of the programme. Those who will not are likely to seek other opportunities outside the programme.

Dominant identities seek to preserve their project and are more willing to concede their beliefs and re-orient their stances to do so. Emerging from this is the 'Gatekeeper'; disposed to re-negotiate her stance in response to the direction of the programme. This implies that, far from being passive recipients of structural influence, teachers on the pre-sessional are active agents in the transformation of what EAP means in the local practice context.

A further conclusion is that the programme may affect the future of the pre-sessional EAP practitioner and pre-sessional EAP itself, reducing *what* professional knowledge is appropriate to teaching roles and how their role, ever adopting new orientations and technologies, is transformed to the point of losing some of its essential modalities. One example of this might be the capacity to help students understand

and utilise the often-nuanced structures, vocabularies, and usages of academic English. It is then argued that a restricted professional learning context may fail to provide the plurality and depth of meanings that can equip the teacher with the resources to adequately negotiate the complexities of Academic English. Limited meanings of what EAP *is* and its purpose in the local context may constrain the effectiveness of programmes and their teachers in providing a varied and responsive learning environment.

Acknowledgments

There are many people I would like to offer thanks and pay tribute to, whose help and support has made this project possible.

First and foremost, I would like to offer my sincere gratitude to the participants, that is, the EAP professionals who contributed to this research. Giving up their free time on an intensive summer programme to provide fascinating narratives has and will remain greatly appreciated. Their unique stories helped build description of EAP identities that is beneficial to understanding the complexities of professional identity and professional learning.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to Professor Vivienne Baumfield and Professor Justin Dillon for their guidance and patience during the development of this thesis. Their experience and keen critique has helped shape the project towards its completion and submission.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

After some years teaching general English at a university in Spain, I decided to return to the UK to teach on an English for Academic Purposes (EAP) pre-sessional programme at a prominent university. Although I had taught English as a Foreign Language in the context of higher education, I had not previously taught EAP. A part of the reason for choosing to teach on an EAP programme was a personal and professional need to specialise in an area of English Language Teaching (ELT) that could aid me in my professional development. This coincided with beginning a doctoral programme that I believed would guide that specialism. As a professional doctorate (EdD), I hoped it would not only help me specialise but also that in the process of research I would be able to identify an issue relating to my practice that I could address, advancing knowledge, understanding and potentially resolving a problem in my field. Whilst attending the teacher induction week prior to commencement of employment on the pre-sessional EAP programme, I was intrigued by how different EAP was to EFL but also how the demands of the role differed markedly from my role as an EFL teacher. I felt that the induction, although thorough in what was expected on the programme, did little to help the teacher transition to the novel context. In short, there was no specific training for teachers to make that transition. It was clear at this point that what teachers should know and what should be focused on necessitated certain prior learning and experience to be able to perform the role well. I felt my knowledge and experience was left wanting somewhat. The other teachers on the induction programme were much like myself; from a general EFL background and little knowledge of what EAP is and/or what should be focused on given the context of a pre-sessional course. It was already evident that the programme itself served as an initial professional learning experience of EAP. The majority of the teachers I had spoken to prior to and during the study only taught EAP whilst on the programme, contracted for a maximum of 20 weeks and as little as 4 weeks. Of the participants, only the programme manager, one co-ordinator (Rick) had taught on in-sessional as well as other EAP courses full-time at the EAP unit. One teacher, Marco, was engaged in EAP for the remaining academic year at an institution in Italy. This could be suggested to influence their

beliefs about EAP as they are concerned and occupied with it more consistently than the other participants. I began to wonder how much that experience would influence how teachers shaped their meanings of what EAP is and how it should be practised giving rise to this study.

1.2 The participants

Two years after my first experience teaching on the programme, in the summer of 2016, I conducted field research gathering data from interviews and casual conversations, observation of teaching staff meetings, and analysing documents e.g. role descriptors. I asked the participants in the interview to describe what EAP meant to them with a view to allowing for personalised accounts of their experiences on the programme and how it may have influenced those meanings. Twenty teachers, programme co-ordinators and managers agreed to take part in the study. Nine teachers and one manager were interviewed with varying levels of experience in EAP and from relatively diverse backgrounds. Teachers on the programme and the participants in the study originated from the UK, Central and Eastern Europe and Greece, and many were resident in those countries and regions during the bulk of the academic year. They also varied in age and gender. These characteristics provided the potential for diverse experiences and possible meanings. It was also important to involve participants who were new to EAP and the programme as well as those who had returned over many years. This would hopefully provide insights into how EAP teachers' identities may change over time.

1.3 English for Academic Purposes (EAP)

Definitions of EAP (e.g. Benesch, 2001; Hyland, 2006; Jordan, 2002; Savignon, 2007), whilst differing in their particular emphases with regard to content and focus, generally agree that it is a field dedicated to the development of communicative competency of speakers of English as a second language in the context of academic study, usually higher education. In practice settings, EAP concentrates on the language and academic skills necessary for students to advance in their studies and beyond. Students will learn, among other things, vocabulary, grammatical/syntactical systems, as well as text types and structure, rhetoric, critical thinking, and academic conventions. Courses of study may develop a curriculum that is balanced according to these elements or may give greater attention to certain areas e.g. writing

communication. Emphasis may be given to supposed general characteristics of academic English (EGAP) or those that are more specific to particular disciplines (ESAP). The debate rages as to which is considered appropriate. The pre-sessional programme in this study tends to adopt an EGAP approach but groups students according to discipline to enable teachers to focus on the features of academic English that are typical within that field. Such decisions provide the potential for divergent content and approaches in classes and between programmes. I will discuss this further in Chapter 2, especially with regard to beliefs about the *purpose* of academic English and of communicative competency.

1.4 Pre-sessional EAP

EAP practice in universities is organised into programmes and courses targeted towards the needs of students at certain stages in their academic careers, those being foundation, pre-sessional and in-sessional programmes. Whereas foundation programmes may be up to two years long and provide students with learning focused within a discipline and developing students general English as well as academic English, pre-sessional and in-sessional programmes are what might be described as *utilitarian* or more purposeful with clear goals and objectives to enable students to progress with their studies. Quite clearly the general purpose of each may be described as: to prepare students for academic study in English and/or prepare them for academic life in an anglophone context (pre-sessional); to support students in their academic study whilst undertaking a programme of study in English at a HE institution (in-sessional). Universities advertise their courses stating similar general descriptions of purpose. They claim that courses are for those who need to improve their language and language skills to the appropriate level whether to enable them to enter a programme of academic study or to progress on one they are already enrolled on. What is most obvious when comparing the different programmes across a number of institutions is that the pre-sessional courses seek to aid the development of a wider range of skills to enable an initial adjustment to UK academic life and relatively equal weighting to the four language skills; reading, writing, listening and speaking. Whilst in-sessionals do provide support in the four skills and other academic skills their emphasis is on the two language production skills; speaking and writing.

1.5 The programme

The EAP pre-sessional programme is one of two EAP programmes operating in the summer months at the university; the other being an undergraduate programme. The two programmes form part of the EAP provision alongside in-sessional programmes and foundation programmes of an international students academy housed within Academic Services. The EAP unit formerly operated within the English department of the university. The EAP pre-sessional programme in this study is comprised of two main streams, a postgraduate (PG) stream and a business stream. It takes place in the summer months alongside an undergraduate programme (UG). The PG stream has 5 courses of 20, 15, 10, 6 and 4 weeks, with the 10-week course being the most numerous in terms of teachers and students. The 20- and 15-week courses begin earlier in the year (April and May, respectively) and are designed for students with lower IELTS scores, needing more time to reach the required level of their departments. Students on the two longer courses join 10-week students when that course begins in July. The business stream is only 10 weeks long. The shorter 6-week course begins on week 4 of the 10-week course running alongside it, and designed for students with slightly higher IELTS scores. The 4-week course is mostly made up of students with unconditional offers, acquiring simple skills to help them adjust to British university life. The teachers and management in this study are predominantly from the PG stream.

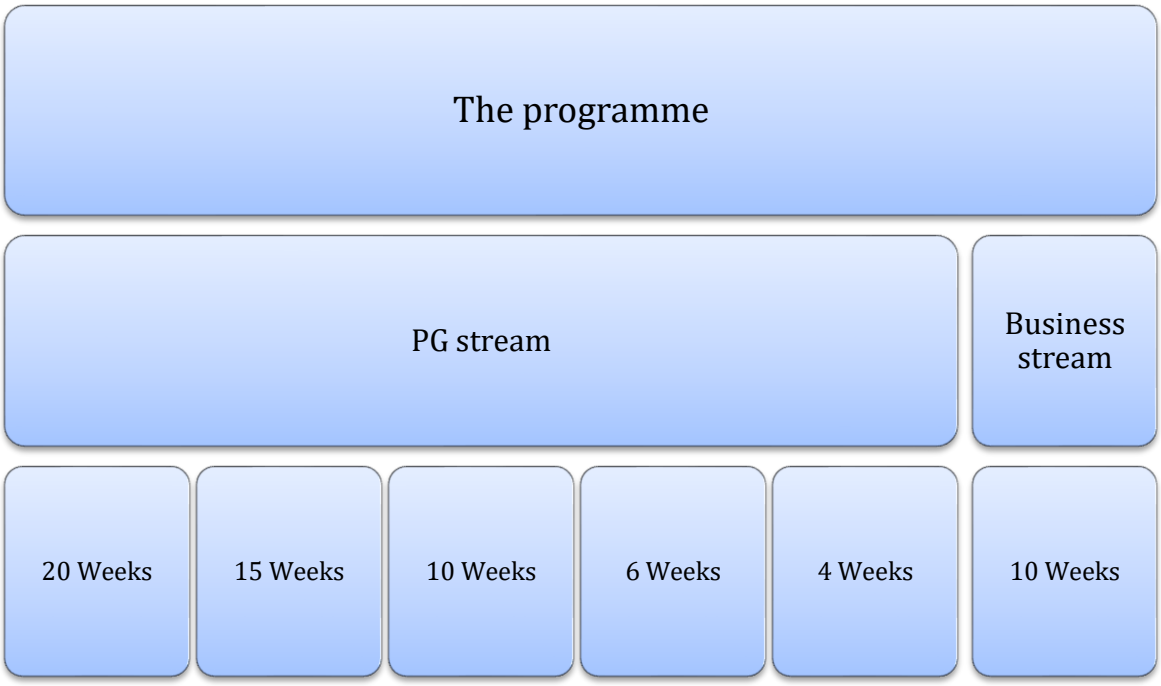


Figure 1: the programme

The programme operates within a larger EAP unit which also runs an in-sessional programme as well as a foundation programme for students beginning up to a year before commencing undergraduate studies. The EAP unit began life within the English department 20 years prior to the commencement of this study and had been moved into Academic Services in more recent years. The number of students and teachers has risen over those years and as of 2016 there numbered around 50 teachers on the PG and business streams. Many of those teachers were returning or had taught on the programme for more than one summer. There were, however, a significant number who had joined the programme that year for the first time. Most of the teachers come from general EFL backgrounds and are not normally engaged in EAP practice. Their training has, for the most part, followed a general EFL pathway of Cambridge CELTA/DELTA, although some teachers had studied master's degrees in Applied Linguistics. A shift in favour of teaching qualifications is described further below in this thesis. As Kirk (2018) also argues, the particular evolution of programmes and affordances given to practitioners will invariably give rise to differing views as to what EAP means in the local practice field influencing how it thought about and practised.

1.6 The influence of the programme on teachers' identities

In this thesis, I will argue that a pre-sessional EAP programme at a British, Russell Group university is influential in the formation and transformation of the identities of its teachers. Central to this proposition, is that the EAP programme performs acts or practices of legitimation in what is described as the *recontextualisation field,* where meanings given to EAP and its purpose are shaped by agents concerned with its actual practice.. What EAP means is interpretated and transformed according to what is deemed appropriate to the *local* context. A local EAP, intentionally or unintentionally insulating itself from its previous knowledge bases, attempts to frame of the *new* orientation construed around a needs analysis legitimised and justified with reference to economic imperatives. Curriculum and assessment are organised by attention to goals and objectives set according to short-term gains that will enable the student to be successful their immediate and future academic careers. Pedagogy and teaching practice are shaped by principles which entertain such directions, abandoning what is viewed irrelevant to its promises. This new direction may be viewed as an apparent shift away from *competence-based* modes of learning, considered as a democratic, creative, constructive building of knowledge in, arguably, a reduced number of areas. These may be described as the comprehensive learning of language rules and of language *use*, "the interactional process by which human discourse arises and is maintained" (Newby, 2011, p. 16). Learners of English would then develop their knowledge of language rules and contextual usage, as well as develop skills of reception (listening, reading) and production (speaking and writing). Although competence is not abandoned, it is increasingly rationalised and curricularised to be *performed*. A performance model is based around the actualisation of competence in "speech events" (p. 21). The production of essays or assessed presentations may serve as examples. *Generic* skills may be favoured over specialised knowledge to enable an imagined flexibility in response to extrinsic demands. This shift, described by Bernstein (2000), occurred throughout British education from the 1970s through to the 1990s and likely beyond, and in pedagogical terms puts attention on *what* is to be acquired rather than the development of the acquirer themselves. Focusing on the *what,* then, tends the pedagogue towards viewing their learners as lacking something or possessing a *deficiency* (p. 53). Of course, one might argue, that competence is still present in

what is seemingly a performance-informed pedagogy and that performance modes were always present in what were described as largely competence oriented approaches to teaching and learning but there is evidence of discursive and practical applications of a more performance based orientation in the case described here, as one assumes there is elsewhere in education. The programme increasingly emphasises the development of a range of *academic skills* seen as necessary for students' advancement to their departments. The skills of reading and essay writing are given priority, legitimised in often clear and simple terms e.g. "well in the end they have to write essays" (programme manager).

The programme, in its early years, according to long-serving (returning) teachers such as Marco(pseudonym), was less focused on demonstrable results and performances and more on the personal development of the learner and, whilst aiding them in their competence of language systems, skills and conventions relevant to academic contexts, a more holistic interpretation of EAP was apparent. The move towards a performance model saw attention now concentrated on results and demands for quantifiable evidence of learning through the production of written texts and oral presentations. Knowledge is performed and that performance is the criteria assessed for entry to the university. This is not to say that competence is not developed but that pressures to perform may constrain that endeavour. Under the performance model the programme is extending focus on skills less on language and broadening the role of the teacher to perform tasks that may be described as *student support* or administration tasks such as those usually expected of student services departments. This, then, is a radical turn which alters significantly what EAP means both to those who practice it and to those who direct its orientation. The teacher's role is increasingly that of an assessor, validator and *gate-keeper*, the autonomous and democratic professional under threat. The study closes with speculation as to the possible demise of the language teaching professional under the constraints of the power of recontextualisation. This does not remove the power of individual agency as the emergent identities suggest, only that the transformative potential of the programme is often realised in the individual teachers' deliberations on their professional role and practice. The alignment of teachers' orientations with those espoused by the programme, made apparent in how teachers *specialised* the *basis*

and *focus* of EAP knowledge and in the *framing* practices of programme managers and coordinators, provides plausible evidence of such transformations.

The rapid expansion of pre-sessional EAP provision over recent decades might also suggest a context dependent praxis; its short-term nature may also allow for a production focused orientation to knowledge and learning. Knowledge and *ways of doing things*, that are discursively legitimated based on context specific reasoning, will likely be *segmentalised* or made instrumental according to perceived purpose. This, in turn, may lead to quite different legitimated modalities and selected knowledge.

This restricted context and acts of legitimation that help frame knowledge and practice are, in this thesis, argued as influential in the shaping of EAP identities, whilst still maintaining that the *primacy of agency*, which means that the individual agent, or in this case, the teacher, who ultimately allows the creation of her identity through her thoughts and acts. However, it is difficult to deny that any kind of social or professional identity requires the participation of others in its making, and that those relationships constrain and enable certain beliefs and attitudes not necessarily attributable to any one individual. From structured relationships we get norms, institutions, codes of practice and standards that in themselves are resources that are activated by agency to legitimise forms of being and acting. Thus, the pre-sessional programme, its structured organisation of people and resources, identifiable as a mechanism in the activation (it would have to *be* there to enable or constrain) of identifications on the part of individual practitioners is, as argued below, influential in the formation and transformation of their EAP identities. That influence can be found in the legitimations of the professional practitioners in the study. Emergent identities are identifiable due in part to the emotions and concerns of practitioners aligning with or challenging the perceived beliefs and attitudes to practice elaborated by the programme in its curriculum and assessment. Pedagogy is constrained by limitations of time, interpretations of purpose and focus. It is argued below that some emergent identities are more likely to flourish than others due to the extent to which beliefs and attitudes fall into conflict. Some are likely to transform as their stances are less oppositional to the dominant discourse(s), i.e. that which is socially legitimised on the programme. One identity in the study; the Priest seemed

too at odds with the orientations of the others (those enabled by the programme's legitimation) that it seemed unlikely to persist.

The nature of EAP, as a pragmatic field, recontextualised as it is in its context-dependent practice sites, influencing emerging identities, is the claim made here and one which goes further to suggest that one particular identity is increasingly becoming dominant. This identity (the above conditions, thoughts and acts considered) reduces EAP practice to one of evaluation, validation, licensing and numerous other activities of *office*. The *Gatekeeper*, coined by a participant in the study, will adapt and transform according to the contingency of practice with little recourse to what went before and what EAP has meant. This is made more possible due, not only to control of the *what* of EAP but also the *who*. This study further highlights a concerning practice of gatekeeping, that is, the basis by which teachers are selected and what attitudes they bring in. Preferences for teachers with experience over *in-depth* linguistic knowledge indicates a purposive move to control for the 'right type' in the programme's college. This control might also be observed through descriptions, by participants, of the resituating of the EAP unit from an academic department into an administrative one. With such control, and the increasing emphasis on pre-sessional EAP over in-sessional provision, one wonders if the knowledgeable *language teacher* will be replaced by generic skills trainers, and administrative officers.

1.7 Rationale for the study

The rationale for this study begins with the observations of the author who has, for a number of years, worked on the pre-sessional programme as an EAP teacher. My early experience on the programme and the conversations and observations that gave me insight into a field also provided anecdotal descriptions of a practice context that had changed significantly in recent years. Many of the teachers on the programme spoke of how they felt their work had been re-orientated. This then provoked questions as to what the purpose of EAP was and how those defining it rationalised their views of its orientation in the context of a pre-sessional programme. It was evident at this point that there were a number of orientations, but the dominant ones were somehow being favoured by influential agents and organisations directly and indirectly associated with the programme. One felt that the very beliefs and

attitudes of teachers about their practice were influenced by the description and orientation of EAP by the programme and its designers. This then raised a certain curiosity to investigate the extent to which the professional EAP identity of practitioners were transformed under the conditions of the programme. It was already apparent that there were differing views on EAP practice and that many were in conflict with those promoted on the programme. These initial observations and their connection to the stories of individual teachers prompted a methodological approach that would possibly identify what those beliefs were and how they evolved in the personal narratives of teachers on the programme. I sought to discover how those teachers legitimated their orientations and discover if the influence of the programme was apparent in those elaborations.

Utilising an Legitimation Code Theory (LCT) (Maton, 2014), which identifies the legitimation of the basis and focus of EAP knowledge and practices, this thesis intends to uncover the underlying principles which inform practice from the perspective of teachers and those directing the programme. The further intention is to suggest how teachers may or may not align with the views of the programme, possibly transforming their identities. It will then be argued how a narrow, *local* conception of EAP might be problematic for the professional development of teachers and the learning of their students.

1.8 Research aims

The aims of this research are as follows:

- To describe emergent identities in the context of a pre-sessional EAP programme
- To describe the influence of the programme on the formation and transformation of those identities
- To identify the principles underlying any influence
- To discuss the implications of how EAP is defined for teachers' professional development
- To discuss the implications for the future of pre-sessional EAP

1.8.1 Research questions

The research questions are: what are the organising principles behind the EAP programmes description of EAP? Do teachers tend to align their beliefs and practices to those principles? What professional identities are emergent in this context? What are the implications for teacher professional learning in the context of pre-sessional EAP?

1.9 Outline of the study

Following this introductory chapter, the thesis will be divided into six chapters. The chapters are outlined below.

1.9.1 Chapter 2. Construing *purpose* in EAP: the significance of local context and the problem of EAP teacher identity

Chapter 2 will firstly seek to describe, as a foundation, the nature of EAP as a field or sub-field of EFL (English as a foreign Language). In particular, the chapter will detail how EAP is heavily practice orientated and is therefore pragmatic in its response to the challenges of its context. It will be argued that the *local* or practice context exerts more influence on practitioners' identities as it attempts to construe EAP

The chapter further explores, by way of a literature review, the plausibility of the influence of local context (such as a pre-sessional programme) on teacher identities utilising similar studies that make such a claim.

1.9.2 Chapter 3. Social realism and the *power* of knowledge

Chapter 3 provides a rationale for suggesting the influence of the programme by way of a discussion of the merits of a *realist* philosophical and methodological approach to the problem. The chapter moves from suggesting the primacy of agency as *the* mechanism which is responsible for the personal reflexivity necessary for any deliberation or thoughts and acts regarding EAP and its practice to describe how agency activates the power of structure, that is, in the case presented here; the constraints and enablements of the local structure or pre-sessional programme. However, although one espouses the primacy of agency this chapter argues, with the support of literature e.g. Bernstein, that the knowledge that informs EAP practice is *recontextualised* in an attempt to guide its purpose, deduce and interpret its value, towards certain goal orientations. It is proposed in this chapter, in order to support

the hypothesis, that structured organisations; the university, programme, and relations with other entities, seek to control the rules, norms, content and even actors that construe knowledge, thus, possibly influencing the thoughts and acts of practitioners present.

1.9.3 Chapter 4. Research design and methodology

In Chapter 4 methodological approaches are presented as are their limitations. This chapter particularly describes the use of Legitimation Code Theory and how it can elucidate the underlying principles informing practice. The chapter describes the tools used to analyse data in the form of *translation devices* which help to map the data to the theory.

1.9.4 Chapter 5. EAP teacher identities on a pre-sessional program at a UK university: themes and commonalities

Chapter 5 presents the narratives of the participants in the study of identities based on the data gathered through interview, observation, informal conversations and documents. The chapter attempts to establish common themes and areas or dimensions of interest that can help further the analysis.

1.9.5 Chapter 6. Specialising EAP: meaning making in the local context

I will discuss how, through the LCT dimensions of *specialisation* and *semantic gravity*, EAP practitioners on the programme legitimise their practice towards their perceived bases to knowledge, focus of knowledge and the degree to which those views are context dependent. In turn, incorporating the pedagogical practice of Framing, I will detail how the programme legitimises certain practices to provide a 'localised' interpretation of EAP.

1.9.6 Chapter 7. Conclusions and implications for EAP teacher professional learning and practice

The final chapter serves as a conclusion and a discussion of the implications of the findings of the study on teacher identities and on the field of EAP. In this chapter the suggestion of a further emergent identity and its potential to influence the transformation of EAP teaching and learning is described. Ending the written thesis, I will detail the significance of the study and its limitations.

1.9.7 Chapter 8. Appendices

The final chapter comprises the appendices giving examples of analysis and the documents associated with the ethical process of instigating this research.

Chapter 2. Construing *purpose* in EAP: the significance of local context and the problem of EAP teacher identity

2.1 What does EAP *mean*?

In considering a rationale for this study, some questions dominated my thoughts and *had d*ominated my thoughts on entering the field a number of years ago. They were/are: what is EAP and what is its purpose? What was apparent when attempting to answer these questions was that they did not have simple answers. Any answer, it seemed, was open to a counterattack by those with opposing views. What was noticeable was that there were contestations within the literature and between the literature and those involved in the practice of EAP. As in the literature, practitioners would have different views on what EAP is and what its purpose should be. This presented a problem that would solicit a response that would not solely be concerned with detailing descriptions of purpose but also why there appeared to be three sources of interpretation; the literature, institutions and practitioners and that they were not exactly *on the same page*. Differing meanings had been construed.

This chapter, in reviewing the literature, seeks to begin to respond to the problem posed above and asks further questions to explore it further. Among those questions are: What is the nature of EAP? Why are there a variety of descriptions? How is *purpose* understood? What is the connection between purpose and context? How do those three sources of interpretation influence each other? And what might be the effects on thoughts about practice and practice itself?

By the end of the chapter, I hope to challenge the tendency in research on EAP practice to overlook structural influences on the thoughts and acts of teachers and to promote the need to understand how the dynamics of identity play a role in the manifestation of practice problems and concerns.

2.2 The nature of EAP: *articulating* the field

Before one considers EAP pre-sessional teacher identity, it is necessary to spend some time discussing the EAP field itself as a sub-field of English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL). The use of articulating here is purposeful as it encapsulates the problematic in the field, that is, its pluralistic, contentious bases for *legitimate* knowledge (*see* Chapter 3) providing

for multiple articulations in practice. More succinctly, there are many voices in the field possessing different articulations of what the field effectively is and the role it serves within academia. However, at the same time articulation is an issue itself in EAP teacher identities and will reappear in the discussion further below. How the field is articulated would quite reasonably impact upon identities as it is intrinsically related to *meaning making*. One should also expect that such articulations will most likely differ according to perspective and context and that its effects will vary depending on many factors including the organisational structures orchestrating its practice. This is what may rightfully be considered both a strength and a weakness of EAP; its pragmatism (*see* Benesch, 2001).

When attempting a definition of the field of English for Academic Purposes one is immediately faced with questions pertaining to how English as a second or additional language is understood in relation to academic *purposes*. How, indeed, do we define purpose? I can at least begin with the statement that EAP, as a particular strand of English for Specific Purposes and distinct from the larger field of English as a Foreign or Second Language, has specialist content, and is often practised in particular learning contexts e.g. higher education. Some may argue that the sub-field also possesses a distinct teaching and learning methodology (Watson -Todd, 2003, p. 149). The content of EAP might then serve as a starting point from which we can commence an articulation. If we understand content as some of the properties that constitute the field, then establishing what they might be is central to its conception. A seemingly simple task, one might conjecture, but on exploring the literature, EAP content is somewhat intertwined with purpose, therefore any discussion of content may require attention to what EAP is *for*. To abstract purpose, it is maybe desirable to further contextualise the discipline within wider developments in higher education and academia.

The expansion of higher education since the middle of the Twentieth Century has seemingly coincided with globalisation, understood here in relation to higher education as: “the reality shaped by an increasingly integrated world economy, new information and communications technology (ICT), the emergence of an international knowledge network, the role of the English language, and other forces beyond the control of academic institutions” (Altbach et al, 2009, p. iv). A perceived necessity to embed institutions within an international context has led to policies and programmes

that encourage “sending students to study abroad, setting up a branch campus overseas, or engaging in some type of inter-institutional partnership” (p. iv). What is clear from these developments is *mobility*, not only that of *study abroad*, but also of a kind of economic mobility one which centres on gaining a proficiency in an international language. In an academic context the “[t]he growth of English as the leading language for the dissemination of academic knowledge has had a major impact around the world, binding the careers of thousands of scholars to their competence in a foreign language and elevating this competence to a professional imperative” (Hyland and Hamp – Lyons, 2002, p. 2). Therefore, as a distinct branch of ESP, EAP, has emerged partly in response to an increasing demand globally of English and its use in the academy. This demand is bound up with *needs* as Jordan (2002) points out in the early development of the field in the UK in the 1970s and its transformation from *language support for international study* to *English for Academic Study* and a focus on specific linguistic needs necessary for academic study. Tutors from a handful of British universities collaborated in identifying needs through the collection of data and held meetings that emphasised materials development, SELMOUS (Special English Language Materials for Overseas University Students) was the resulting organisation formed out of the collaborations (p. 71). ESP and EAP by association “has tended to be a practical affair, most interested in investigating needs, preparing teaching materials, and devising appropriate teaching methodologies” (Dudley-Evans, in Benesch, 2001, p. ix). Indeed, investigations as *needs analyses* identify “the types of tasks, skills, and behaviors required of learners in present and future target situations” (Benesch, 2001, p. 8). According to Benesch, in the 1980s there was a notable shift in favour of context-based acquisition rather than simply on linguistic and rhetorical forms. Needs analyses, thus, might be more specific, known as *present situation analyses* (what they need in their current learning context) and *target situation analyses* (what they need in their destination departments and fields). Into the 1990s and up to the present day, EAP, without necessarily abandoning any linguistic analysis, is largely oriented towards an emphasis on study skills and strategies (p. 8). *Student-centred* needs have arguably (de Chazal, 2012) become a structuring principle in research attention and pedagogical concerns and thus a seemingly incontestable assumption of the field’s purpose (*See* Bruce, 2011). For Hutchison and Waters (1987, p. 53), “[a]ll courses

are based on a perceived need of some sort. Otherwise why would English find its way on to a school or college timetable…" From this one may invoke a *logic* of needs that structures EAP, a type of *institutional field logic.* Institutional logics may be defined as "the socially constructed, historical patterns of cultural symbols and material practices, including assumptions, values, and beliefs, by which individuals and organizations provide meaning to their daily activity, organize time and space, and reproduce their lives and experiences" (Thornton et al, 2012). Articulation, then, more than simple description of characteristics, is moreover an act of semantics or even ideational *persuasion*.

The attention to needs as a defining characteristic of EAP is closely related to its perceived purposes. Thus, how one perceives needs and the needs of those requiring EAP, will in large part structure how one defines its purpose. Teachers, students, administrators, and managers are some of those who may affect purpose, as well as organisations, the market and certain ideologies (e.g. neo-liberalism). Needs of learners of academic English will not rest solely on linguistic features of the language but also on specificity, genre, disciplines, on skills, academic culture and conventions, communication, and the development of the student as a subject. All the same, its pragmatic stance is clearly evident in the continued attention to context specific needs, local solutions and short-term goals. The idea of a monolithic EAP with a distinct linguistic purpose is unrepresentative of the complexity of the field as it has evolved and as it now stands.

> A marked change in more recent years has been the greater attention paid to academic culture, i.e. the higher education system, subject specialist conventions regarding staff and student relationships and expectations, and writing conventions. Awareness has also been raised regarding cultural conventions and learning styles, for example, the need for students to be able to read and reason critically, not just to accept what is printed in articles or books (Jordan, 2002, p. 73).

Despite the complexity, it is clear from the literature in EAP, at least, that needs are often directed towards certain objectives, one most prominent being the development of a *communicative competency* (Hyland, 2006). Again, *competency* itself might be utilised in an institutional logic structuring beliefs about needs and of practice, and indeed *actual* practice. Communicative competency (a field logic) is foundational to EAP as is a kind of goal-orientation. "[T]he goal of most naturally

occurring or out-of-school language learning has always been the development of useful communication skills to meet needs of immediate or long-term social interaction" (Savignon, 2007, p. 208). Within an academic context one might envisage the communicative needs of students and academics as those that are necessary within one's discipline and beyond, from text-types to assessment and presentation modes not to mention transferrable vocational skills demanded by employers (Hyland, 2006, p. 3). Communicative competency as a pedagogical concern, as Savignon suggests, can be further separated into four theoretical components developed by Canale and Swain (1980) and Canale (1983) based on earlier work on the communicative approach to language learning by writers such as Hymes. The model according to Canale and Swain (1980), and Canale (1983) includes *grammatical competence* or "knowledge of lexical items, rules of morphology, syntax, sentence-grammar semantics, and phonology", and *sociolinguistic competence* or "sociocultural rules of use and rules of discourse". In addition, there is *strategic competence:*

> This component is made up of verbal and non-verbal communication strategies that may be called into action to compensate for breakdowns in communication due to performance variables or to insufficient competence. Such strategies will be made of two main types: those that relate primarily to grammatical competence (e,g, how to paraphrase grammatical forms that one has not mastered or cannot recall momentarily) and those that relate more to sociolinguistic competence (e.g. various role-playing strategies, how to address strangers when unsure of their social status)(Canale and Swain, 1980, pp. 30-31).

The final component, that is, *discourse competence* "concerns mastery of how to combine grammatical forms and meaning to achieve a unified spoken or written text in different genres" which may include oral or written narratives, essays and reports. This component also requires competency in *cohesion in form* which refers to a text's structure and *coherence in meaning* which "refers to the relationships among the different meanings in a text, where these meanings may be literal meanings, communicative functions, and attitudes" (Canale, 1983, p. 9). Language education professionals can focus their attention on these competencies to facilitate their students' development of effective communication within their particular context. This assumes arguably that, "the target context for language use can be identified and specified precisely" (Alexander, 2012, p. 101). For Hyland (2006, pp. 3-4) the

changing nature of developments in communicative contexts is not only what EAP must respond to but also what gives it purpose.

> English for Academic Purposes is the language teaching profession's response to these developments, with the expansion of students studying in English leading to parallel increases in the number of EAP courses and teachers. Central to this response is the acknowledgement that the complexity and immediacy of the challenges outlined above cannot be addressed by some piecemeal remediation of individual error. Instead, EAP attempts to offer systematic, locally managed, solution-oriented approaches that address the pervasive and endemic challenges posed by academic study to a diverse student body by focusing on student needs and discipline-specific communication skills.

A brief glance at the front page of the Journal of English for Academic Purposes (JEAP) at Elsevier states that it accepts "articles, book reviews, conference reports, and academic exchanges in the linguistic, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic descriptions of English as it occurs in the contexts of academic study and scholarly exchange itself." Thus, contexts inform the content which is then necessarily diverse. EAP as a research field is multi-disciplinary consisting of specialisms that would naturally contribute to its complex communicative premise and even "to understand the nature of disciplinary knowledge itself" (Hyland, 2006, p. 2) particularly when one considers the argument for specificity. This pragmatic field is then situated between applied linguistics and education (p. 8) with great attention to the academic needs of students. "It is, in short, specialised English-language teaching grounded in the social, cognitive and linguistic demands of academic target situations, providing focused instruction informed by an understanding of texts and the constraints of academic contexts" (p. 2).

The wider trend towards communicative competency, for example, is common to both general EFL and EAP, as is a turn towards wider skills development but it is in target situations and contextual constraints that we may see how the dynamic of pragmatism may differ. Those conditions and *constraints* might be described as *mechanisms* in defining and directing the purpose of EAP and are analytically distinct from general EFL due to its specialism. This thesis, in part, seeks to illuminate this difference in the description of the processes of *recontextualisation*. This, as is described below, is the process by which influential agents and organisations may redefine what EAP means. This may be from government and

government associated organisations, from universities and from the EAP discipline in its knowledge-building enterprises. Additionally, and importantly, the reshaping of meaning and purpose will be discussed through the influence of those local management organisations that enact it in practice *via* EAP programmes.

The pragmatic nature of EAP is evident in the debate over its content and that can be seen as a positive in the progressive evolution of the field. Multiple voices in the debate over EAP content is not necessarily a negative but one wonders if that debate, left so long unclosed renders the field open to external manipulation. Its purpose then seized to serve other or multiple agendas. Establishing the meaning of purpose as it relates to English in academic study is a difficult task, as pragmatism would suggest that purpose will always be a response to contingency. An illustrative example of this, discussed further below, was how the programme, its managers and administrative coordinators, responded to the conditions set by the British Council to attain accreditation. A part of this response was to require teachers to adjust their practice along the lines of what the Council would *like* to see. What is being suggested here is that the purpose of EAP is not only to respond to contingency but that it is responsive to the demands of others not immediately of its own organisation. In short, local management and programme orientations and practice are not only influenced by non-local voices but are to a large extent *structured* by them in the form of *constraints* and *enablements*. The *what* and *who* in EAP, or the *knowledge* and *knowers* in the field are legitimised and logically justified in descriptions of purpose and needs, and that those voices are seemingly hierarchical in their power to influence. Chapter 3 will explore these arguments further but at this point I will expand on the problem of purpose relating to types of programme in the practice arena.

2.3 The problem of purpose: in-sessional and pre-sessional EAP programmes

Despite EAP being complex in its various focuses, e.g. materials design, linguistic descriptions, innovations in teaching and assessment, discoursal structures of texts, it is still dominated by its manifestations in practice settings (*see* Hyland and Shaw, 2016, p. 2). That is to say: a pedagogical enterprise mostly conducted in universities around the world and more particularly in anglophone nations. Its *academic* research informed background is sometimes at odds with a utilitarian *service* logic influencing

its practice (Ding and Bruce, 2017). This practical orientation bound up in a utilitarian logic centred on mending a linguistic/skills deficiency has arguably marginalised EAP in higher education, creating a *third-space* in which the EAP unit resides; somewhere between academic department and service department (Hadley, 2015). A view of the purpose of EAP as only to *fix* the language and skills discrepancies of students may indeed limit its scope and trajectory towards helping students negotiate and potentially thrive in new discourse communities (Hyland, 2006). This orientation of purpose might be seen as central to EAP practice, and whichever orientation guides practice will undoubtedly influence learning outcomes. It may then be simply imagined as a support service to aid students in their principal academic pursuits in a discipline or even confirmation of its position in the academic pecking order under the tutelage of departments (Hyland and Shaw, 2016; Raimes, 1991; Ruane, 2003). Some argue that there has been a purposive shift towards viewing EAP as a service in HE particularly by those concerned in recruiting ever larger numbers of international students for the financial gain of institutions (Hadley, 2015). The resituating of the EAP unit, that conducts the pre-sessional programme in this study, from the English department into Academic Services, may be influenced by such assumptions on its utility. Whether or not this is truly the case, the point is that views on its purpose are not only from within the field but also from actors and organisations not directly concerned with its practice, and who can sometimes exercise more influence on its direction than might be first assumed.

If one looks at EAP provision in most HE settings in the UK, this utilitarian purpose can be first identified in the types of programmes on offer. Although programmes vary in their content, structure, orientation and management we can at least identify two main types that operate at most UK universities: those being *in-sessional* and *pre-sessional* EAP programmes. The discussion of *what* and *who* and purpose cannot be adequately described without comparing the difference between programmes. Quite clearly the general purpose of each may be described as: to prepare students for academic study in English and/or prepare them for academic life in an anglophone context (pre-sessional); to support students in their academic study whilst undertaking a programme of study in English at a HE institution (in-sessional). Universities advertise their courses stating similar general descriptions of purpose. They claim that courses are for those who need to improve their language

and language skills to the appropriate level whether to enable them to enter a programme of academic study or to progress on one they are already enrolled on. One example description of a pre-sessional programme is similarly general in its description of its purpose.

> The Presessional courses are designed to help you improve your English language and academic skills in a relatively short period of time, developing your accuracy and fluency in English for academic study (University of Birmingham, 2020).

An example of an in-sessional programme lists its aims more precisely (London School of Economics, 2020):

> The programme aims to:
>
> • enhance confidence, fluency and competence in English for Academic and Specific Purposes;
>
> • practise the key language skills, with a particular emphasis on academic writing and speaking;
>
> • encourage independent learning;
>
> • improve associated and transferable skills such as: presentation, research and interpersonal skills[.]

What is most obvious when comparing the different programmes across a number of institutions is that the pre-sessional courses seek to aid the development of a wider range of skills to enable an initial adjustment to UK academic life and relatively equal weighting to the four language skills; reading, writing, listening and speaking. Whilst in-sessionals do provide support in the four skills and other academic skills their emphasis is on the two language production skills; speaking and writing. This attention to generic and specific skills is problematised in the debate in EAP over whether to adopt a *general* approach (EGAP) or a *Specific* approach (ESAP). General EAP would focus on a variety of skills and language systems that are found throughout all academic discourse and communication, whereas ESAP would identify the nuances of discipline specific discourse and communication. One would assume, then, that pre-sessionals would utilise the former and in-sessionals the later but some pre-sessionals do divide along discipline specific lines. Most, however, adopt an EGAP approach even if the programme is divided along loosely defined subject areas, such as the one on this study. Without going into the debate deeply,

the arguments for and against each approach have their merit but the issue of needs and for some *practicality* influence the decision. De Chazal (2012, p. 146) suggests this:

> In short, the contexts in which ESAP is most likely to thrive are those with sufficient numbers of students in single or cognate disciplines to form viable classes led by EAP practitioners with the time and resources to convincingly investigate these disciplines. In-sessional courses are most likely to provide these conditions, although frequently there is a low student to discipline ratio: in other words there are, say, fifty students representing a dozen disciplines – rather than a dozen (or viable class size number of) students per discipline. Pedagogical niceties notwithstanding, non-viable class sizes mean a de facto EGAP approach. Pre-sessional courses, together with most foundation, preparatory, and lower level courses are likely to work best following an EGAP approach.

Of course, considering the needs and practicalities of students at the stage they access these programmes, the above descriptions of purpose of either pre-sessional or in-sessional programmes are unsurprising. But it is noticeable in the pre-sessional example that a deficiency orientation influences the description of purpose, less so in the in-sessional example. If a difference between the purpose of each programme is one based on either attending to language and skills deficiencies on the one hand and helping aid academic literacy on the other, then, this provides some indication of locally divergent orientations emergent and dependant on perceived purpose and need. It is not a stretch to imagine that such orientations could influence the beliefs, ideas, and practices of teachers on those programmes. It is therefore vital to recognise that in detailing how a programme has influence on practice it is necessary to understand how programmes differ in their respective missions. If research fails to detail those differences, then providing possible explanations for the emergence of certain phenomena such as identities will be piecemeal and unconvincing. Hadley's (2015) work describing a largely powerless EAP teacher and EAP unit in the positioning of EAP within the neo-liberal ideological orienting gaze of universities. This underplays the importance of EAP units and programmes in shaping those orientations. Indeed, the *local* factor is given little attention beyond the *Command and Control* of the ambiguous "university" in his descriptions.

2.4 Purpose and context: construing EAP for *local* practice

Thus far, I have described the purpose of EAP in the field's literature and how those purposes are shaped by the perceived needs of students at certain points in their English medium higher education; the difference between pre-sessional and in-sessional programmes providing the main example. Whilst identifying that differing perspectives of purpose in relation to needs in the literature appear to have influenced the orientations of certain programmes e.g. EGAP *versus* ESAP, it is therefore evident that local sites of practice (universities, departments and EAP units) are more than simple benign administrators. Moreover, they are directly involved in how EAP is understood, what students should learn and sometimes *how* they should learn. This then suggests that there should exist differing understanding, beliefs, ideas and practices. As I have already clearly stated, the aim of this thesis is to suggest the influence of a pre-sessional programme on the professional identities of its teachers. The problem lies, however, in; *how* can this be known. What substantive aspects of practice can serve as a lens to illuminate such influence, at least tentatively at this stage. One such area might be in the *enactment of curriculum.*

2.4.1 A discursive gap and curriculum enactment

Kirk (2018), also researching in the context of a summer pre-sessional programme in the UK, observed how an EAP curriculum was *locally* enacted i.e. through the programme. Kirk (p.3) observed a *double enactment;* "firstly, from the values and beliefs shaping the pre-sessional ethos into curriculum, and then from pedagogic materials into classroom practices." Values and beliefs may be considered central to understanding how identities are formed and transformed, and as *thoughts* and potential *acts,* they might be recognised as pedagogical practices themselves rather than simply what lie behind acts, and thus provide a window to the principles that may be underlying them. I will discuss this in more detail in Chapter 3. But it is important to note at this stage that if locally construed values and beliefs inform programmes and later practices themselves then it is necessary to consider *how* that may occur. Kirk identified previously unapparent principles underlying the ethos of the programme and, through mediums such as staff meetings, this message was passed to recipients, namely, the programme teachers. These principles are organising in that they influence legitimation of *what* should be taught and learnt, e.g. programme content. Kirk noted that there was a strong legitimation of *disciplinary*

knowledge (ESAP) as a more generic *cover all bases approach* (EGAP) that might be assumed as typical of pre-sessional courses. He concluded that specificity depended on the discipline specific thread e.g. law, and the stage of the course. In terms of how that influence was made, explicitly, he described an *organising principle* behind such acts of legitimation: “what matters, both as a student and as teacher, is less 'who you are' and the embodied experience you bring, and more the realisation of defined ways of thinking and practising” (p. 161). This was evidenced in how content was *recontextualised* or purposive focusing on certain perceived needs of students e.g. the process of essay writing. “That is, disciplinary knowledge (e.g. as codified in a journal paper) is recontextualised as curricular knowledge: as instances of writing that exemplify target teaching concepts” (p. 215). The content found in the coursebook materials on the general EAP pathway of the postgraduate pre-sessional in my study also was also evidence of this in how it builds progressively towards the production of essays. The materials utilise a corpus-based approach to analyse language and text structure, as well as aspects such as bibliographic conventions. The business strand, however, with its discipline specific focus, targets the production of other text types e.g. reports and non-written production skills such as for presentations and seminars, skills less emphasised on the general pathway.

Kirk (2018) found that certain concepts (as *knowledge*) relating to EAP were shaped according to legitimising principles centred on the perceived needs of students formulated into the programme’s ethos, and subsequently *contextualised* then enacted in the form of curriculum. This representing an initial localised enactment. The curriculum was then enacted a second time in the pedagogy of the teachers on the programme. Kirk saw evidence of the first enactment in the second enactment or practices of many of the teachers indicating a strong influence of the programme’s reformulation of EAP on their *thoughts* and *acts*. This did not, however, necessitate that the first enactment was always so evident in *all* teachers’ practices, which reminds me of one of the teachers in my own study claiming not to follow the curriculum and simply adopting a more inductive approach in the classroom guided by what she felt the students needed on a class by class basis. One wonders to what extent the teacher was able to do this under the constraints of the programme and its focus on essay writing. Important to my study, whether or not the teacher enacts curriculum is almost irrelevant, the fact that teachers respond emotionally to it is

indicative of its occurrence and influence on them. The problem of purpose is again evident, as any divergence in practices may well be a *mistranslation* of what the reasons or orientations were behind them. The difference in enactment between what is envisage as legitimate by the programme developers and that of the teachers is interesting in terms of identity and the possible multiple understandings of what EAP means and how it should be practised in the pre-sessional context.

2.4.2 Understanding purpose: the problem of *negotiating* the local context

An issue that cannot be dismissed at this juncture and suggested by Kirk (2018) is the question of differing beliefs and values of teachers empirically identified in their practices and more particularly between teachers on in-sessional and pre-sessional programmes. Although many in-sessional teachers are likely to be hired on short-term contracts, one can assume that they have experience in the field and also have experienced the influence of the recontextualised EAP in their local practice context. In effect they have learnt the *what*, *why*, *who* and *how* taught through their programme's ethos, through meetings, texts, curriculum and through their own interpretation of curriculum, amongst other things. But what of the pre-sessional teacher, as Kirk described, mostly contracted for the short-term and coming from backgrounds not necessarily in EAP? It is true that many return each year and may have learnt the *rules* but often they are entering the field for the first time due to the demand of expanding international student numbers. The programme serves as formative experience of EAP for some, learning what EAP means as it is locally construed. Of course, this is not necessarily *tabula rasa* professional learning with regard to the *what*, *why* and *how* of EAP in practice but it still might provide an experience that more succinctly packages the what, why and how of EAP. Many (e.g. Jordan, 2002; Alexander, 2012; Martin, 2014; Campion, 2016) argue that the transition from EFL/ESOL into EAP (often pre-sessionals) is far from smooth as the skills learnt prior to entering EAP practice are not sufficient in more context-oriented field. The skills of *how to teach* so prized in general EFL/ESOL teaching are now challenged by a demand to focus on content, genre, and the technicalities of constructing complex texts, not to mention the subtle nuances of discipline specific vocabulary. Content is one thing but also teachers would need to guide their students on the complexities of academic culture that may differ from their experiences in their home countries. One such area could be developing

autonomous learning skills; another could be developing criticality. Without specific training in these and many other aspects of content and modality, the new EAP teacher will likely struggle or negotiate her way through as she feels appropriate without recourse to a more grounded knowledge and experience. I myself found that without any thorough training I had to mull over what was necessary, when and where over 10 weeks without a great deal of support in the form of a rationale based curriculum that might detail the steps and reasons for them towards clear and achievable goals. I remember a question I asked when given the course materials for the first time, one many of my colleagues had probably asked before: “how do I construct a series of lessons from this?” I remember one concerned colleague explaining, after being given a mechanical engineering class (although the curriculum was EGAP focused), without any familiarity with that discipline’s knowledge content and vocabulary, and that she had not written an essay for years and had not even done a master’s degree despite being recruited to a postgraduate pre-sessional programme. Her background was in general EFL and her qualifications were EFL specific including DELTA. The feeling of being dropped in at the deep end is not uncommon, as is a feeling of isolation and marginalisation (Jordan, 2002). If a new teacher has not engaged with EAP specific training, EAP literature or experienced its practice in a variety of settings then one might suggest that they may be less critical of the what, why and how made legitimate on the programme they have joined or they may well, whilst experiencing isolation from colleagues, turn to their own experience and construe the needs and priorities of their students in a more eclectic fashion.

Such a negotiation is evident in research conducted by Heron and Webster (2019). They identified differences in how pre-sessional and in-sessional teachers used *classroom talk* to achieve pedagogic goals. As discussed above, those goals were built around the perceived purpose of each programme. The pre-sessional was oriented towards students being prepared for the discourse community that they would be joining, and the in-sessional; towards the further development of skills and language more closely aligned to their disciplines. The research described the difference in how experienced (not specifying whether they were experienced EAP specific teachers or from other more recent ESOL/EFL backgrounds) teachers on each programme scaffolded pedagogic goals. What they found was that in-sessional

teachers tended towards more explicit use of talk to link classroom activities and learning outcomes of a given lesson to longer term goals and expectations. In short, a closer “alignment between the classroom talk and the pedagogic goal (p. 367)” and the pre-sessional teachers being more ambiguous with the connection, concentrating more on “eliciting ideas, preparing students for the main academic skills aim of the lesson through vocabulary teaching, use of pictures [and] generally setting the scene[.]” This clear purposeful use of talk, such as to indicate future obligation or modality relating to incremental levels of need, may or may not be utilised in an efficient way in pre-sessional classes due to, as Heron and Webster (2019, p. 367) themselves suggest, the lack of an orientation towards an academic discipline of the more context focused nature of in-sessionals. Indeed, the limitations of the purpose of the programme perceived by teachers, related to the achievement of shorter term goals may impede linkages to longer term goals. Teachers may wish to be efficient in a sense as to not restrict goal setting to the immediate context of say passing the pre-sessional course. Teachers are arguably negotiating their way through what is appropriate when, where and for what purpose. They could be battling internal conflicts, deliberating on the needs of students with their expectations and the desired learning outcomes of lessons and even the requirements of assessments and departments. A lot to do on often intensive programmes with, in some instances, little training or support. For some (Colby and Sullivan, 2008), professional learning contexts may narrow down purpose to the development of certain professional knowledges or skills, less the moral and ethical values that may underpin them. One wonders if professional purpose gets conflated with a limited range of practice expectations.

Heron and Webster (2019) do suggest how the understanding of the purpose of each programme affects pedagogical decisions, little attention is paid to what the true influence of the ethos of each programme is on the thoughts and acts of the teachers. They also comment on how the education of teachers may be directed to helping better guide their learners towards their goals, through more efficient and purposeful teacher talk. Whilst one might agree with this proposal, attention to the influence of programmes on the practice of teachers might be necessary to address those suggestions. Programme leaders may wish to reflect on the *what*, why and

how of their interpretation of EAP and its purpose, and how that might be influencing practitioners.

It is still then plausible that the professional learning context that is the programme may provide a confused or incomplete message allowing for a varied number of interpretations as to the purpose of EAP and the specific purpose of the programme.

2.5 Beyond *classroom* problems

If, as researchers of education, our attention is responding to or providing solutions to problems arising from practices such as curriculum enactment or appropriate *teacher talk* in scaffolding learning, then our focus should, as the problem dictates, turn to investigations into what, why and how a problem manifests. Although the problems, like those observed in classrooms, texts or assessments are realities and interesting in themselves, their observable manifestations could be indicative of *deeper* problems. Realities of the type that, whatever the empirical observation might be, are not always most obvious on initial appearances. The above description of the transition to EAP, the lack of specific training and collegial guidance and isolation may not be immediately apparent if research is too focused on *chalk face* problems. Although studies such as Heron and Webster's do recognise shortfalls in the professional learning of EAP teachers, one feels a more *retroductive* (*See* Bhaskar, 1997) angle to their research may shed more light on the problems they identified with *teacher talk*. What this means is that simple descriptions from observation, or the reliance on *face value* explanations from teacher's experiences will not be sufficient. Indeed, we could be missing fundamental and influential phenomena that is not always so apparent.

For Kirk (2018) initial observations exposed the existence of a *discursive gap* between, on the one hand, how EAP is understood in the wider field, and how it's understood in practice contexts by EAP units and teachers. This gap (*See* Bernstein, 2000) allows for not only differing understandings to be construed but also divergent practices to emerge. If this is the case, then each local site of practice could provide differing emergent practices and problems. Kirk identified how, by analysing curriculum enactment on the part of the programme, it was evident that a purposeful recontextualisation of EAP occurred and influenced the enactment practices of teachers. In turn, this prompted him to look further into the realities of enactment

practices uncovering organising principles behind what was deemed legitimate in local practice. Of course, those problems *at the chalk face* are vital to enable us to seek what deeper problems there may be influencing those practices. But arguably superficial issues of regularity of occurrence or a multitude of types of occurrences or action may lead us to overlook or underplay what is behind such events. These are issues of ontology and epistemology that sometimes restrict the explanatory power of research. I will address this further in Chapters 3 and 4.

Again, it is plausible that not only is there a divergence of meanings between practitioners, those in the production of knowledge of EAP and those intermediaries recontextualisation it for local concerns, but also among teachers depending on their experience of EAP and their regular engagement on the programme. The rationale for conducting this study was indeed informed by apparent divergent understandings of teachers, and a noticeable difference among teachers who had returned to the programme over many years and those who were relatively new to it.

2.6 Embodied experience, meaning making, and the problem of identity

Kirk's (2018) research describes how the differing practices of teachers relates to how they interpret content and its intended purpose and goal, one the one hand, and how that was influenced by the recontextualising efforts of those charged with managing and directing the pre-sessional programme. EAP content and knowledge is thus transformed locally to what is perceived to best fit the projected needs of students. He found that an organising principle behind the programme's legitimation of what EAP *means* is: "what matters, both as a student and as teacher, is less 'who you are and the embodied experience you bring, and more the realisation of defined ways of thinking and practising" (p. 161). This suggests then that despite what a teacher may already have learnt, or know and despite what they think works or is best for their students, such experience may or may not be deemed of value to the immediate concerns of the programme. An extreme example of this as described further below in this thesis, could even be thought of as a kind of *gatekeeping* or controlling who, dependent on their skills and experience shall enter or remain in the local field of practice. This control apparently selects for legitimate knowledge, e.g. teaching skills over specialised content knowledge, as selective criteria in recruitment and retainment. I might, therefore, hasten to hypothesise a reverse of

the organising principle Kirk described of his programme, but I am cautious to do so as there are some contradictions to be dealt with. I say contradictions, but rather, one might suggest; an issue of transformation and recontextualisation. What matters may equally be both *who you are* and *the realisation of defined ways of thinking and practising*. Although the *who* is defined by what legitimate knowledge you possess.

Who you are and ways of thinking and practising are central to researching the problems relating to EAP and EAP practice and central to the concerns addressed in this thesis; the influence of a pre-sessional programme on the identities of its teachers. Who you are and ways of thinking and practising are intrinsically connected with identity as both require the making of beliefs and values. This requires that identity be not only seen as an object or manifestation of observable characteristics (identities) but a *mechanism* in the realisation of pedagogical problems. Without attempting a reductionist description of identity, at this stage, I simply want to foreground what makes it possible. One such description might be that it is more than just *being* but also *doing.* Han (2017), in summarising the literature on what constitutes English teacher professional identity offers a simple illustration of its components, those being, cognition, emotion and action. The interplay between these components is what gives rise to meanings and, in negotiation with the meanings of others, the legitimation of socially agreed meanings. Han's study suggests, also, that the shape that conflicts and legitimations take is influenced by the "English language teaching environment." This is to suggest that realisations, especially when considering divergences like those described in curriculum or in teacher talk, are impossible without the psychological and sociological dynamics of identity, as it serves as a meaning-making lens. The pre-sessional teacher turns up on the programme with thoughts and feelings about herself and her practice, which in discursive interactions with her peers, can be consolidated, rejected, or reformed. What materialises at the chalk face may likely be a result of that dynamic. Why this is central to resolving problems in EFL and EAP is elucidated by Han (p. 549): "Conceptualisation of English teachers' professional identity and comprehension of its dynamics may help policy-makers or curriculum designers comprehend the mechanisms and rationales of policy success or failure in relation to teacher roles and values."

Ding and Bruce (2017) in describing the often-dichotomous interpretations of the purpose of EAP, as either a support service or as an academic field, also foreground the issue of identity of practitioners. If, under the service logic, EAP practitioners are supposed to educate students in their transition to and guidance through a novel discourse community, then a limited focus on the four language skills and other at times ambiguous *academic skills* will not suffice with expectations much wider in their promise. In short, teachers are unprepared for a complex role that cannot be narrowed down to supporting the acquisition of a number of skills. The support service view of EAP influences an identity akin to

> that of a technician, who is able to execute pedagogic technique competently, employing commodified, commercially produced materials, and producing teaching and learning outcomes that quantifiable and measurable. The practitioner assigned the 'butler stance' [see Raimes, 1991] identity has no need to consider theory or research as a basis for practice, but rather any professional development undertaken is essentially technical, relating to pedagogic method and the achievement of efficiency (p.9).

The ethos or mission of a pre-sessional programme may seek to promote such an identity in the activity of its managers and programme coordinators. The extent to which these values are translated into practice will depend on certain constraints again imposed by the programme, for example, time limitations. The point here, though, is that such constraints are not in themselves immediate problems but are problematised in the acts of legitimation of values and practices. If we consider such constraints the other identity described by Ding and Bruce (2017, pp. 9-10) offers an interesting contrast.

> [T]he 'academic field of study' approach to EAP assumes a practitioner identity shaped by an active engagement with theory and research that connects with and informs practice. A practitioner with this type of identity tends to be personally oriented toward understanding the complexity of EAP students' needs and seeking to meet those needs through their own efforts. This type of identity has a problem-solving orientation towards practice. Typically, this will involve practitioners unravelling aspects of the discursive complexity of particular disciplinary discourses, and incorporating their findings or understandings into their pedagogy.

The problem exists, then, that an academic identity shaped through engagement in research and EAP related scholarship, has a long-term competency-based view on the needs of students and a *professional* identification with the field. As touched on

above, if most teachers on pre-sessional programmes are from general EFL/ESOL and have had little engagement in the academic field of EAP then their negotiation of values and practices will likely differ from peers or even align with an *ideal type* shaped by the programme under the conditions of the programme (e.g. isolation and lack of training). Ding and Bruce (2017) argue that despite a technicist identity being encouraged in universities the actual needs of students remain broader than short-term goals such as writing an essay. Students are unprepared if they can only utilise language systems, and practise receptive and productive skills towards a basic communicative competence. "EAP students need to develop discursive competence in order to participate in the activities and processes, and navigate the texts of academic courses and disciplinary research (p. 195)." The academic EAP practitioner, with their reflexive capacities can "undertake development in each of these areas, they are able to construct their understandings of their identity and agency in university contexts (p. 195)."

Embodied experience and the reflexivity necessary in identity formation and transformation (*see* Archer, 2003) is a central concern as it is what occurs at the chalkface as it is what makes meanings and what shapes practices. But we cannot stop there and brush over the influence that context has on shaping those meanings. As Ding and Bruce exemplify, the meanings already construed within their local contexts regarding the role and expectations that teachers perform but also the knowledges they are expected to pursue and demonstrate. The same could be said of our demands and expectations of students. For Ding and Bruce (2017, p. 195-196), the discursive construction of EAP within universities framed within two orientations i.e. the support service approach or academic literacy approach are fundamental in shaping understandings in many areas. Those being:

- how practitioner training and academic development should take place;
- the employment status of EAP practitioners;
- the goals, time frames and materials of EAP courses;
- the practitioner's role in relation to scholarship and research; and
- the practitioner's own identity and agency within their own field as well as within the wider university

The last being influenced by those preceding it. We might argue that a kind of *affordance-effectivity* problem arises when considering the influence of the two orientations. As Ding and Bruce (p. 196-199) elaborate, the service approach may expect or promote a sufficient knowledge base developed through a more generic professional education. Possessing a CELTA, PGCE and/or DELTA may be adequate to teach on a pre-sessional programme. On the job training may be centred more around *how to* rather than *what.* The *academic* would be required to demonstrate discipline specific scholarly activity at postgraduate level in specialist areas such as linguistics and job training may be focused on developing students understanding of the subtle nuances of their discourse community. The *service teacher* will be employed with the specific task of instruction and administration duties related to that and no obligation to pursue scholarly activity to guide practice, and advance knowledge in the field. Such an obligation would be part of the contract for the *academic teacher*. Materials and curriculum, for the service teacher will be mostly generic and focused on reception-production models of pedagogy with a view to developing a basic communicative competency without developing needs in discipline specific areas. Of course, for the academic teacher, the materials and curriculum will be more targeted to present and future contexts relevant to the discourse communities the students are preparing for or are already engaging in. In terms of role and identity, the service teacher constrained by the above descriptions is located in that third-space "useful because they enable the university to generate fee income from international students, but not essentially belonging to the knowledge-building, knowledge-communicating body of academic staff of the university. They is have requirement to carry out scholarly activity, research or publish (p. 198-199)." Scholarly work would be outside of expectations and secondary to their main role of instruction.

> In contrast, the 'academic field' view of EAP sees practitioners as participating in and contributing to the scholarly activity of the university, which involves communicating their own work in this area, such as through in-house or external presentations and achieving publication. In this role, they may also be involved in the wider activities of the university, such as collaborative, cross-disciplinary research, ethics reviews or tasks that relate to international students or international contacts (p. 199).

A sense of marginalisation and isolation experienced by the service teacher would be less pronounced in those engaged more fully in the academy.

Ding and Bruce (2017) describe the possible influence of institutional influences on teachers in EAP; through the framed discourses of understandings of EAP's purpose in higher education. They go on to suggest that the academic approach is preferable to properly educate our students; to prepare them for and help them engage in their chosen discourse communities more effectively. A knowledgeable and engaged professional teacher will likely be more equipped to enable that.

Ding and Bruce (2017) call for a realist stance that foregrounds the influence of structure and agency on the problems of EAP. They criticise how research in TESOL (and one supposes; EAP):

> demonstrates an antagonism to any meta-theory (particularly Marxism); promotion of ethical, ideological and epistemological relativism; sensitivity to and celebration of identities, difference and diversity; a focus on context, discourse and practices; a lack of belief in social progress; an anthropomorphic understanding of knowledge; and, most importantly, a deconstruction and dissolving of the self (p. 205).

A focus on context, discourse, and practices help us to identify problems in EAP from all directions not just from the lived experience of individuals. That experience could shed light on what enables and constrains thoughts and actions in the field. They may be seen as analytically distinct, and real, but influential on each other. Like Kirk (2019), Ding and Bruce's work highlights the problem of *knowledge* or our relationship to it. That relationship will be mediated by practices such as recontextualisation and thus affect our identities. I will investigate this further in the next chapter.

Whilst Ding and Bruce's (2017) study illuminates the institutional influences on identities they do not detail an issue at the centre of the problem; *how* it does so. Like Hadley (2015), their work seems to overlook the active role of EAP units and EAP programmes on shaping the orientation of EAP locally. Whilst suggesting the formation of identities under the above constraints, they say little on what identities *are*: a complaint raised by Han (2017). Seeing identities as more than just artefacts but as a dynamic meaning making lens is necessary in understanding how a programme of EAP affects them. They are, thus, not just transformed by their context, but transform themselves and also their context. Again, I will discuss this further in the next chapter.

2.7 Summary

In describing EAP as a diverse, contested, and pragmatic field, I identified a problem relating to practice. EAP practice and the knowledge that informs is differently understood and differently realised in different contexts dependent on perceived purpose and the needs of students. Programmes will be organised, and curriculum designed according to underlying principles that may not be of any one practitioner's making. These principles are the result of rationalising and justifying what needs to be prioritised to achieve certain goals in learning and achievement. These principles may be observed in the acts and artefacts of those operating in EAP practice settings, whether teacher, administrator, or manager. My early observations that there seemed to be a disconnect between perceptions of student needs between what I had read in the literature, the definitions of the pre-sessional programme and what teachers believed them to be, were evident in Kirk's (2018) study on curriculum enactment. Further to this, he suggested the purposive recontextualising of EAP, and its organising principle, through the pre-sessional programme, was evident in the enactment practices of teachers. This influence may explain why certain practices emerge rather than others. But what is also of interest is that divergent understandings of the EAP and how it should be enacted in the local context may be present among teachers influenced by their embodied experience and longer-term exposure to the principles of the programme.

Either way, at this point we may at least suggest the programme's influence on teachers' identities is likely and can be advanced through empirical findings as did Kirk (2018) and to a lesser degree Ding and Bruce (2017). But we need to first consider the nature of identity and that it is more than simply a phenomenon that can be influenced. Identity is a dynamic object of study that is more than simply a result or artefact that has been *made*; it can be said to *make*. I will seek to advance a more detailed understanding of the nature of identity, how it is influenced, and how it may influence in the next chapter.

Chapter 3. Social realism and the *power* of knowledge

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I attempted to situate the problem of identity in the discussion of realisations of ideas and beliefs about EAP practice in the acts of practitioners in the field. It was tentatively suggested that identity is in part formed by influences in its immediate local context. As well as this, I proposed that identity was not just formed by influences but also influences forms. This should avoid a charge of structural determinism. In such a description, identity is thus composed of cognition, emotion, and action. The interplay between these components is what gives rise to meanings and, in negotiation with the meanings of others, the legitimation of socially agreed meanings. This then, arguably, demands that the dynamics of identity are taken seriously in research as they are central to understanding how certain practices in our field arise. This is not to say that practices are reducible to identity, as I implicate the local context, but that practice is heavily influenced by it. In arguing for the influence of context, I am suggesting that structural factors present in the context have causal efficacy in shaping of teachers' identities on the pre-sessional EAP programme and that those identities in the form of acts or identifications with certain practices help enable them.

In this chapter I will do two main things; firstly, I will discuss further the dynamics of identity and why they should be considered *real* and efficacious, and secondly, I will detail how I believe social entities such as the pre-sessional programme may, due to being within structure and indeed structured within, influence identities. In order to effectively answer those questions, I will consider critical and social realist theory to make plausible the suggestion that identities are real and that social organisations can affect them and be affected by them.

3.2 Critical realist ontology and the power of structure

Critical realism is a philosophy of science that argues for the existence of reality, despite our ability to perceive it. Unlike naive forms of realism, it does not claim that we can always know reality and that any knowledge of it is fallible (Sayer, 2000, p.2). It is fallible in so far as a so-called fact, despite whether or not it is seemingly obvious by consensus, is the result of social production of knowledge. Our interpretations,

ideas, descriptions, and theories about the world are products of the *transitive* dimension of knowledge; our empirical understanding of the *intransitive* dimension; how the world actually is. This would assume that with our limited range of senses we can accurately describe the world around us without error (Sayer, 2000, p. 11). If it were true, then we never get things wrong. If the transitive dimension is what we come to know and the intransitive what exists despite what we come to know, then we can understand that in order to build facts about the world we have to accept that reality is likely to be multi-layered. That there are observable events and non-observable entities and processes that cause them (see Bhaskar, 1997; Sayer, 2000).

This realism places identity within what critical realists call a *depth ontology;* a *layered* reality that is made up of three distinct realms, those being: the *real*, the *actual* and the *empirical* (See Bhaskar, 1997). The real consists of objects, entities, structures and mechanisms, that due to their unique properties have the potential to exercise their unique powers. Those potentialities may or may not be realised. Whether those powers are exercised or not, what *actually* occurs is not always determinable or may go unnoticed. The empirical refers to events and realisations that are sensed by observers of phenomena (*See* Sayer, 2000). To try and imagine this, and in relation to this study, we may describe the programme as an entity that is real. It possesses properties e.g. people (and *their* properties) that combined form a structure that has its own unique potential to exercise its own unique powers e.g. to generate a particular ethos. Any (or none) ethos that is generated is actual as it could have potentially been another (or none). That actual ethos might be obvious and observable or not. Nevertheless, what we observe materially e.g. a mission statement on the programme's webpage or the agenda/focus of teachers' meetings. From this we can then suggest that what we observe is not the result of a chain of events and observable causes (a constant conjunction) which at best may only serve as a starting point to uncover the deeper reality that generates that event. Causation is complex and far from unidirectional. The frequency of observable events is also not adequate in describing causation. "Explanation depends instead on identifying causal mechanisms and how they work and discovering if they have been activated and under what conditions (Sayer, 2000, p. 14). Structures are conditioning in that

they often contain people and the relations between people, they are often dependent on shared understandings and legitimised interpretations to inform acts.

> Explaining why a certain mechanism exists involves discovering the nature of the structure or object which possesses that mechanism or power: thus the teacher's power to mark pupils' work depends on his or her knowledge and qualifications and on being accepted by the school and public as legitimate; the price mechanism depends on structures of competitive relations between profit-seeking firms producing for markets, and so on (p. 14).

In relation to the problem in this essay, the search for mechanisms and the structure that possesses them may yield a more plausible explanation for the various beliefs, ideas, and practices of teachers. It may be possible at this point that, as mentioned in Chapter One, that the EAP unit is located within a governance structure that provides it certain affordances. The unit is enabled to carry out its function and purpose conditioned by shared understandings among interested parties. Those affordances may depend on hierarchical structure that limits its ability to develop its own understandings. Different contexts will naturally provide different causal mechanisms, those mechanisms may operate similarly, providing comparable emerging phenomena. However, this does not suggest there are universalities present. Hadley (2015), regarding emergent identities of EAP practitioners, identifies differing structures and mechanisms between contexts but described how they operated similarly e.g. reorientating teachers' work towards certain tasks such as recruiting students. One could even describe the EAP unit in this study as structured differently but providing mechanisms that operate in a similar way. Types of programmes between contexts may differ but they may still operate in less divergent ways e.g. the design of a curriculum or the degree of teacher autonomy in its enactment. To imagine the mechanism analogy, one could even describe the programme as a *causal* mechanism as it makes EAP happen in its given context. The nature of structure, its properties and their potentialities, give it *emergent powers,* or powers to act that cannot be attributed to any single part of that structure (Sayer, p. 12). The power to constrain the potential of a multitude of possible manifestations of EAP cannot be attributed to an individual teacher but rather the shared understandings and other purposeful thoughts of others. The programme, imagined as both a hierarchical structure and mechanism might, through the allocation of roles, "enable delegation, division of tasks, surveillance, and efficient

throughput of work (p. 14).” Changes in that structure over time may provide novel emergent properties. The historical placing of the EAP unit (in this study) into Academic Services, may have given rise to a re-orientation with regard purpose and even changing the nature of the programme in terms of its fundamental properties: those fundamental properties being the teachers. A change in the criteria for selecting teachers for the programme, their experience, and qualifications, as described further below, is a notable example. What is obvious at this point is that change in structure is reliant on the activity of agents that make it up. It is also apparent that structures and organisations are *relatively enduring* in that activity may seek to maintain it or change it. In short, structures, entities and mechanisms are maintained or changed by intentional acts of agents. The following section explores this further.

3.3 The morphogenetic approach: unleashing the powers of structure

Whereas agency, due to its reflexive capacity, is primary in the realisations of socially significant phenomena, it requires influential entities and structures to reflect on. Those non-agential phenomena are not able to exact change or emergence of forms but will need to be a certain way for those forms to be likely. For an entity or structure e.g. an EAP pre-sessional programme to exert its influence then, of course, those agents that make up its structure are what ultimately allow its influence. The point, however, is that any one of those agents does not act alone and that the thoughts that inform her acts are influenced by, among other things, interactions with other agents. The result may be that of socially generated ideas, discourses, artefacts, and other realisations that together are influential on emergent forms such as identities. This requires a view of social reality as stratified and, although necessarily affecting each other, remain analytical distinct (Archer, 1995; 2020). In her *morphogenetic approach,* Archer describes how structure, agency and culture are analytical distinct and causally efficacious. As the properties of entities may differ so will their power to influence. Archer elucidates this difference: “an educational system can be ‘centralised’, whilst a person cannot, and humans are ‘reflexive’, which cannot be the case for structures (Archer, 2020, p. 141).” The same could be said for physical and non-physical dispositions and capabilities of individual agents versus the collective dispositions and capabilities of a social organisation like

the programme. The programme, thus, has different emergent powers than any one teacher or manager. As well as this, Archer argues that:

> '[S]tructure', 'culture' and 'agency' operate diachronically over different time periods because (i) structure and culture necessarily pre-date the action(s) that transform them and, (ii) structural and cultural elaboration necessarily post-date those actions...(p. 141).

Whilst the EAP programme is transformed by the agents that make up its organisation, it operated prior to those transformative acts, and any manifestation of change would obviously follow that. Change is *activity dependent* (of and between agents) and realised over time and at different times. Those transformative activities occur on three not necessarily synchronised plains. The first is *structural conditioning*, occurring before *social interactions* which then influence *structural elaborations.* What activities and acts agents are engaged in and perform are likely different on each plain, as one might expect. Structural conditions may involve, say, the development of a programme's ethos over time, social interaction may involve committee meetings discussing curriculum, and structural elaboration, the enactment of curriculum in the form of materials or teacher practices. The same might be said of identity as what being an EAP teacher is and how EAP teaching should *be* are initially conditioned in the need and purpose of programmes, the nature of teacher recruitment (e.g. qualifications, experience and type of contract), the time-scales and resources available, socially deliberated on within and between organisations providing elaborated forms and ways of doings things. This might suggest then the *local* emergence of programmes as discussed previously, but also in the identities of teachers through their reflexivity. In the face of any structural elaboration (the end of a *morphogenetic cycle*).

> [A]gency is ineluctably reshaping itself: in terms of domination and subordination, of organisation, combination and articulation; in terms of its vested interests and these in relation to those of other agents; in terms of the new roles and positions that some occupy and others do not; and in terms of the novel situations in which all agents now find themselves, constraining to the projects of some and enabling to the projects of others, yet of significance for the motivation of all (2020, p. 144).

In this process, novel structural elaborations can help initiate a new cycle in which the dynamics of change are once again played out.

Whilst the morphogenetic approach allows one to imagine how potential causal efficacy of structure can be known through conditions, interactions, elaborations mediated by agential activity, to fulfil my obligation to the question of *how* a pre-sessional EAP programme influences the identities of its teachers, it is necessary to explore further how a transformative potential is achieved. The following section will attempt to elaborate on how structural conditioning and elaborations of it might be mediated by a vital mechanism; the agent herself.

3.4 Emotion, concern, and the reflexive agent

As I stated above, I believe that identity is real and efficacious. That means that it exists and effects action in our person and in the social world. Identity is a used, if not, overused word which leads to an ambiguity as to its meaning. It is advisable here to not be fearful in stating that in philosophy and social theory its meaning is multi-faceted as is described by Oyserman, Elmore and Smith (2012, p. 69) but nonetheless bounded.

> Identities are the traits and characteristics, social relations, roles, and social group memberships that define who one is. Identities can be focused on the past-what used to be true of one, the present-what is true of one now, or the future-the person one expects or wishes to become, the person one feels obligated to try to become, or the person one fears one may become.

Building a working concept is therefore no mean feat and may not be applicable to other research projects with differing focuses but at the same time possible, as the reader will see. Our job as researchers is to not only describe actual identities in the world e.g. teacher or student but also to describe how and even why they come about. It is proposed in this chapter that identities arise out of a complex interplay between the agent, her physical self, thoughts, concerns and projects and her embedded relational existence that might, due to her reflexivity, influence her current and future being. Quite simply one is suggesting that identity is formed of the activities of structure and agency. The agent is central to activating the influential powers of structure. Structure is made powerful (activated) in part by our ideas, beliefs, and actions in the social world and how we interpret those of others. Identity is central to the activation of structural power as “Identities are orienting, they provide

a meaning-making lens and focus one's attention on some but not other features of the immediate context (p. 69)."

Although identity does include roles, personal and social categories, it is important not to limit one's focus to such phenomena as it may underplay the complexity of identity. Indeed, as I touched on above, identity would not be possible without the *thoughts and acts* of individuals, it is not deterministic top-down conditioning or simply choosing a *best-fit,* already made, collection of characteristics and behaviours. "No, an identity is never given, received or attained; only the interminable and indefinitely phantasmatic process of identification endures" (Derrida, 1998, p. 28). What this means is that particular roles, characteristics and other elements of identity, whilst apparent, and are normally properties of any given identity, are not essential to it. What might be considered essential or necessary is the mechanisms by which those properties are made relevant or made to endure. Without reducing identity to psychology, we can at least agree that without cognition and emotion, an act of identity would be likely impossible. In their cognitive activity, the *reflexive* agent references a vast amount of knowledge, explores beliefs and ideas, refers to experience both in their person and that of others and employs discursive strategy in identifying what concerns them in her thoughts and acts (Archer, 2003). Social categories do have influence, but it is in the thoughts and acts of the agent which make them relevant or irrelevant to concerns and projects.

> Indeed, it is what agents seek to do, the precise projects that they pursue, which are responsible for the activation of the causal powers of constraint and enablement; otherwise, structural and cultural properties which are constitutive of situations remain real, but their causal powers are unexercised. Yet once an agential project has activated a constraint or an enablement, there is no single answer about what is to be done, and therefore no one predictable outcome. Conditional influences may be agentially evaded, endorsed, repudiated or contravened. Which will be the case and what will be the outcome only become intelligible by reference to the agent's own reflexive and therefore internal deliberations (p. 131).

In deliberating between concerns, projects and the conditions (constraints and enablements) one finds oneself taking a *stance* towards society and its many manifestations e.g. professional practice communities. "Stances are basic orientations of subjects to society. In other words, the 'stance' is ventured as a generative mechanism, at the personal level, with the tendential capacity to regulate

relations between the person and her society. In short, they *constitute* the micro – macro link" (p. 343). Archer argues for different stances emanating from different reflexive modes, those modes being *communicative reflexives*, *autonomous reflexives,* and *meta-reflexives*. The communicative reflexive deliberates within a context of strong community and there her concerns and projects are influenced. She deliberates by involving the views of others to inform stances and action and might be evasive in relation to constraints and enablements (p. 349). The autonomous reflexive is less community orientated and has had to or needed to deliberate by themselves without recourse to others. The autonomous reflexive has had a reasonable amount of discontinuity as opposed to the communicative and builds personal projects around self-satisfaction. The autonomous reflexive adopts a *strategic* stance *vis a vis* constraints and enablements. "The 'meta reflexives' are distinctive because their commitment to an ultimate concern partakes of dedication to a vocational ideal. Their search is for social context that both fosters its expression and also nurtures its growth. Again, and again, institutional contexts are found wanting on both counts, are judged to be such, and are left behind. This produces volatile biographies because no organisational setting is ever deemed to be sufficiently commensurate with the cultural ideal" (p. 350). This generates a *subversive* stance to the constraints and enablements of society. Despite their essentialist character, Archer herself suggests that these modes are not fixed but can transform over the life course, thus they are relatively enduring. I will only make fleeting reference to these modes in this study (especially when discussing certain identities) due to their weak support in empirical research and the fact that any mode of deliberation is itself emergent, which means for the hypothesis of this thesis that modes themselves might indeed be changed by the reflexive EAP teacher due to the constraints or enablements of the programme. Also, this thesis is limited in the data it can present and full biographies, necessary to establish a typology of reflexivity, are unfeasible. However, there is cause to suggest their plausibility which I will do. What does seem to hold up, though, is that it is most likely human reflexivity (arguably a causal mechanism) and the forming of stances are central to identity and the activation of the powers of the programme.

3.5 The problem of *how*

A critical realist approach, as described in the previous sections can help us identify the conditions, structures; and their mechanisms, which are influential in the teachers' shaping of their identities. Hadley (2015) utilised a critical realist informed meta-analysis of the formation of EAP teacher identities. His research took place at various HEIs in the UK, Japan and the USA. The participants were experienced and less experienced in-sessional teachers and a small number of administrators. Central to Hadley's thesis is that neo-liberal university guided by macro-socio-political, and economic factors such as globalisation are influencing teacher identities. The *local* structures and their mechanisms, he identifies, are certain practices and strategies of the universities themselves such as internationalisation efforts and student recruitment. Hadley speaks of a *third space* in HE institutions founded on principles relating to *vocationalism*, or the view that a university should be preparing students for the workplace. Such principles may be regarded as mechanisms legitimising the formation of the third space, an actual elaboration of structural conditioning. This *space,* an *emergent* property of the influencing structure would necessitate a complex web of relationships (social interaction) and goal orientations for their practice, a further mechanism for change. The discourse (also a kind of mechanism) permeating the discussions in the space are likely to not always be favourable to every perceived professional orientation thus questions and conflicts may arise. Opportunities for change in the structure. For Hadley (p. 26), under the above conditions: "Cultural models are being sidelined as outmoded, and the goal has shifted towards producing graduates who have the mental agility to learn quickly and serve the needs of a global market." Teachers' roles are then influenced and formed through ideas, beliefs and practices demanded by their institutions informed by a neo-liberal logic of economy and training in preparation for trading one's services on the market. The emergent identities e.g. BLEAPs (Blended Learning English for Academic Purposes) often formally TEAPs (Teachers of English for Academic Purposes), often engaged in non-educational administrative work, are shedding an overt identification with teaching EAP in part due to a struggle to remain in employment and to gain promotion. TEAPs are at the same time being remoulded as linguistic technicians rather than "lingual-cultural artisans" or specialists "much in the manner of a craftsperson, TEAPs wish to work with small numbers of international students, who in the role of apprentices, can be taught how to use the

language while being instilled with cultural refinement" (Hadley, 2015, p. 148). Some of the teacher participants in this study, such as Lisa, described their work similar to this when claiming the importance of learning about British culture.

Hadley describes BLEAPs in more detail:

> Typically hired on short- term, non-renewable contracts, Blended Professionals teach classes and work on special projects that fulfil the aspirations of university administrative management. They occupy organizational 'Third Spaces' within neoliberal universities, which are typically responsible for administrative services, student support, service learning, innovation, and academic skills development […] Blended Professionals are tasked with a wide range of managerial responsibilities, but what makes them unique from traditional middle managers is the vague nature of their roles, meaning that they must oversee people and projects devoid of organizational authority (Hadley, 2015, p. 8).

Whilst describing emergent identities (BLEAPs), Hadley does not explicitly describe TEAPs, only that they are reactionary, idealistic, focused on teaching and learning, student-centred and collegial. One can imagine Bernstein's (2000) *fundamentalist* pedagogic identities, open to change but rooted to bounded hierarchical modes and older conceptions of teaching and teachers' roles. Antagonism may be present in their attitude to the newcomer, or the BLEAP. Like Bernstein (2000) Hadley (2015) controversially claims that a professional disarticulation is occurring, particular with TEAPs when pressure to perform to the demands of a marketised education force teachers to reimagine their roles and identities. For Hadley professional disarticulation can be defined as follows:

> [t]his is a process in which people become increasingly dislocated from their vocational identities as a result of organizational dynamics that have both blurred traditional boundaries and created an atmosphere of instability. It encapsulates the steady process by which one begins to feel as if they have been forcibly pulled out of the joints of their professional calling. The realization that their specialized roles are no longer recognized as valuable by the organization leaves them feeling suspended and powerless. Their job title may stay the same, but emotional disengagement grows as their roles and duties are progressively stripped out and changed from within, such as in the case of Tertiary EAP's transformation to a student recruitment and service provider for neoliberal universities (p. 158).

The teacher's acts are then centred on recruiting, maintaining, and *processing* students, their students' proficiency to be able to perform in the market their principle pedagogical focus. Here again one can envisage Bernstein's (2000) pedagogic

identities, particularly that of *prospective* identities, ones which entertain the past but are aimed at current and future socio-economic changes. Despite this, Hadley's claim of the disarticulation of professional identities of EAP teachers is problematic as it would assume there was some kind of definitive articulation of what a professional EAP teacher is in the first place. Our discussion on the state of the field of EAP leads us to doubt such an articulation. Despite documenting a sense of loss among the TEAPs, Hadley does not delve deeply into those articulated identities and how they emerged. Indeed, and to what extent do conflicts and antagonisms emerge out of varied stances built on interpretations of what the meaning and purpose of EAP is? And those interpretations are likely to influence by the varied contexts in which his study took place. Some of his observations relate to a setting in which he returned after some years, nearly a decade under neo-liberalism, where he noticed certain changes in teacher beliefs and attitudes to their work. Those who had shifted into BLEAP roles were part teacher part administrator and those TEAPs struggling to adjust previously to *new* expectations had returned to their original roles despite losing some of their number (p. 157-158). Questions as to personal and professional reasons for changes in roles and the complex deliberations that were necessary in that dynamic are less clear in Hadley's observations. The reflexive practitioner as a dynamic pragmatist shaping her beliefs and practices according to an evolving situation.

Hadley's study is interesting in its documentation of emergent identities and the ideological, organisational, and institutional factors that may be influencing them but falls short on identifying more specific influences and mechanisms that might be present. There is a danger that it reads as would structural determinism. Aside from assuming the articulated TEAP one might pose a number of questions. Why might a teacher cling on to a TEAP identity or another adopt an *upwardly mobile* BLEAP identity more particularly? What in their personal story could shed more light? Also, in identifying agents and structures of Command and Control how might their influence be exercised more specifically? And once exercised how might their influence be articulated, rationalised, and legitimised by the teacher. Context is heavily contingent, and one feels that to be able to describe EAP identities under structural influences, those structures and influences can be better known by studying the unique contexts in which they arise. Those emergent identities expected

in differing contexts cannot necessarily defined on assumed socialised identifications such as a “calling”, responses to university policies of international expansion and or personalised responses in the form of ambitious career trajectories. Indeed, as in the former and as I have already discussed; few teachers enter EFL teaching due to a professional calling. Once in the field of EAP their identification with it as a distinct discipline is lacking due to its contending theoretical bases, its varied application in practice and relatively weak field specific professional learning opportunities.

Hadley’s study leaves even more pertinent questions relating to the use of critical realism. Whilst one may identify a causal mechanism, one is left with the question of exactly how it possesses its causal efficacy? In investigating, say, neo-liberal discourse, what is it comprised of, who legitimises and transmits it and how is it transformed into *local* discourse? Is there some kind of *translation* happening? I find that Hadley did not effectively address this. If structures and mechanisms have causal efficacy then simply identifying responses of teachers to, say, a changing ethos does not directly implicate the power of structure through its mechanisms. Hadley paid little attention to programmes of EAP and their role in translation and transformation of discourses. If they control discourses, how do they do that?

Hadley’s theory elucidates a plausible account of the morphogenetic approach described by Archer (1995) in that he identifies factors of social conditioning (e.g. neo-liberal discourse, internationalisation strategies), necessary social interactions and elaborations of structural influence found in the re-structuring of EAP units in HE institutions, and in the practices of EAP practitioners legitimising (or in some cases not) ways of thinking about and doing EAP. The account is lacking, however, in further describing how EAP teachers reflexively legitimise certain beliefs and ideas about practice and how structural influence is made. The *how* of structural influence is still left wanting which leads one to seek a meta-theoretical framework that can attempt to provide it.

3.6 Knowledge structures and knowledge practices

Whilst Hadley (2015) painstakingly described the influence of the university as a conditioning entity in the development of teachers’ practices and identities, he failed to describe in detail how such conditioning occurs to enable realisations or particular elaborations. Indeed, how does the structure of Command and Control perform its

influence to enable apparent realisations of, say, vocationalism. Social realism, particularly Bernstein (2000) and Maton (2014), may help to provide an answer with descriptions of what and how knowledge is structured and regulated. This can then provide a theoretical and methodological framework to attend to my research questions.

Like any field of practice or professional specialism, EAP is characterised by knowledge. This might be understood as facts relating to their specific field that practitioners should be proficient in as to inform their practice, and also, as in the case of teachers, *how to* knowledge in relation to teaching and learning. Moreover, it might be defined as *knowing*; a kind of activity that might often be reduced to *learning* (Maton, 2014, p. 25). However, social realists such as Karl Maton offer another dimension to knowledge, that it is more than a subjective mental process of gathering objective facts but also a complex web of human relations that in their social activity, select *what* should be known, and who is a legitimate *knower.* This does not simply suggest that knowledge is just a lens to identify power relations in certain fields (although it can) but rather it becomes an object of study in its own right. This:

> highlights the need to explore how knowledges come to be defined in particular social and historical contexts, their forms, and their effects. Accordingly, this perspective views intellectual and educational fields as comprising both relational structures of knowledge practices and actors situated within specific social and historical contexts. In so doing, it shows that knowledge practices are both emergent from and irreducible to their contexts of production – the forms taken by knowledge practice in turn shape those contexts (p. 34).

Understanding the relational structures that help formulate knowledge in a given field, relations *within* (Bernstein, 1990), helps us to realise why we may have seemingly different knowledges in different contexts. Those relations require actors to discuss problems of knowledge, make claims and legitimise claims, among other *knowledge practices*.

> Practices can thus be understood as languages of legitimation: claims made by actors for carving out and maintaining spaces within social fields of practice. These languages propose a ruler for participation within the field and proclaim criteria by which achievement within this field should be measured. That is, they offer messages as to what should be the dominant basis of achievement. Languages of legitimation thereby represent the basis for competing

> claims to limited status and material resources; they are strategic stances aimed at maximizing actors' positions within a relationally structured field (Maton, 2014, p. 43).

One would assume then that the choice of a certain approach to EAP, such as EGAP, would necessarily have involved the above example practices. In legitimising a particular approach, they are activating selective, *organising principles* that generate their elaborations (p. 43). Such mechanisms, formed by a particular structure, are *real* in that they have causal effects, e.g. those structural elaborations like curriculum, or schemes of work.

If one is claiming that social structure is manipulating knowledge and influencing thoughts and acts through organising principles, then one must specify what structures are doing so. Of course, social structures can point to many types, such as the structure of the programme in terms of its human relations, roles and powers and potential built into it. But other structures may permeate that structure providing mechanisms that organise knowledge in particular ways that may influence how programmes may even be designed. Bernstein (2000) described two types of *knowledge structures* in fields: *hierarchical* and *horizontal* each with their own cultural nuances. A hierarchical knowledge structure like that found in the sciences is characterised by "an explicit, coherent, systematically principled and hierarchical organisation of knowledge", whereas a horizontal structure, such as in the humanities, would be more pluralistic, with differing principles and less coherency across and between its sub-fields (Bernstein,1996, p.172–173). One can offer analogy in the form of languages; a standardised language like French, with strict conventions as to syntax and lexis, supplemented by clear directions as to their use, is more hierarchical than say English.

3.7 The *pedagogic device*

Relational structures of knowledge and the pedagogic practices that may create elaborations in, say, the nature or form of certain discourses, are made possible through Bernstein's conception of *pedagogy.*

> When I [Bernstein] talk about pedagogy, I am referring to pedagogic relations that shape pedagogic communications and their relevant contexts. Three basic forms of pedagogic relation may be distinguished: explicit, implicit and tacit. Explicit and implicit refer to a progressive, in time, pedagogic relation where there is a purposeful intention to initiate,

> modify, develop or change knowledge, conduct or practice by someone or something which already possesses, or has access to, the necessary resources and the means of evaluating the acquisition (Bernstein and Solomon, 1999, p. 267).

Thus, in turn, pedagogic practices, are purposively structured to enable the realisation of desirable discourses and their elaboration in practice contexts. Bernstein defines this as an *intrinsic* grammar or the *pedagogic device.* The device is best understood as a series of rules in a hierarchy, those being, *distributive, recontextualising and evaluative* rules. Bernstein describes them as follows:

> First, the function of the distributive rules is to regulate the relationship between power, social groups, forms of consciousness and practice. Distributive rules specialise forms of knowledge, forms of consciousness and forms of practices to social groups. Distributive rules distribute forms of consciousness through distributing different forms of knowledge. Second, recontextualising rules regulate the formation of specific pedagogic discourse. Third, evaluative rules constitute any pedagogic practice. Any specific pedagogic practice is there for one purpose: to transmit *criteria.* Pedagogic practice is, in fact, the level which produces a ruler for consciousness (Bernstein, 2000, p. 28).

As one might observe this rule-based influence on discourse and consciousness resembles that of institutional theory (*See for example,* Scott, 2008 *or* Meyer and Rowan, 2006). In this sense rules and regulation constrain and enable knowledges through their contrived principles, thus, the recontextualising of knowledge to suit needs and purposes. The distributive rules are what inform recontextualisation and evaluative rules, for they “mark and distribute who may transmit what to whom and under what conditions” limiting the parameters of pedagogic discourse (Bernstein, 2000, p. 46).

> Pedagogic discourse is constructed by a recontextualising principle which selectively appropriates, relocates, refocuses and relates other discourses to constitute its own order. In this sense, pedagogic discourse can never be identified with any of the discourses it has recontextualised (p. 33).

For Bernstein, recontextualisation has a major impact on the autonomy of education, and its practitioners one would assume. The battle over control of the pedagogic device occurs in what Bernstein (2000) refers to as the Arena of Struggle or located organisations and institutions concerned with the transmission of knowledge. These might usually constitute the university (or research institute) in which new knowledge might be *produced,* ministries of education or even a department at a university

concerned with practice (e.g. EAP unit) where knowledge is *recontextualised* or selected and organised for practice, and *reproduced* in actual teaching and learning contexts. As one might imagine, knowledge could potentially be quite different in each situation.

Recontextualisation happens at the state (and its agencies) level or *official recontextualisation field* (ORF) and at the school or university level *pedagogic recontextualisation field* (PRF). If the ORF has more control over the pedagogic device than the PRF then practice orientated autonomy is weakened and where the PRF has more control, then practiced orientated autonomy is relatively strong (p. 33). This control over recontextualisation can be translated into a high degree of control of pedagogic discourse. It is the higher education arena that has a strong impact on pedagogic discourse and pedagogic practice as one might assume and a constraining factor on its potential realisations.

> However, pedagogic discourse as a language has a vast potential of realisations. Despite the expected stability of the pedagogic device as the condition for any pedagogic discourse, the discourse itself is contingent upon the activities within the arenas and the relative autonomies within and between the arenas (Bernstein and Solomon, 1999, p. 269-270).

If an EAP unit (through its programmes) is relatively free to control the pedagogic device and its regulatory principles, then the potential to influence the thoughts and practices of its teacher will possibly increase. This may even be the form of initiating conflicts. These regulative principles or codes and pedagogic practices to enable them, might be considered the missing piece in the jigsaw that may provide the researcher with greater explanatory power in suggesting the causal efficacy of entities such as the programme, and their structures; a *causal* mechanism.

3.8 Classification and Framing

According to Bernstein (1977; 2000), educational knowledge and practice, recontextualised into the field's main structures; curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation or assessment, is organised according to two distinct analytical principles and practices; *classification* and *framing*. "Curriculum defines what counts as valid knowledge, pedagogy defines what counts as a valid transmission of knowledge, and evaluation defines what counts as a valid realization of this knowledge on the part of the taught" (1977, p. 156). If we take curriculum as an example presented by

Bernstein, we can see that classification does not refer directly to the actual content but rather to the relationship between contents, moreover; the degree to which boundaries between contents are maintained. “Where classification is strong, contents are well insulated from each other by strong boundaries. Where classification is weak, there is reduced insulation between contents, for the boundaries between contents are weak or blurred” (p. 158). However, classification might more clearly be seen in the boundaries between categories and contexts, such as seen in the categorisation of univerisities (e.g. Russell Group), academic disciplines, professional roles. Kirk (2018, p. 78) illustrates the strength of classification well with regard to EAP:

> [A] particular university may see its English language unit only as a means to improve the generic language skills of international students, and not in terms of disciplinary writing development for all students. The unit may therefore be strongly bounded from academic departments, with no collaboration or co-development of curriculum. Its curriculum, staff development and institutional identity may therefore be strongly Classified (+C) with respect to other departments.

The theme of *marginalisation* observed empirically in Chapter 5 may support Kirk’s description. One may also suggest where an EAP unit is placed in terms of academic/administrative structure of a university is another example from research (e.g. Hadley, 2015) and in this thesis. Framing, however, refers to the relative strength of control exerted through pedagogical practices, or the structuring of the message system (Bernstein, 1977, p. 158) This may refer to pacing, ordering, or sequencing of lesson content controlled through the discretion of the teacher (*internal framing or* F^{i}) or regulation imposed by departmental managers and course directors (*external framing or* F^{e}) (Bernstein, 2000). One might observe strong external framing in the shape of, say, listening texts, where there is little control or discretion on the part of either teacher or student ($+F^{e}$). Conversely, weaker framing may be seen in seminar discussions whereby the topics and responsibilities for managing the discussion are afforded to the students; the teacher merely facilitating with regards to, say, overall pacing ($-F^{i}$). As Bernstein (1977; 2000) states, these codes are reflective of power relations, as the relative strengths reveal the influence or control over pedagogy of any individual or group. Again, a theme arising in the empirical work conducted in this project i.e. teacher autonomy, plausibly illustrates the activation of coded principles, where a teacher feels either free or constrained in

their discretion over the structuring of their pedagogy. One teacher, Marco, described how he felt he had less influence over his lessons in recent years due to an increased “bureaucratisation” of the programme.

I will formulate a more specific conceptual description of framing relevant to the questions posed in this thesis further below in Chapter 4.

3.9 The *epistemic pedagogic* device

As I discussed briefly above, knowledge structures in fields can be hierarchical or horizontal and possess weak or strong intrinsic rules governing discourses. Knowledge claims in hierarchical structures are likely to undergo a rigorous test of validity as a ruler, whereas the horizontal structure may unlikely apply such control. This does not suggest ‘anything goes’ in terms of knowledge, but rather that regulation of knowledge shifts from *what* to *who* (Maton 2014). Whilst horizontal knowledge structures, such as in the humanities, may develop a generic approach to knowledge, cultivating ideas and understandings of ourselves and our place in the world; they are at the same time permeated with a second structure or *knower structure.*

> In other words, humanist culture can be described as exhibiting what I [Maton] shall term a hierarchical knower structure: a systematically principled and hierarchical organization of knowers based on the construction of an ideal knower and which develops through the integration of new knowers at lower levels and across an expanding range of different dispositions (p. 121).

Science, however, has been described as horizontal, not based on a classified ‘ideal type’ of knower, but rather, a knower structure based less on your position in a hierarchy and more on what you contribute to the field.

> In short, the basis of specialization in science was knowledge of scientific principles and procedures, regardless of the biological or social backgrounds of knowers. Science was thus portrayed as possessing what I [Maton] shall term a horizontal knower structure: a series of strongly bounded knowers, each with specialized modes of being, thinking, feeling and acting, with non-comparable habituses (or embodied dispositions) based on different trajectories and experiences (p.122-123).

The bases for knowledge in fields may therefore differ, be purposively specialised and carry different attention to a variety of meanings or focus on more specific meanings.

Maton (2014) borrows from Bernstein's code theory in which agents and agencies control discourses through the application of rules and framing mechanisms in order to produce specific knowledges and modes of practice. These framing mechanisms are described as codes. For Maton, actors within fields take strategic stances and orientate their beliefs through practices of legitimation. Framing knowledge, whatever its intrinsic legitimacy might be, constitutes a knowledge practice, an act or claim to legitimacy, thus a *stance* and a position are distinguishable beyond semantics. "That is, knowledge practices are not merely a reflection of actors' positions within relations of power but also comprise more or less powerful claims to legitimacy, including (but not exclusively) claims to truth – they are languages of possible legitimacy" (p. 54). These knowledge practices can then be said to be both *medium* and *message* (p. 62) in the same way a modal verb is both structural medium and lexical message as it expresses the conveyors feelings and attitudes on a given situation or activity. For these reasons, an analysis of framing will be conducted in this study as it in some way mediates identifications central to any concept of identity. If the notions of classification and framing or more specifically their relative strengths, that is, the "boundaries between contexts or categories" and "to the locus of control within contexts or categories (where stronger framing indicates greater control from above)" (p. 62) are at this point conceptually valid then one can progress to an acceptance of what that means in analytical terms.

> "Moreover, if knowledge practices are not only a medium but also a message, a 'language of legitimation' concerning the basis of achievement within a field, the question is how to understand this coded message. Both these points highlight the organizing principles underlying practices. These principles can be conceptualized as *legitimation* [italics not original] codes" (p. 62).

Maton (2014) identifies a number of *dimensions* to conceptualise legitimation codes, those being *autonomy, density, temporality, semantics,* and *specialization;* the later two being used in this thesis.

The first;

> Specialization[,] can be introduced via the simple premise that practices and beliefs are about or oriented towards something and by someone. They thus involve relations to objects and to subjects. One can, therefore, analytically distinguish: epistemic relations between practices and their object or focus (that part of the world towards which they are oriented); and social relations between practices and their subject, author or actor (who is enacting the practices). For knowledge claims, these are realized as: epistemic relations between knowledge and its proclaimed objects of study; and social relations between knowledge and its authors or subjects (p. 62).

Specialisation codes are based on *Epistemic Relations* (ER) and *Social Relations* (SR). “These relations highlight questions of: *what* can be legitimately described as knowledge (epistemic relations); and *who* can claim to be a legitimate knower (social relations)” (p. 62). Like classification and framing, differing strengths of either Epistemic Relations (ER+/-) or Social Relations (SR+/-) may lead to differing realisations in beliefs and practices. Of course, these codes can only be abstracted from empirical work as Maton (2014) attempts with his description of British Cultural Studies. His work helps to argue a case for legitimation codes as his observations indicate how a field of study can, due to its relations to knowledge, be formed and transformed by actors and agencies.

> Epistemic relations (ER) between cultural studies and its objects of study are realized in its language of legitimation as, inter alia, opposition to notions of disciplinarity, an uncircumscribed object of study, open procedures of enquiry, and a commitment to problematizing categories, boundaries and hierarchies between and within forms of knowledge. In other words, cultural studies exhibits relatively weak classification and framing of epistemic relations: ER (−C, −F) or ER−. In contrast, its social relations (SR) exhibit relatively stronger classification and framing: SR (+C, +F) or SR+. Here the emphasis is on ‘giving voice to’ the primary experience of knowers, where legitimate knowledge or ‘truth’ is defined by and restricted to the specific ‘voice’ said to have privileged understanding by virtue of their attributes. In other words, the language of legitimation of cultural studies has placed different strengths of boundaries around and control over the definitions of what can be claimed knowledge of and how (ER−), and of who can claim knowledge (SR+).

One can already make parallels with EAP (although crudely at this stage as I will return to it in later chapters) in that EAP appears to have weak classification of epistemic relations (ER-, C-) partly due to the boundaries between what constitutes

its knowledge. These boundaries are within the field and between sites of production and recontextualisation. Areas of knowledge in EAP deemed legitimate such as genre analysis, discipline-specific communication or critical pedagogy are diffuse and relatively unconnected. Researchers in the field are often from other disciplines e.g. linguistics. EAP field journals e.g. The Journal of English for Academic Purposes accepts papers from a range of contributors and in a range of disciplinary lenses. Thus, additionally, the framing of epistemic relations is seemingly weak (ER- , F-), leading us to suggest that EAP has weak epistemic relations (ER-). And, similar to Maton's example, there appears to be a primacy of social relations (SR) in its legitimate claims to knowledge. The field, in its orientation towards needs, seemingly legitimises pragmatic approaches to pedagogy and practice, placing the knower as the one who can define needs and respond appropriately and effectively when such needs may change. Generic EAP content knowledge and an emphasis on skills may suggest this too. The knower is then found in different positions in and outside of EAP and HE. EAP in practice settings, teaching and learning contexts, can then be said to have SR+ partly due to its legitimation of needs based on achievement where tightly defined criteria is framed by agents and agencies (their authority regularly cited by stakeholders and practitioners). Moreover, discipline experts (e.g. mechanical engineering academics and doctoral students) are sometimes called in to moderate or provide advice on the knowledge to be learned by students on EAP programs. Other research (Whitcombe, 2013) outside of EAP, whilst discussing the problem of professional learning and professional identity formation, also indicates a gap between so-called specialised practice knowledge in local practice settings from that of its theoretical core. The occupational therapists in the study made more reference to knowledge relevant in their local settings, context-dependent, that could be applied directly to the needs of their clients. The code generated was SR+, a *Knower* code, translated as what matters is who you are not what you know (p.40).

Maton (p. 64) breaks specialisation down to four further codes or modalities highlighting their tendencies.

- knowledge codes (ER+, SR−), where possession of specialized knowledge of specific objects of study is emphasized as the basis of achievement, and the attributes of actors are downplayed;

- knower codes (ER−, SR+), where specialized knowledge and objects are less significant and instead the attributes of actors are emphasized as measures of achievement, whether these are viewed as born (e.g. ‘natural talent’), cultivated (e.g. artistic gaze or ‘taste’) or socially based (e.g. the notion of gendered gaze in feminist standpoint theory);
- élite codes (ER+, SR+), where legitimacy is based on both possessing specialist knowledge and being the right kind of knower (here, ‘élite’ refers not to social exclusivity but rather to possessing both legitimate knowledge and legitimate dispositions); and
- relativist codes (ER−, SR−), where legitimacy is determined by neither specialist knowledge nor knower attributes – a kind of ‘anything goes’.

At this point one might claim that EAP as it is known in practice contexts is legitimised by either knower codes or *relativist* codes due to the lack of influence from the production field of EAP and teachers’ often unwillingness to accept the wisdom of certain knowers (e.g. other teachers, managers or British Council inspection officials). This, however, is what one might refer to as emergent in identity transformation where the concept of the knower remains despite challenges to such authority. If one analyses *relations to* knowledge one can identify positions within hierarchies, possible opposition, and conflict and, through closures of meaning. Feelings of marginalisation perceived by EAP practitioners might then be described through specialisation codes that indicate possible subordination and lesser status. The significance of specialisation codes can be found in their utility for description.

> Epistemic relations and social relations can be used both to describe the focus and to analyse the basis of practices. In terms of knowledge claims, this is to say they can:
>
> (i) map the focus of knowledge claims, such as whether they refer to theories, methods, actor's social categories, dispositions, etc. – this describes the content of languages of legitimation; and/or
>
> (ii) conceptualize the basis of knowledge claims to legitimacy – this describes the form of languages of legitimation, that is, their specialization codes (p. 64).

For Maton (p. 65) it is the *basis* of practice with which specialisation is primarily concerned. The bases of practice are not necessarily known *a priori* but rather, in the course of research, become evident. It is at least expected that agencies such as the British Council, the EAP unit, the university, and its governance, and the wider EAP field will be influential. Of course, the basis of practice may be a reasonable starting

point but it will not be sufficient to adequately describe identities as further dimensions will need to be considered. It is important to note that the research design should allow for the emergence of dimensions in the data rather than explicitly searching for them. And, as Maton (p.73-74) rightfully warns us, new knowers enter the field thus new knowledges influencing the perpetuation of or change of the specialisation code. If one considers, say, a regular turnover of teachers and their experiences and the weakness of classifications then these knowers may be exponential, that is, in the number of exponents (individual knowers) and the possibility that that will continue. “This intrinsic dynamic of social knower codes, fragmenting the focus and basis of knowledge claims, also tends towards methodological individualism and hermeneutic narcissism, a spiralling inwards from large social categories, such as social class, towards ever smaller categories, culminating in oneself and autobiographical reflection (p. 75).” Below is a cartesian plane that illustrates how differing strengths between both ER and SR may produce differing codes.

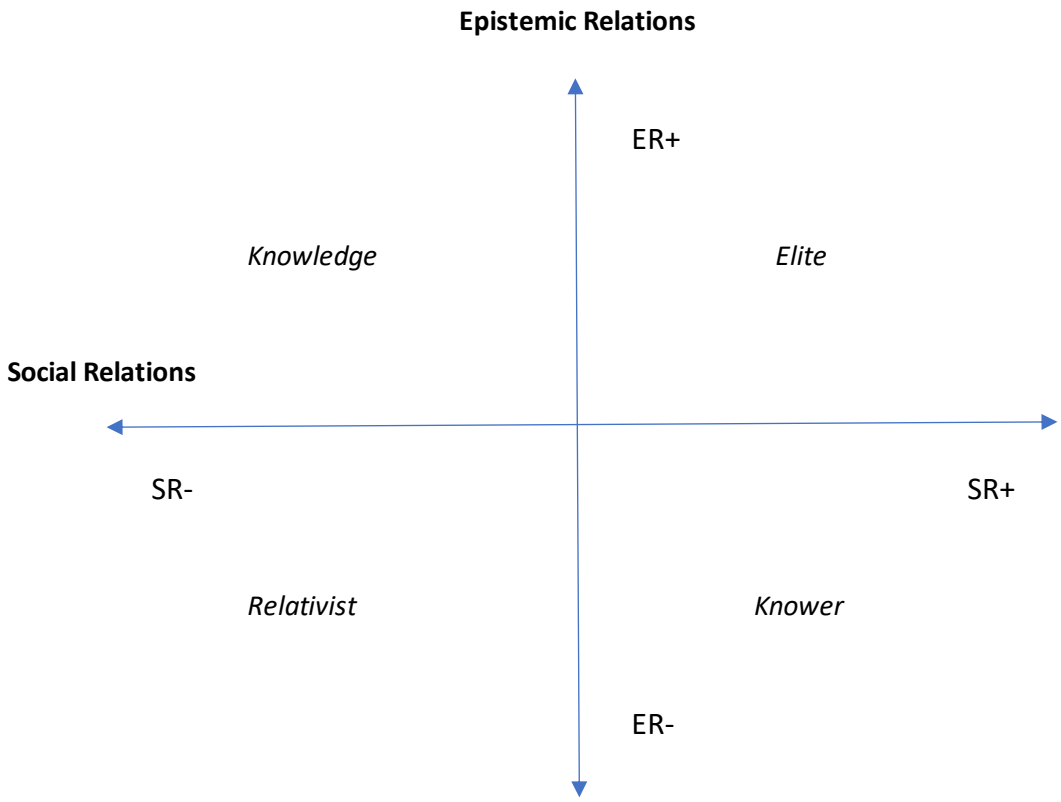


Figure 2: the Specialisation plane (Maton, 2014, p. 30)

Maton (p. 78) concludes that social knower codes extracted from the Cultural Studies example tends to perpetuate “proliferation, fragmentation and segmentation. The resultant schismatic intellectual field problematises the ability of actors to establish or maintain discrete institutional spaces: they are vulnerable to utilitarian criticism from beyond higher education, poaching of actors and knowledge from within higher education, and knower wars within the field itself.” If such codes are dominant in the legitimation strategies found among the teachers on the pre-sessional programme then one expects to find identifications based on varied knowers and knowledges, emergent properties influencing different realisations or identities. As dimensions are expected to emerge in the course of the analysis and as Maton (2014) maintains, possible further dimensions may potentially be abstracted, it is important not to decide dimensions *a priori* to empirical work. The data should provide actual discursive evidence for dimensions and specific codes. Identifying speech acts that provide such evidence is not necessarily easy but all the same possible. If one imagines an excerpt from an interview based on the question: What does EAP mean to you? And the respondent gives a response that emphasises social relations or knower codes, e.g. “to help students achieve their goals of entry into a British University and to successfully pass their degree in whatever they wish to study…” then a knower code may be present do to the focus on the learner and where no exclusivity is centred on specific knowledge. Again, we may not be aware of who or what we are identifying with as actors but what we say may be indicative of who or what. If the speaker responding to the same question talks of gaining qualifications and specialising in areas such as academic writing, then they are identifying with and identifying themselves as a knower maybe among other knowers. To clarify this further, a teacher may be a member of BALEAP (British Association of Lecturers in English for Academic Purposes) or another field related professional organisation. This legitimisation of knowers is of course inferred in this case and may require further evidence but it is nonetheless tacit evidence and may be considered content of the language of legitimation particularly if is central to their response to the question of what EAP means to them.

A further dimension, the *semantic* dimension will be considered in later chapters to direct the analysis towards the main research question. How, or, to what, say, teachers attach meaning in relation to EAP practice is of great significance to hypothesising the influence of the programme in the construction of those meanings. Like specialisation Maton (2013, p.11) provides two sides to semantics 1, Semantic Density (SD) and 2, Semantic Gravity (SG); both contain + and – values.

> Semantic density (SD) refers to the degree of condensation of meaning with in socio-cultural practices, whether these comprise symbols, terms, concepts, phrases, expressions, gestures, clothing, etc. Semantic density may be relatively stronger (+) or weaker (−) along a continuum of strengths. The stronger the semantic density (SD+), the more meanings are condensed within practices; the weaker the semantic density (SD−), the less meanings are condensed.

Conversely:

> Semantic gravity (SG) refers to the degree to which meaning relates to its context. Semantic gravity maybe relatively stronger (+) or weaker (−) along a continuum of strengths. The stronger the semantic gravity (SG+), the more meaning is dependent on its context; the weaker the semantic gravity (SG−), the less dependent meaning is on its context. All meanings relate to a context of some kind; semantic gravity conceptualizes how much they depend on that context to make sense.

Like Whitcombe's (2013) analysis of occupational therapy one might expect EAP practitioners to possess strong semantic gravity as teachers find themselves in a practice-oriented field, making their meanings from their immediate context. Context may refer to understandings of practical or purposeful work e.g. paragraphing or effective reading strategies, or how one selects topics with regard to perceived relevance, such as discussions on themes to enhance a critical stance, that are more or less discipline specific. This may be better analogised in what Maton (2013; 2014) refers to as *semantic waves,* whereby practices move between density and gravity over time. The skilled pedagogue, as Humphrey (2016, p. 455) describes, would be able to *pack* (dense) knowledge e.g. complex noun-phrases lacking in further lexical context in the co-text to allow for easy deciphering of meaning, gradually *unpack* that complexity to recontextualise it in more accessible contexts (*repacking*). This would facilitate the student, with the knowledge gained by the experience, enabled access to more nuanced and complex texts and eventual

repacking. This might also be imagined in a curriculum that puts emphasis on a generalised frequency of lexical and grammatical structures without similar attention to context. It is important to point out that even with the most disjointed curriculum the skilled teacher can still provide a more balanced density and gravity. What is interesting for this study, is how much the locally construed EAP on the programme affords to either, and how that may conflict with teachers' knowledges, beliefs, and practices.

3.10 Summary

This chapter sought to present the reader with the theory that underlies the approach taken in this thesis and how it can guide the writer towards addressing the questions posed. Critical realism has helped to not only describe how identity is efficacious in activating the powers of structure but also how structure might influence identity through its conditioning practices and their potential elaborations. As identity is multi-faceted and research does not treat it always as a monolithic object of study, Archer's (2003) description of identity as deed like, of reflexive subjectivities deliberating on their situations, concerns and projects, creating and coming up against stances on issues helps us view identity as central to enabling conditioning and elaborations, a causal mechanism. Social interaction allows for the creation of stances and their legitimation. Those stances may or may not always be so obvious and might be built into the pedagogic practices (e.g. claims, reasons and rationales) of actors in particular social fields. If, for example, stances are considered as *generative* mechanisms within identities (Archer, 2003, p. 30), possibly allowing for the realisation of the powers of hierarchical structures and entities (such as those found in the context of the programme), then the answer to the question of *how* is a little less vague. However, in identifying the *what* and *who* of organising principles that underlie pedagogic practices, one can further strive to elaborate on that answer. The organising activities, informed by certain principles, will hopefully become apparent in the case presented below, as will the stances and beliefs of teachers that may or may not have allowed for that influence. An analysis of the framing of knowledge uncovering the bases and focus of knowledge on the programme, and how that knowledge is more or less context dependant will hopefully contribute to an understanding of the dynamic relationship between structure and agency.

Chapter 4. Research design and methodology

4.1 Introduction

The purpose for this section is to describe the overall design of the research project, its methodology and its appropriateness in describing teacher professional identities and the structural factors that may influence them. The section will be in four main parts 4.2. the research context, 4.3. the research paradigm, critical realism, 4.4. the theoretical approach to initial analysis, a narrative approach 4.5. methods, participants, data collection methods. Section 4.6. describes data analysis and presentation of data and, 4.7. addresses ethical concerns. The final section comprises a summary and re-stating of the research questions.

4.2 The research context

The research field work took place at a so-called *red brick* university in the UK during the summer of 2016. The choice of university was partly due to convenience as I also worked there but also because of the long history of the EAP programme and length of service of many of the teachers. The year held some significance for the EAP unit as it was due for its British Council accreditation visit and evaluation. This provides the opportunity to document the responses of teachers to the visit and its effect on their beliefs, concerns and attitudes towards their work and themselves. As well as the British Council accreditation visit, further organisational changes for the unit concerning the management structure and the official naming of the unit occurred just before commencement of the study. Prior to the study I had heard from some returning teachers that the unit had in previous years been relocated from an academic department into an administration department with many of the teachers remaining since the transition; a trend seen elsewhere in universities in the creation of a so-called ‘third-space’ (*See* Hadley, 2015). Such a move was seen as an important development in the story of both the unit and the practitioners working with and within it. Similar transitions were noted by Hadley (2015); structural changes that had an impact on teachers’ identities.

The pre-sessional programme as an object of study in this thesis is for postgraduates and operates alongside an undergraduate programme, which will not

be considered in this research. The programme is divided into two principle streams; the largest in terms of students is the generic stream (EGAP) and at the time of data collection numbered roughly thirty-five teachers. The second stream (ESAP) is focused on the field of business studies and consisted of around 15 teachers. EGAP classes are further subdivided into similar subject clusters and supported by a teaching assistant (usually a doctoral student) who guides students in work more closely related to their fields e.g. field specific genre analysis. The programme is also divided by duration: a 20-week, 15-week, 10-week and 6-week course. The course that the student takes is determined by their IELTS score prior to entering the programme and the expected comparable score on its completion. Students were not required to re-take IELTS.

4.3 The research paradigm, critical realism and epistemic relativism

As I have already discussed the principle features of critical realism in the previous chapter, it is felt that here, in this section I will devote some space to an overview in terms of its connection to the research design.

I discussed one of the main tenets of critical realism; depth ontology, in the previous chapter and identified that the social world is made of entities, structures and their causal mechanisms that over time will change with the activities of human agents from outside and within their organisation. Those agents are reflexive human beings with their own emotions and concerns about their circumstance and thus are not only affected by it but also are central to transforming it. In fact, it is suggested that they transform and are transformed by the mechanisms of structure. It was later argued that our task as critical realist researchers is to identify those structures and mechanisms and assess their causal efficacy on the identity phenomena whilst at the same time not abandoning the primacy of agency; as it is the thoughts and acts of agents that will activate the powers of structure.

In terms of connection to the study in hand, it is necessary to point out that although critical realists accept a layered account of reality with entities, structures and agents all possessing differing properties and potentials, they insist that in terms of coming to know those realities our epistemology should remain relative (*see* O'Mahoney and Vincent, 2014; and Sayer, 2000). This means, that despite holding a position that

some accounts are more valid than others, a *judgemental rationality*, our investigations involve investigating complex phenomena that require approaches that best help us answer our specific questions. The questions I ask in this study require that I look into meanings and interpretations of human beings. Those meanings might not be truthful statements that can be taken at face value but rather, could be manifestations of underlying structural influence whatever a claim might be. The problem in determining meanings and interpretations is that we may get caught up in validating some over others in our work, whether consciously or unconsciously. However, if we are charged with uncovering the real and the actual, then whatever interpretation is offered, should be measured up to the contextual reality that those meanings are made in (Sayer, 2000, p. 46). Whatever the stances, claims, interpretations are, we should be able to create, through clearly identifying characteristics, *practically adequate* descriptions of phenomena and their causation.

> To be practically adequate, knowledge must generate expectations about the world and about the results of our actions which are actually realized. (It must also, as conventionalists have insisted, be intersubjectively intelligible and acceptable in the case of linguistically expressed knowledge.) The practical adequacy of different parts of our knowledge will vary according to context. The differences in success of different sets of beliefs in the same practical context and of the same beliefs in different contexts suggests that the world is structured and differentiated (Sayer, 1992, p. 69).

In terms of methodology, it is then necessary to design a research approach that can attempt to navigate the problem of interpretation and meaning, and to avoid potential bias. Although we are all influenced by the paradigms that we find more plausible in describing reality, practical adequacy requires one to consider data prior to mapping theory to it. And if a concept is not present in that, then we must not attempt to force its application. In the following section, I will suggest how a *narrative* approach may help me to do this.

4.4 A narrative approach

One might find the choice of narrative inquiry a little odd considering my realist stance in relation to ontology and especially considering the views of one of narrative inquiry's main advocates. The choice is in part due to the problem of that stance, in that in believing that the social world is structured and emergent there may exist a

tendency to assume that is what will be present in the context I am researching in. Clandinin and Rosiek, (2007, p. 44) argue that narrative inquiry is founded on an "ontology of experience" and that reality is "relational, temporal, and continuous." Whereas in contrast, the critical realist's description, whilst considering subjective experience, defines a reality as "beyond our immediate experience," yet, to a degree, structuring that experience. By adopting an epistemological approach that initially assumes that structure either does not exist or that it is of little consequence to the lived-experiences of the narrators, one can attempt to put one's own paradigmatic assumptions on hold. Also, although narrative inquiry as a theory of knowledge does indeed place its ontology with the narrator, its attention to relational, temporal, ongoing reality is more complementary to realism than contrary to it. Unlike the narrative inquirer utilising an interpretivist paradigm, the critical realist would not assume experiences are to be taken at face-value and that narratives can always provide direct knowledge of phenomena or that all experiences are equally reflective of an event. Clandinin and Rosiek's (p. 44) description of critical realism is inaccurate as they claim that it "reserves the term *reality* for something beyond our immediate experience". The real, actual and empirical does not suggest a reductionism to an ultimate reality. The empirical observation may very well turn out to be reflective of reality, but one should not assume it will. Actual events such as speech acts are real as they occur, but they do not arise from thin air and are not uniform. The *real* in realist descriptions is not suggesting that experiences occur and are not real, rather that occurrences are not isolated phenomena, but that they are caused by complex mechanisms. Experiences would still be described as real and are central to the reflexive deliberator. And, as stated previously, those real experiences may not necessarily be true in actual content. Nonetheless, an experience was had. The notion of experience itself is what is interesting and what it can reveal. Tsui's (2007) narrative inquiry of an EFL teacher elaborates on the importance of identification, negotiation, legitimation and the constraints of the professional context on identity formation but due to the weaknesses of her approach fails to identify who, and indeed how the context may help shape the discourse (or other) for the individual to form or transform her identifications. Tsui's focus on the participation of the teacher as legitimator is supported by her research, but attention to how the *community of practice* also legitimates, is largely absent.

This down-playing of structural factors influencing thoughts and acts is due to an ontological assumption from interpretivists that structure holds weak causal efficacy.

The epistemological accompaniment to an ontology that requires a look back or *retroduction* in analysis of data, from what is observable to what may hold causal significance, must allow for an unfolding story to emerge that can permit the identification of certain causal influences suggestive of structural influences but not simply used to confirm its influence. I have chosen a *kind* of narrative approach that gives the subject the opportunity to be author and narrator. Although narrative inquiry, as stated above, has been associated with interpretivism as an epistemological tool it does not contradict a critical realist ontology if used similarly, to arrive at knowledge of phenomena. It will not be used as a theoretical explanatory framework on the nature of reality, however. The focus on the lived experience of the participant in the research will help to draw out themes which might identify the subjects' properties, concerns, projects, stances, tendencies, and potentialities without implying contextual influence. By asking the question: "what does EAP mean to you?" in participant interviews, I allow for narrators to decide to tell their own story, their own experiences, and their own interpretations. Follow up questions have not been decided in advance as they would not necessarily be appropriate to the direction of the narrative and may lead the teller towards the researcher's bias. Despite this, one can still claim that an experience-centred approach is complementary to an ontology that identifies reflexivity as a mechanism for the potential realisation of social phenomena. It requires that the internal conversation is story-like in that the teller, in her deliberations, creates a narrative to make sense of her experiences, "narratives are the means of human sense-making" (Squire, 2008, p. 43). Thus, an approach that conceptualises identity as a meaning-making lens, through reflexive deliberation, is also complementary.

As far as social identity is concerned the social self is constructed through a narrative internal to the individual but influenced by the narratives of others including the narrative of the constructed social self (p.44). Narratives are then not merely representations of real events, emotions and feelings about the self and the world but are re-presentations in that they are novel takes on it, each unique in some way to the author. Stories are sometimes transformed into what might be a more

desirable or positive take on a situation or experience (p. 45-46). The transformative potential of storytelling, in itself, cannot be ignored both in ongoing reflexive deliberations and in telling our stories, as I can attest to myself. In the process of listening to others and telling my own professional story I have realised that I do not identify with what I thought I did. I believed I had a strong pedagogical identity that was shaped by my personal beliefs about critical education, but in telling that, I thought to myself “this isn’t actually true.” In short, in telling our stories our assumptions and beliefs about ourselves can be challenged. I have now challenged a made up idealised social identity I told and re-told in my social interactions both to others and even that other self.

Apart from the appropriateness of a narrative approach as complementary to a meta-theory that identifies human reflexivity as a necessary mechanism in the formation and transformation of personal and professional identities, and to enquiries that prioritise the salience of discourse, it is also suitable to research that hypothesises the importance of temporality. This is not only, as Clandinin and Rosiek (2007, p. 40) suggests a narrative to be, that is, one which “describes human experience as it unfolds through time” but additionally how one might reflect on temporality itself. The pre-sessional programme is held over the summer, its short-term nature will be of concern to some affecting how they plan and organise their projects. Such constraints are impactful as are “the social, cultural, and institutional narratives within which individuals' experiences are constituted, shaped, expressed, and enacted” (p. 43). Institutional narratives are particularly interesting if one considers the life-story of an organisation such as a university, its mission, or even an EAP programme and internationalisation. The story constructed over time will mark those who are approximate to it, in some way affecting their own story telling. As a critical realist informed study, the need to highlight historical materiality is also complemented by a narrative methodology particularly when considering place. As discussed earlier, place is a theme common in the conversations of EFL and EAP professionals whether it is a material place, e.g. classrooms or staffroom or an organisational and hierarchical e.g. academic department or academic services. This is significant in narratives as it is argued that a change in space is a potential change in *discursive space* and a possible reformulation of one’s history (Hydén, 2008, p.130). The space then can be seen as a reality that can influence thoughts and actions despite

experiences of it but, epistemologically speaking, it is usually our experience that illuminates its influence.

Another rationale for choosing to conduct interviews in and around the campus was to observe how, or even if, place would be influential in their descriptions. Space issues and physical and perceived marginalisation were expected to arise in interviews due to hearing such comments informally in previous years whilst I was working there. Informal conversations conducted with teachers, as and when the opportunity arose, were also decided upon to elicit the issue of space and place as well as any other emergent theme. The distribution of the teachers over the campus as well as the EAP unit itself were to be considered too, as part of an analysis of space and place. In some way the positioning and changes in the positioning of a language centre can be treated as a document (*See* Prior, 2003).

4.5 The participants and data collection

4.5.1 The participants

The sample includes all those directly involved in teaching (those directing the programme are also included) within the EAP unit. Of course, the names used below are pseudonyms that may only be indicative of sex in the selection criteria.

Name	Sex	NS/NNS	Res.	Pos.	Age	Stream	Ret.
Charlie	F	NNS	EU	T.	25-45	GE	2+
Colin	M	NS	EU	T.	46-60	GE	2+
Rafa	M	NNS	UK	T.	25-45	GE	2+
Marco	M	NS	EU	T.C/M	46-60	BE	10+
Phil	M	NS	UK	C/M	46-60	N/A	10+
Scott	M	NS	EU	T.	60+	GE	10+

Malcolm	M	NS	UK	T.	25-45	GE	2+
Sam	F	NS	UK	T.	25-45	GE	2+
Susan	F	NS	UK	T.	46-60	GE	5+
Lisa	F	NNS	EU	T.	46-60	BE	2+

Table 1: interview participants

The sample for interviewing is more restricted and based on selecting those who may give the greatest insight, or rather, to "prefigure a division and hierarchy of expertise", or even experience, which then "presents the researcher with the opportunity for a careful mapping of "who knows what as the organizing framework to data collection" (Pawson and Tilley, 1997, p.155). Teachers (T.) have been selected under the following categories: Length of service (Ret. Or Returning years), mix of males and females (Sex), native and non-native speakers (NS/NNS), resident in and outside (EU) of the UK (Res.), age, programme stream (the Post-graduate EAP streams i.e., general (GE) and business (BE). The managerial sample includes programme co-ordinators (C/M). The interview sample numbers 10 but the general sample is 20. Where the remaining were involved during staff meetings and in *casual conversations*. Three participants mentioned by name (not interviewed), described below participated in meetings and informal conversation only.

Name	Sex	NS/NNS	Res.	Pos.	Age	Stream	Ret.
Rick	M	NS	UK	C/M	46-60	N/A	10+
Rebecca	F	NS	UK	T.	25-45	GE	2+
Colin	M	NS	EU	T.	46-60	GE	2+

Table 2: named participants (not interviewed)

4.5.2 Interviews

Interviews were chosen as a method of data collection to enable participants to "discursively construct their experiences" (Kartch, 2018, p. 1075). Narrative interviewing may be less controlling of themes, content, and meanings and thus provide a more personal account of experiences and more subjective meanings. If we understand identity as a meaning making lens and that it is reflexive, then allowing participants to create their narratives may enable them "to create a sense of belonging and discursively construct his or her own identity" (p. 1074). This does not imply that identities are simply made during the interview but that the interview can stimulate thoughts and deliberations on themes and allow interviewees to make identifications and negotiate and renegotiate stances.

The approach used allowed me to lessen control of the interview to act as a kind of facilitator by providing a general question prompt that interviews had up to a week to prepare answers for and by using follow up questions and "open-ended phrasing" (p. 75), not prepared beforehand. I was then able to direct the conversation towards and elaborate on themes that were of interest whilst attempting to avoid leading the interviewee just to entertain the research questions. Attention was paid to directing participants towards a wide range of themes to enrich the data whilst allowing them to maintain control of their narrative. I utilised emergent open-ended phrases such as: "tell me more about your experience on the induction course" to allow for this. Interviews took place in a favoured place for both parties and lasted for no longer than 1 hour.

The interviews conducted addressed the general question: "What does EAP mean to you?" allowing the participants to freely choose how to answer it, enabling them to form their own narrative. There was some prompting when interesting themes had arisen, but this fell short of leading the interviewees. The interviews were thus semi-structured using *ecological* charts. The choice of this tool was influenced by the work of Bronfenbrenner (1979) and his Ecological Systems Theory. The justification for this complements the use of narrative interviewing as it is also suggestive of the "centrality of the person" in research and their reflexivity in relation to their contexts. Darling (2007, p. 204) posits three central domains:

> First, the central force in development is the active person: shaping environments, evoking responses from them, and reacting to them. Second, a fundamental premise of ecological system theory is its phenomenological nature […] Finally, because different environments will have different affordances and will be responded to in different ways by different individuals, experienced and objectively defined environments will not be randomly distributed with regard to the developmental processes and the individuals one observes within them. Rather, one will find ecological niches in which distinct processes and outcomes will be observed.

Interviewees (teachers and managers) were be asked to complete an ecological system chart which uses themes generated from their own response to the question and followed up on by the researcher when necessary and deemed relevant to the research questions. This approach allows the respondent the opportunity to uncover various levels of influence from context and environment: those might be; immediate familial relationships, work relationships, cultural contexts, time related influences or how one changes over time due to changes in the working environment, also one might consider how identities change in the context of organisational change e.g., moving the EAP unit into academic services from an academic department. In the chart provided the interviewee filled in the ‘bubbles’ with various responses to the question which is in the centre of the diagram. Below are some example responses that might have been generated.

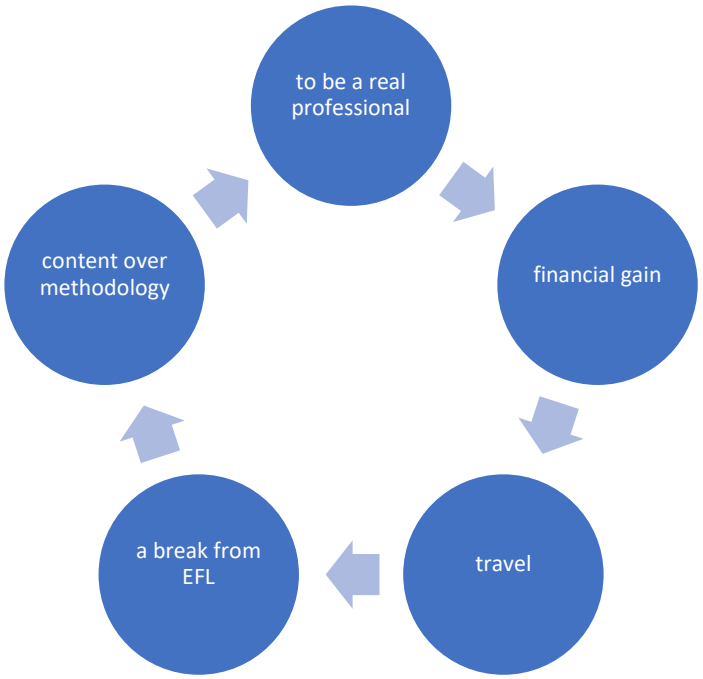


Figure 3: question prompt and possible example responses

It is important to consider, in terms of researcher reflexivity, that as the interview is conversational in nature, despite allowing for longer turns for the narrator. This suggests that the interview is collaborative in that meaning making is, to a degree, co-constructed (Kartch, 2018, p. 1076). Even the simple act of nodding whilst listening to the teller is an intrusion into the narrative that can affect its content and direction. Adopting the role of listener and facilitator can limit intrusions but not fully avoid them. Intrusions should be regarded as facilitative less controlling, allowing control and the ultimate direction to be that of the narrator (p. 1076). Such reflexivity should also be implemented not just in the selection and justification for narrative interviewing and the tools used but also in the data analysis process, to avoid applying too much of one's on view and judgment on the content of the narrative (p.1076).

4.5.3 Casual conversations

Over the 10 weeks I conducted casual conversations (not under interview conditions e.g. time limitation, recording device, and pre-planned questions) with respondents. These conversations took place during and after meetings, during and after CPD events and after teaching observations by the British Council. These events offered

the chance to get immediate reactions to the content and conclusions of them and their feelings towards any issue raised. It was considered important to do this as these events and themes would not necessarily feature prominently in the interviews and, also, some of the casual conversation participants were not invited for interview although it was felt that their contribution was still valuable. Another opportunity to converse with participants arose in down-time (outside of work hours) which was considered in order to add another dimension to the conversational approach. It was thought that participants may be more relaxed and willing to converse on themes that arose from the conversation outside of work-time pressures. In addition, conversations and there emergent themes allow both the researcher and participant to construct the dialogue and allow for new horizons (Gadamer, 1997) so to speak, not reduced to contrived themes, or assumptions as to what EAP is or means to them. Conversations can allow for the participant to discuss themes that are concerns beyond limited contexts elaborated within the interview. If as Gadamer (1992, p.64) claims, hermeneutics is "the skill to let things speak which come to us" then emergent themes are arguably more likely and not necessarily authored by the researcher. These conversations were analysed in a similar way as the interviews but of course based on real-time notetaking, so full detail of narratives will be lacking but nonetheless analysed for dominant themes and emergent themes.

Much like the narrative interview, casual conversations are, indeed, conversations and the same issues relating to allowing for participants to speak without too much direction from myself. This was a particular challenge as often conversations were related to events such as staff meetings or the British Council feedback meeting. I made sure that I did not ask questions about the specific content of the meeting, only what their thoughts were on the meeting. I was also confronted with issues of ethics too as participants may have felt put on the spot or had forgotten in the heat of the moment that they were indeed participants. I made sure that they were reminded of that before commencing conversation.

4.5.4 Observation

Observations took place during teacher meetings and CPD events organised by the unit. Teacher meetings took place once a week, and CPD events occurred throughout the ten weeks of the programme. The choice of including observation as

a method in the research design was to complement the principle method of narrative interview. Observation was deemed useful as participants are under less controlled conditions with regard to my direct influence. Themes and directions may emerge that were not initially considered. Whilst participants were aware of my presence, that presence may be considered less intrusive. In addition, this method allows for insight into how the participants enact their identities in the social setting, less the “subjectively experienced dimensions of social action” (Williams, 2008, p. 562) that were of interest to the researcher in both the narrative interviews and casual conversations. This was considered as it could provide some evidence of the *social interaction* mechanism necessary to enable structural elaborations such as those described further below in relation to assessment meetings. Indeed, one might observe real time legitimation of practices.

Observations included notetaking during presentations and discussions. I did not contribute to presentations or discussions again limiting my influence. Although, of course, even my presence could have been influential. Also, observations were likely to inform who I conversed with in post-event casual conversations, although those conversations would not be limited to that criteria. An observation might simply include noting who went to which session of CPD and noting interactions and content in conversations during the event. As I was myself engaged in teaching during the 10 weeks it was not possible to extend observation to classroom practice which may have provided greater insight into social interaction, particularly that of teacher and students.

4.5.5 Documents

Five document types were analysed in this thesis, those being, 1) the BALEAP website, 2) BALEAP competency framework, 3) job descriptors and supporting documents and 4) The British Council (2015) Accreditation Handbook for 2016-2017 and 5) pre-sessional PG stream curriculum document (see Appendix 6, p. 244). Where the use of interview may help the researcher uncover the concerns, emotions, deliberations, and legitimation of practices of teachers, documents may provide the stimulus for their actions. Where observation gives insight into social interaction mechanisms, documents such as curriculum documents, are examples of structural elaboration. These documents will be seen, as does Prior (2003, p. 2) not

simply as stable, static artefacts used in certain fields, frames and networks of action, we must also see them as products of fields, frames and networks of action. Indeed, documents provide the researcher with an insight into the background of how and why a document was produced and once produced that document serves as a prompt to further thought and action. In realist research, the analysis of documents seeks to uncover such things and not necessarily taking documents at face value. For example, in a job descriptor, one might find a list of duties and responsibilities that do not conflict with a view of one's work but questions can be asked as to why other duties and responsibilities might be absent and how ambiguity may imply other unfavourable roles, duties and responsibilities. This then gives the researcher a tool to enquire as to why such a description does not include certain responsibilities that are quite dominant in his practice. Coupled with interview, one can deduce possible conditioning influences the production of documents. The interview with Phil is an example of how his views on the basis and focus of pre-sessional EAP on the programme are also evident in the curriculum. Again, returning to the university campus as a document, architectural plans can serve as documental evidence of deliberate action (*see* Prior, 2003, p.10). The placing of an EAP unit on the campus may give us some insight into what a university may prioritise or how location of the unit may have changed over time. This is evident in how the EAP unit at the university moved from the English Department (closer to the core) to the periphery where less important units and departments are placed. The core is occupied mostly by the sciences and engineering which have been the university's main occupation throughout its history. The problem arises when one tries to prove that lesser status means more distance from the core. If a teacher recognises distance as an issue and claims to feel less important does not necessarily mean this is the case but even so in studying identity this internal conversation itself has great relevance. An analysis of the campus will not be conducted due to these issues.

4.6 Data analysis

4.6.1 Initial analysis

With the exception of documents, methods of data collection listed above were implemented concurrently over the 10 weeks of the programme. Documents were analysed in the weeks and months afterwards. The analysis of interview data followed a number of stages starting with an initial transcription followed by a skim read for dominant themes then read for detail and written up and summarised by the researcher. The researcher then returned to the transcript identifying narrower themes and possible elaborations of each participant's meanings. The analysis was conducted using a hermeneutic cycle popular in narrative research. What that means with regard to any given interview is related in some way to the procedural stages just mentioned but in more detail. The first task is to identify those themes that come up in initial reading then explore them further and their possible further elaboration or contradiction. This approach sees the whole text as a progressive narrative in that it is concentrated on the "sequencing and progression of themes within interviews, their transformation and resolution" (Squire, 2008, p. 50). An initial read will supply obvious themes but not their possible contestation or contradiction whereas a deeper read should address this. This is not to imply a quasi-teleological dimension to a narrative as Sayer (2000, p.143) complains of narrative enquiry, but to attempt to elicit interpretations that might shed light on causally influential phenomena and those narratives may structure events and experiences in a way more accessible than simple Q and A. The use of hermeneutic interpretation complements a project viewing discourses not only as medium but also as message. The forms part of the justification for a hermeneutic initial analytical approach as its philosophical underpinnings suggest.

> Hermeneutic philosophy maintains there is structure in the environment. At the same time, this paradigm recognizes that individuals may experience this structure differently. As a result, multiple realities may exist because different individuals or cultures have come to assign different meaning to structure in the environment. In fact, beyond simply assigning meaning, humans are viewed as actively constructing meaning (Patterson and Williams, 2002, p.15).

The analysis of interviews utilises a hermeneutic circle to focus on sentence, multiple sentences, wider sections of the transcript attempting to link between themes emergent in those *units*. An attempt will then be made to ascertain meaning. Of course, even at whole text level, in closing meaning the researcher is in danger of

reducing context. What this means is, although one may glean an understanding short of *verstehen* at the sentence level our analysis cannot close at the sentence level so why should it at the whole text level. Due to practicalities, it is not possible to continue the research interview to incorporate all those contexts influential outside that of the immediate or interview text context. However, even within the limitations of an interview one can allow for the range of possible contexts to be drawn in by structuring the interview and its tools to allow for such emergence without forcing, as much as one can, the burden of interviewer biases. Thus, in allowing for emerging themes and contexts as *horizons* (Gadamer, 1997) that are not complete closures of meaning leaves the task of interpretation as, plausibly, never ending. In this way we view the interview as informative but not ultimately revealing of all possibilities. The interview then as a snapshot gives the researcher parameters but those parameters can and will provide further avenues of analysis as they are reached new possibilities will present themselves. What is equally important here is that as a dialogic process the interviewer has “acquired a new understanding of the subject matter and of the contingency of their own perspective on it” (Vessey, 2009, p.541).

I will present a more detailed description of the hermeneutic methods I used for the narrative interviews, informed by Patterson and Williams (2002):

Step 1: Forestructure of understanding

This step refers to the establishment of a theoretical framework to guide a categorisation of the content of the data. This is necessary in terms of validity but should not be used to narrow the focus or control responses. To provide a basis for the LCT analysis, I decided to read the transcripts to elicit meanings in relation to Maton’s (2014) dimensions of Specialisation and Semantics. In more simplistic terms, how participants might categorise EAP knowledge e.g., in disciplines and how they might create meanings that are more or less context dependent. Examples of this may be how participants foreground their educational background, elevating linguistic knowledge over skills acquisition or communicative learning. Interviewees may locate meanings in clearly bounded contexts e.g., departmental expectations for bibliographic conventions. However, I expect emergent themes that will not fit neatly into those categories and that they are not simply disregarded on that basis.

Step 2: Data representation

As is most likely already apparent, the data for thematic analysis will be represented through qualitative methods as they are considered more suitable to the research questions and research aims and due to their function in aiding the elicitation of and analysis of language, texts, communication, meaning, and experience (p. 40).

Step 3: Sampling principles

The sampling principle, as discussed above, is purposive as it involves *representative types* or characteristics of individuals shared in the sample (p. 41). The basis for this is, firstly, to elicit a detailed understanding of the individual whilst at the same time attempting to compare themes emergent from individuals with others in the sample (p. 41). Secondly, it is suggested the data may be representative of a "type of experience in relation to the context of the setting (or a type of belief system within the population) rather than a statistically generalizable result" (p. 41).

Step 4: Data collection

The justification for the choice of interview (narrative) has already been described above in 4.5.2 but should be qualified in terms of the rationale for hermeneutic thematic analysis. The initial thematic analysis with limited intervention on the part of the research allows for emergent themes and emergent directions. This will also suggest that any open-ended phrased statements (e.g., "tell me about…) are unlikely to be pre-planned, formulated in response to the interviews theme, point or even interviewer directed questions. Whilst one may have some guiding questions or prompts they are not intended to reduce or facilitate contrived responses. The issue with this in terms of being replicable are that questions or open-ended phrases are not always going to be transferrable between interviews. The initial guiding question and ecological chart will provide some degree of valid measure but one has to maintain the rationale for using a hermeneutic framework in that experiences are likely to be different and that questions "are relevant to understanding that individual's experience" (p. 43).

Step 5: Data analysis

The thematic analysis is, as mentioned above, is initiated with a categorisation framework. This theoretical framework, in this case, the use of the dimensions of Specialisation and Semantic Gravity, is part of what is referred to as an “organizing-system” (Tesch, 1990; Patterson and Williams, 2002, p. 45). “The purpose of an organizing system is to identify predominant themes through which narrative accounts (interviews) can be meaningfully organized, interpreted, and presented” (p. 45). This was decided as more efficient than a content analysis as it avoids the problem of scores of possible themes that would then need connections to be made and categorised. As an LCT analysis will follow the thematic analysis, it was considered helpful to organise the data into themes that might relate to the dimensions to be used to analyse the data in the later LCT analysis.

The data analysis step begins with indexing of the text, numbering each sentence of the transcript sequentially for easy retrieval of relevant data (p. 46). This is not the first step of analysis *per se* but is used to facilitate the analysis (p. 46). As the transcript is based on utterance rather than grammatically correct and punctuated sentences, sentences will be defined as bounded units that include subjects, actions/states, and potential affected objects as in standard English subject – verb – object syntax. Sometimes these sentences may be punctuated in speech by pauses or interjections such as “umm”. Meanings may be elaborated on between more than one sentence, of course, and that is part of what the researcher is analysing in the hermeneutic circle (p. 46-47). The analysis begins with reading the transcript through once or twice to get a more general feeling of the communication of the content. It is then followed by the identification of “meaning units”, usually more than one sentence based around “aspects” of the narrative (p. 47). An example might be *attitude to change in learning environment.* The next step is to categorise meaning units into themes, the actual analysis itself. It is important to point out that, in this analysis, units may be interpreted as representing more than one theme (p. 48).

Once themes have been identified for each interview, the next step I undertook was to write a summary interpretation of the data, making sure not to only focus on listing the themes that were created but also to make possible connections between those themes (p. 48-49). This is to elicit an understanding of an interviewees individual meanings rather than attempting to immediately generalise them with others. As I am

interpreting meanings it is necessary to take steps to ensure a degree of validity and reliability in the process.

> [T]he analyst should be careful both to explain how the specific excerpts were selected (and how they represent the overall data base) and to include rather than ignore or dismiss contradictory or ambiguous data in the analysis (p. 49).

See Appendix 2 for a description of this process. Once the individual analyses (idiographic analysis) were done comparisons were made between narratives to establish common themes among them (nomothetic). The nomothetic analysis involves similar processes as the idiographic analyses but with focus on the common emergent phenomena arising from the individual analyses (p. 49). An example of the analysis (product of analysis) is presented in Appendix 3.

The next stage of initial analysis was to analyse documents, such as the BALEAP teacher competencies document, for content. A content analysis of documents is used here to retroductively, using the themes emergent in the thematic analysis, locate possible principles and meanings espoused by organisations that may influence the teachers views and orientations. The goal is to link data from organisational documents to their proposed context of use (Bergtsson, 2016, p. 9). The process of analysis is similar to the thematic analysis. The first stage requires a reading of the full document. The second stage requires a search for units of meaning, which in this case will begin a *latent analysis* or an interpretative analysis of what the writer of the document intends to say rather than literally what was said (p. 10). The units are then categorised from the data (ensuring no immediate comparison is made with the themes from the thematic analysis) to allow for the data to *speak.* This categorisation involves condensing the meaning unit to the essential language expressing meaning (p. 11). The condensed meaning is then coded (a first interpretation of meaning), placed into a possible sub-theme, then ascribed a generic theme (p. 12). Each theme may then be compared with those in the thematic analysis. Below is an example from the BALEAP Competency Framework document:

Meaning Unit

“7. Student Autonomy. An EAP teacher will understand the importance of student autonomy in academic contexts and will employ tasks, processes and interactions that require students to work effectively in groups or independently as appropriate.”
Condensed meaning unit
“An EAP teacher will understand the importance of student autonomy in academic contexts and will employ tasks, processes and interactions that require students to work […] independently […].”
Code
Developing learning skills
Sub-theme
Cultural practices of UK HE context
Main theme
Acculturation. Enabling students to acquire skills, values and conventions that will help them in their learning objectives and outcomes within the HE organisation.

Table 3: example schedule of analysis (adapted from: Bergtsson, 2016, p. 11).

4.6.2 Analytical dimensions: specialisation

In this section I wish to demonstrate how I operationalised the concepts described in Chapter 3 in order to analyse the data I gathered. As stated in Chapter 3, I chose *specialisation* as a dimension, the reasons being that it specifies not only *what* knowledge is regarded as legitimate in particular fields e.g. the recontextualisation field, but also who might be regarded a legitimate *knower* (see Maton, 2014). Again,

I provide an overview with the help of Maton (p. 64) of how specialisation is conceptualised:

- knowledge codes (ER+, SR−), where possession of specialized knowledge of specific objects of study is emphasized as the basis of achievement, and the attributes of actors are downplayed;
- knower codes (ER−, SR+), where specialized knowledge and objects are less significant and instead the attributes of actors are emphasized as measures of achievement, whether these are viewed as born (e.g. 'natural talent'), cultivated (e.g. artistic gaze or 'taste') or socially based (e.g. the notion of gendered gaze in feminist standpoint theory);
- élite codes (ER+, SR+), where legitimacy is based on both possessing specialist knowledge and being the right kind of knower (here, 'élite' refers not to social exclusivity but rather to possessing both legitimate knowledge and legitimate dispositions); and
- relativist codes (ER−, SR−), where legitimacy is determined by neither specialist knowledge nor knower attributes – a kind of 'anything goes'.

The task then is to analyse the data and translate these concepts into descriptions relating to the specific problem in my study. Of course, my interest here is how such specialisation in the recontextualisation field can influence the orientations or stances of practitioners but also how practitioners' specialisation may influence recontextualisation. As Kirk (2018, p. 82) points out, this suggests that EAP is not one single field of practice, that it is differently conceived in those different fields and often differently practised. He listed those fields as *research*, *curriculum,* and *pedagogy*. Recontextualisation would likely happen in the creation of curriculum and re-production in pedagogy. The question, in terms of influence, is to what degree relations between those fields are weak or strong and how pedagogical practices through the lens of specialisation may be able to bridge those gaps.

4.6.3 Analytical dimensions: semantics

Semantics, as described in Chapter 3, is also sub-divided into two distinct sub-categories, those being *semantic gravity* (SG+/-) and *semantic density* (SD+/-). Semantic gravity refers to the degree to which meanings are locally construed and context dependent and semantic density refers to the degree to which meanings are not dependent on the locally practice setting and are construed with reference to

generalisability between contexts. One may suggest this density of meaning in how concepts underpinning the programme materials were construed in relation to both theories of corpus linguistics and to a lesser degree academic literacy. As did Kirk (2018, p. 18) I decided to put more emphasis on Semantic Gravity as it was more relevant to my research questions. Again, from Maton (2013, p. 11) below is an overview of the SG component of the semantic dimension:

> Semantic gravity (SG) refers to the degree to which meaning relates to its context. Semantic gravity maybe relatively stronger (+) or weaker (−) along a continuum of strengths. The stronger the semantic gravity (SG+), the more meaning is dependent on its context; the weaker the semantic gravity (SG−), the less dependent meaning is on its context. All meanings relate to a context of some kind; semantic gravity conceptualizes how much they depend on that context to make sense.

These descriptions informed my own descriptions more relevant to the research questions and the substantive object of study as I discussed above in relation to specialisation. Below I sketch out how I transformed or translated those descriptions and how my descriptions were then exemplified in the data through a second translation.

4.6.4 Analytical tools: towards a *translation* device

In order to attempt to connect pedagogical discourses and their possible reproduction in the thoughts and acts of teachers it is first necessary to develop a transparent tool to translate from theoretical concepts to empirical data as does Kirk (2018) in his analysis of curriculum enactment. This translation might be undertood as a *Language of Description* (LoD) (Bernstein, 2000). Languages of Description are further separated into *internal languages* (L1) and *external languages* (L2); the first (L1) referring to the concepts within theoretical frameworks, such as those relating to epistemic relations (ER) or social relations (SR) and the second (L2) referring to how that concept may be realised in empirical examples (Maton and Chen, 2016, p. 30-31). What the L1 is comprised of will not be how it will not reflect the wider theory and concepts of a framework but will be purposively selected according to the research questions and what is evident in the data; “The main concept is divided into or reconceptualised as categories which, through engagement with data, are recursively divided into sub- categories until the network is able to account for all

data in the study" (p. 30). In moving from L1 categories and their broader theoretical descriptions the task is then is to refine those descriptions to what is emergent in the data but not to simply map the L1 description to the data.

> [A]n external language is not simply an extension of the internal language of a theory but rather arises from its engagement with the specificities of an object of study. The intention is to enable new or unexpected information to emerge from the data that may reshape both the way concepts are enacted and, potentially, the concepts themselves (p.32).

Epistemic Relations (ER)		
	Content in the curriculum materials or in teacher discourse:	**Examples from the data:**
ER++	Emphasises particular textual or language practices, procedures or techniques explicitly tied to academic disciplines as constituting legitimate EAP course knowledge	Lesson on writing about cases in Law supplementary pack, p.88–94
ER+	Emphasises particular textual or language practices, procedures or techniques not explicitly tied to academic disciplines as constituting legitimate EAP course knowledge	Notetaking frame, August coursebook, p.216
ER–	De-emphasises particular textual or language practices, procedures or techniques as constituting legitimate EAP course knowledge	Optional self-study tasks, August coursebook, p.38
ER– –	Rejects particular textual or language practices, procedures or techniques as	(not observed in the data analysed)

	constituting legitimate EAP course knowledge	

To visualise this, the table below is an example of Kirk's (2018) specialisation (Epistemic Relations) translation clearly demonstrating how movement from those general concepts is then engages with the specificities of his empirical data.

Table 4: example translation device for Epistemic Relations (from: Kirk, 2018, p. 115)

4.6.5 A translation device for specialisation

I developed a similar layout and presentation for the translation device used to analyse my data but adjusted the descriptions in line with my questions and substantive topic. As you might also observe, those initial descriptions from theory are mapped to some of the more dominant themes arising from the initial thematic analysis. Those themes then provided *new* categories to reach back to the general specialisation theory. An example is highlighted below; discipline specific educational qualifications.

Epistemic Relations (ER)		
	In teacher/manager/co-ordinator discourse, programme documents, job descriptors and other organisational documents:	**Examples from the data:**
ER++	Emphasises **particular educational qualifications** that are discipline specific, and discipline specific knowledges required of the practitioner or in the needs of students, which are considered legitimate to EAP practice.	Teacher interview p. 107-109, p. 148

	Emphasises a basis to knowledge rather than a focus for it.	
ER+	Emphasises particular educational qualifications that are less discipline specific, and knowledges required of practitioners or in the needs of students less related to specific academic disciplines, which are considered legitimate to EAP practice. May emphasise a focus for knowledge over a defined basis e.g. the development of academic skills.	Pre-sessional manager interview p. 128-129
ER-	De-emphasises particular educational qualifications that are discipline specific, and knowledges required of practitioners or in the needs of students related to specific academic disciplines, which are considered legitimate to EAP practice. A focus for knowledge is emphasised over a basis but particular skills focuses may not be emphasised.	BALEAP Framework and programme teacher recruitment literature p. 160-161
ER--	Rejects particular educational qualifications that are discipline specific, and knowledges required of practitioners or in the needs of students related to specific academic disciplines, which are considered legitimate to EAP practice. A basis for knowledge is not emphasised and focus may be unclear.	Teacher interview p. 225

Table 5: translation device for specialisation (Epistemic Relations)

Below I provide a separate table to incorporate the translation device I have developed for Social Relations (SR). The SR element is of particular importance to the study as may be reflective of teachers' thoughts about who they are, their position, their roles, dispositions, and orientations. Analysis of Social relations can provide "unique insight of a particular kind of knower, claims to knowledge by actors are legitimated by reference to this ideal knower's attributes, which serve as the basis for professional identity within the field (Maton, 2014, p. 33)".

Social Relations (SR)		
	In teacher/manager/co-ordinator discourse, programme documents, job descriptors and other organisational documents:	**Examples from the data:**
SR++	Emphasises teachers' individual discretion, experiences, and beliefs about practice. Encourages students' opinions, attributes or dispositions as constituting legitimate contributions to EAP knowledge	Teacher interview p. 157
SR+	Emphasises teachers' discretion, experiences, and beliefs but less from their own view but possible the views of others. Teachers may emphasise teacher autonomy more generally. Emphasis may shift to the importance of focusing on *generic* student needs over their individual needs.	Teacher interview p. 120
SR-	De-emphasises teachers' individual discretion, experiences and beliefs about practice. May not encourage or emhasise the importance of students'	Teacher's interview p. 116

	opinions, attributes or dispositions as constituting legitimate contributions to EAP knowledge	
SR--	Rejects teachers' individual discretion, experiences and beliefs about practice. Does not encourage or emphasise the importance of students' opinions, attributes or dispositions as constituting legitimate contributions to EAP knowledge	**Not observed in the data.**

Table 6: translation device for specialisation (Social Relations)

4.6.6 A translation device for Semantic Gravity

Again, as did Kirk (2018), and after considering the research questions and initial analysis of the data, I decided to limit the semantics dimension to Semantic Gravity to attempt to illuminate the meanings that were construed in relation to local context.

Semantic Gravity (SG)		
	In teacher/manager/co-ordinator practices and discourse emphasis is placed on:	**Examples from the data:**
SG--	Language proficiency, Linguistic and textual structures, wider understandings of student needs and teachers' roles and descriptions of the purpose of EAP	Teacher interview p. 219-220: "But I think that you know we are guiding them, in their life experience to open up to these other identities if you want to put it that way. Um, so i find that the experience I've had leads me to concentrate on the

		people, not on the needs, the technical needs".
SG-	Generalised descriptions of EAP content, language and academic skills, the needs of students, less wide in defining the purpose of EAP	Teacher interview p. 120-121: "I'm teaching English for Academic Purposes so I'm it's at a very general level but the target language use domain ok that will be partly social. You know what they need to survive in [name removed] as a student but also partly academic what will they need for their subject and what kind of task will they have in that environment when they finish studying."
SG+	Descriptions of content of EAP more focused on perceived needs of students on the programme; on emphasis on skills and practices such as acculturation.	Teacher interview p. 54: "We teach them the *skills that are needed to pass the course* but we also teach them the skills that are needed to pass their future, pass their degree".
SG++	Specific target needs, practices and discourses of the programme; a particular focus on the specific skills of text construction	Teacher meetings p. 157 and in interviews e.g. p. 170: "So you might find, well, certainly, on our course we here on our programme, see reading and writing as being more important than say speaking and listening but they are still important… so we weight our results more towards reading and writing. But listening and speaking are

		really important as I said too. But ultimately students have to write essays, they have to develop their thinking based on what they read so those are two big areas..."

Table 7: translation device for Semantic Gravity (SG)

4.6.7 A translation device for Framing

As Kirk (2018, p. 111) observed from his own data, but also with regard to the research question suggesting causal influence from the programme, I decided that a translation device for framing would be fruitful in analysing the data. Particularly due to quite strong external control of the curriculum (F^e) centred around the final writing assessment. Although I do incorporate the three fields of curriculum, pedagogy and assessment, unlike Kirk I have not analysed curriculum documents to any great extent thus much of the discourse on curriculum, or indeed pedagogy and assessment emerged in interviews, casual conversations and in teacher meetings. All the same, the data did provide examples that fitted with the theory translated in the device. As my study did not involve directly observing teacher practices, I found it challenging to map theory to, largely, *speaking about practices* which does limit the quantity of observable examples with regard to internal framing or F^i. Nonetheless, I provide the translation device for framing below which again borrows from Kirk (2018, p. 112) and adapted for my specific problem and data types.

	F^e	**Selection, sequencing and/or pacing of curriculum content and tasks is...**	**Examples from the data**
Curriculum	+F	...largely fixed, and determined by the course managers	PG course curriculum document; induction

			training; teacher meetings
	-F	...flexible, and teachers are able to make their own decisions	The actual materials used; afforded authority in supplementing/replacing materials
	F[e]	**Selection, sequencing and/or pacing of assessment content and tasks is...**	**Examples from the data**
Assessment	+F	...largely fixed, and determined by the course managers	Tasks narrowly prescribed (listening test)
	-F	...flexible, and students are able to make their own decisions	Essay and presentation topic and title decided on by student
	F[i]	**Selection, sequencing and/or pacing of classroom content and tasks is...**	**Examples in the data**
Pedagogy	**+F**	...determined mainly by the teachers	Rafa's description of what he teaches his students
	-F	...flexible, and students are able to make decisions that influence teacher practices	Marco's description of students defining their 'ends' as opposed to prescribed needs imposed by the teacher

Table 8: translation device for Framing

4.7 Ethical problems and positionality

4.7.1 Ethics

It is deemed appropriate that initial contact be made through email giving an overview of the main objectives of the research (an information sheet attached) and the types of questions that will be asked. Thus, a consent form was sent, and it was made clear that participation was voluntary. It also stated that recordings may be used to aid data collection and that notetaking would be offered as an alternative if so requested. Participants were made aware that they could withdraw at any moment and any data related to them removed if requested. Participants were given pseudonyms and any information they gave that clearly identified them or the organisation they worked at would be removed from the transcripts. As well as pseudonyms participants were given the opportunity to read transcripts and request information be removed. Also, the university where the research took place would not be named and would be referred to solely as *the university*. The language centre would be called *the unit* and any building names which are unique to the university would be given generic names such as *the English department* or *IT centre*. It has been decided that even specific mention of the names of elements of the programme would be removed and replaced with *PG stream* and *business stream*.

During meetings those who had not signed the consent form would not be mentioned or what they might say directly in notes or in the write up. If a participant who gave consent mentioned another or what another might have said, efforts would be made to avoid giving away the third person's identity through name or through what they said.

4.7.2 Positionality

It is also important to consider that I, myself, am a colleague of the participants in the study, some of whom I have worked more closely with than others. From this I am very much aware that objectivity is difficult, as I may well have my own stance on issues relating to EAP practice. I made sure that my own thoughts and opinions when gathering data would not intentionally or otherwise subverting the narratives of the participants. The research design, in which interviews were less than semi-structured, gave little opportunity for the researcher to lead or put pressure on

participants to answer or respond in a particular way or manner. However, one feels that, as an ‘insider’, teachers and managers may not have been so open to discuss issues that they thought might be sensitive or threaten their positions, although I did not occupy a management role. Teachers may have felt that my interventions were ‘spy-like.’ In fact, the actual experience was quite the opposite, as many of the teachers felt quite comfortable in voicing their concerns and criticisms. Still, I attempted to remain neutral on any issue that a concerned teacher requested my response. At times it was difficult to raise my head above the immediate concerns of the programme and view it from differing angles and perspectives. Whilst attempting to avoid over-influencing participants’ responses in the collection of data and its initial analysis, I found it difficult to distance myself, my thoughts and opinions, in the interpretation stages, and in the conclusions. As I mentioned with regard to narrative interviewing, it was necessary to analyse the data reflexively, to ensure that my personal views and stances did not overtly affect my interpretations of it. Despite this, my conclusion do make assertions that are reflective in the data but not always so explicit. As this study is oriented towards issues of my practice it is impossible not to show concern and coming from a critical realist philosophical viewpoint, I was concerned with identifying how the programme may be recontextualising EAP in a fashion that may be problematic for the professional learning of its teachers and even the students. Of course, that stance should not be understood as a description of the truth, but an interpretation informed by the data.

4.8 Summary and research questions

This chapter sought to clarify the research process undertaken in this thesis. Emphasis was given primarily to the aspects of the theory that underpinned the empirical project as attention was given to greater meta-theoretical problems in the preceding chapter. In this chapter the development of an instrument that could translate theory into descriptions that were more precisely applicable to the data gathered was achieved. In the following two chapters I will demonstrate its utility in the description and analysis of the data and also its value in developing plausible and insightful evaluations.

The research questions are: what are the organising principles behind the EAP programmes description of EAP? Do teachers tend to align their beliefs and practices to those principles? What professional identities are emergent in this context? What are the implications for teacher professional learning in the context of pre-sessional EAP?

Chapter 5. EAP teacher identities on a pre-sessional programme at a UK university: themes and commonalities

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the results of the analysis of the narratives emerging from the interviews and informal conversations. This discussion will arise from an idiographic thematic analysis and across-narrative nomothetic analysis which identifies main emergent themes across the interviews and informal conversations, these will form the structure of the text as seen below. The themes are likely to be broad but individual narratives will be discussed to elicit how and why that theme might have arisen in a particular teacher's narrative. It is expected that the themes will in some way overlap but will also possess distinctive characteristics in their own right. In identifying those emergent topics, I will then attempt to discuss them in relation to the conceptual framework organising the data. That framework involves organising themes into categories that may reflect how teachers give meaning to their EAP experience. The concepts used relate to what participants view is legitimate practice, from what bases and if context plays a role in those definitions. I have used the LCT dimensions of Specialisation and Semantic Gravity as the names for the concepts used in this analysis, but this is not an attempt at an LCT analysis. The idea is to streamline the theoretical framing of analysis towards the later LCT analysis in Chapter 6.

5.2 Teachers' narratives and emergent themes

In this section, I will present the provide an overview of the responses of the interviewees, provide general information relating to their professional backgrounds and identify themes and commonalities among them. The initial 10 interviewees have now been reduced to 8 due to reasons of brevity and, as described in Chapter 4, for the reason that the 8 listed below gave more insight.

5.2.1 Malcolm

Malcolm is a British NS (Native Speaker) male in his early 40s. He currently resides in the UK (at the time of interview) after having spent many years living and working in Germany. Malcolm has also worked in the Middle East and Russia. He has been teaching EAP for a number of years [not specified in interview] but mostly at the

university. He is a member of BALEAP to which he contributes papers and to conferences. Malcolm is also a member of IATEFL. His education background begins with Modern Foreign Languages (MFL) at A-Level and a turn to Physics at bachelor's degree level despite giving that up and concentrating again on MFL. In his own words Malcolm describes this second turn as: "I sort of ended up becoming a mainstream linguist…with a degree in Italian and tried to learn Russian at the same time because I felt my French and German were really serviceable you know before I got to university." He began teaching EFL in Russia in the mid- nineties and used the money he earned to invest in a master's degree in translation ("because I found TEFL to be really exhausting") and worked as a translator for "the better part of ten years." Malcolm further describes himself as a "terminologist." Eventually he moved away from translation due to in his words: "a professional step forwards in terms of remuneration, in the translation work you were actually taking an academic step backwards and it really did seem to be an inverse relationship between doing your professional academic translation as a terminologist and actually complying to corporate procedures." He decided to "relaunch" himself into the "teaching world", into a "higher level" in a "more university professional environment." He undertook another master's degree this time in applied linguistics. Malcolm also studied towards a Trinity CertTESOL certificate after graduating from university and later the Cambridge DELTA. Malcolm pays a lot of critical attention to these TEFL training courses especially the DELTA. He complains that: "The DELTA is not an academic qualification it's an intelligent procedural qualification and one thing I do worry about EAP is that it is going to become mandatory and standard to have the DELTA…" He complains of "corporate power structure, business model and production line techniques." He also critically states:

> "I'm concerned there is no assumption of pedagogical effectiveness in a monolingual communicative classroom that cannot be critiqued at a doctorate level by appealing to a discipline or linguistic science that goes beyond the DELTAs mandate I mean I would simply argue that [what] the DELTA qualification is to linguistic science [is] what Fox news is to [journalism]. I really do see it as it's a partisan corporate power structure and it's trying to push the whole industry in a certain direction that is compliant with its whole business model."

In his critique of DELTA, Malcolm turns to its assessors calling them "unskilled laborers." He remarks on the lack of rigor or unacademic nature of DELTA and speaking of his own failure of a DELTA module Malcolm states that "a proper

professor of linguistic science" would have passed him. He complains that you have to answer the questions as *they* expect but not as a linguist probably would and that the "academic terminology from the DELTA tutors was really embarrassing; it wasn't even degree level in terms of the use of the terminology of linguistic science." Malcolm links certain features of EAP with their choice to teach it and many of those features are what those teachers identify with most strongly in their careers as a whole. Firstly the importance of *certification*, also *academic* study and *research*, *professionalism*, *collegiality* and *seriousness*, clear definable *objectives*, *structure*, the importance of a more *professional* working environment, and *enhanced criticality*. These themes are brought up by Malcolm throughout the interview. His abstraction of EAP encapsulates this: "EAP is a way of extracting a signal from the noise" (referring to general EFL/ESOL). He follows this by stating that EAP gives one "bearings and orientation" and "that's why I stay here I like the structure." He remarks also on how in practising EAP one feels "part of a professional sort of body" which he does and did not find in his previous specialisms e.g. translation. He criticises translation as not being "a properly regulated profession." He does not offer such criticism to EAP claiming that it possesses "an *industry standard* that you can expect, you know you are delivering the teaching in a certain kind of recognised academic environment…"

As a member of both IATEFL and BALEAP Malcolm has selected the two leading organisations in the EFL and EAP fields, respectively. Whereas Scott (another interviewee), although a member of IATEFL, is also a member of local organisations in his resident country but not BALEAP. Here Malcolm describes why he selected these organisations.

> "I find that IATEFL throws its neck so widely encompasses so many different countries and different TEFL situations in all of the specialist interest groups in IATEFL…I'm actually in the *research* interest group that with the whole thing really is one *special* interest group. So I think I've had special interest groups within [IATEFL] um yeah I think also I mean in terms of employment I mean if you're looking for a contract through IATEFL you're really I think in greater danger of finding yourself recruited to an organisation that probably possibly doesn't even exist or that doesn't really have the authority to recruit you at all [this is stated from Malcolms personal experience which he elaborated on in an informal conversation]. Whereas, with organisations that advertise with BALEAP for employment I think the statistical probability that you are joining a more *professional* organization with more recognised *official*

> ways of doing things is higher. Shall we say it's the *specialism* of EAP um that brings more *security* I think rather than the non-special nature of TEFL."

Malcolm places the EAP specialist organisation above the more generalist EFL organisation as more relevant to EAP practice and also to notions of *security* and *professionalism*. In discussing the publications and membership of the organisations Malcolm believes that the dominant journals in EAP are more "professionally academic" and that IATEFL publications are "ranked a grade lower." Malcolm's criticism of DELTA seems closely related to his view of the lack of professionalism in TEFL, its arguably corporate nature and standard almost procedural and performative methodologies and pedagogy. Malcolm continues by differentiating two types of knowledge.

> "…I think the first module is absolutely not about linguistics it's purely about training in their particular culture, in their particular way of thinking. It just requires the specialist knowledge of the culture of the organisation and their approach to linguistics. It doesn't require an academic approach to linguistics."

Malcolm separates knowledges as *organisational* and *academic*. He claims that organisational knowledge e.g. not that produced by an academic organisation (one imagines a university department or research group legitimised by publishing in academic journals) is "training" in "their particular culture" and ways of doing things and their own "approach to linguistics." He compares this with an "academic approach to linguistics" without specifying what *academic* may mean. His analogy with Fox News, a critique of the *organisational* view, might clarify this difference.

> "Well it's not just that it's the timing and the etiquette and formula of exactly how and what. Having their examinations questions answered…I mean this is why I compare it with FOX News because you know Fox News is only interested in finding the kind of people who want to have their propaganda fed back to them and that's how I feel about module one I mean they're behaving as if they are the audience of Fox News you know all they want to do is get their propaganda fed back to them."

One imagines that academic approaches are thus not propaganda orientated, but rather, research and fact based. Later in the interview Malcolm returns to structure as a positive in EAP. He celebrates the fact that it is more ordered, less eclectic, and more formal. He links this *one voice* to the marrying up of corpus linguistics and functional grammar which had informed the curriculum on the pre-sessional for many

years, especially when located in the English department. He celebrates that although there is *one voice* different universities have their take on it e.g. Reading, UK: and its focus on process writing. In saying this Malcolm explains: “I like that you can feel that you are *part of the legacy* of a particular *scholarly tradition* on a particular campus and that to me legitimises in a local context what you are doing more than you can ever feel that *you were being legitimised* teaching in a more TEFL environment.” In this, Malcolm is identifying with scholarly work in specialist fields and in organisations that are more academic, Interestingly, he also makes note of the local context and how an emergent tradition had arisen in it, although it appears that he is suggesting the scholarly direction is not dependent on certain contextual prompts but rather legitimate EAP knowledge for many contexts.

Malcolm discusses working in the private and public/semi-public sectors selecting the later as for him it is less corporate, more *stable* with more *honesty* and *integrity* and *less superficiality*. This idealistic view (despite him recognising that) is further enhanced when Malcolm talks about the public sector having “deeper roots” and its role in developing national culture. From this Malcolm discusses why he prefers university teaching over school teaching which he puts down to aspects such as *access to students with motivation for learning* and relative ease that comes with that. In Malcolm’s recent teaching context (a German university) he complains of a lack of legitimacy as a higher educator. He claims that in Germany his role and the subject of EAP are not really recognised – stating that students enter university with a high level of English which lessens the need for EAP among domestic students. Malcolm’s commitment to teaching in Germany for the long term seems unlikely as he complains of the long training and bureaucracy attached to public sector roles in the country. Despite this he seeks long term stability in the shape of a “campus position” but says that this might be in the Middle East or Asia. He is reluctant about moving to those places due to the nature of the interview process being at a distance and informal and the lack of knowledge of the local language. He also complains of the methodology that might be in place in Asian universities i.e. the *communicative approach* which he does not favour stating his translation background as a reason for this. Malcolm has done some published research in translation but not in EAP and wishes to do a PhD but claims that something always happens to prevent him starting. In discussing publication again, Malcolm mentions that many great thinkers

and writers did not get anything published e.g. Socrates and Shakespeare. Malcolm often returns to the importance of scholarly work and research. Malcolm takes this further in discussing how he created “data driven materials”, one imagines for EFL, and discusses how those materials are based on *academic research* not just coming from corporations. He says: “you can feel better about what you are doing”, one imagines he means teaching and using materials based on research. He claims to have taken those materials to an “academic environment” and to academics themselves. In discussing academics as “muses” he says: “academics to me are the kind of people who replaced the more spiritual types the clergymen in the middle ages or the druids in the sort of high priest of the druids it’s a kind of priesthood to me the academic world it’s a very kind of *status* that an academic has from a big business person shall we say so yes EAP is a way of getting one step closer to the priesthood I would say.”

5.2.2 Susan

Susan is a native speaker of English, in her 50s and from the UK. Susan’s teaching career began in the 1980s training to be a teacher in the state sector which she was quite disillusioned with judging by her comments.

> “I could teach English because prior to that I trained as a teacher originally. I was going to go into state schools and do middle school um this was in the eighties, this was in, Margaret Thatcher was around and there just there were just no teaching jobs. It was actually, she probably did me a favour really and then I through personal circumstances changed I was separated from my husband, I got divorced so I was free. It was like the world was my oyster, so it was like wanting a completely new direction really.”

Her newfound freedom meant travel and Susan spent some time in Spain after studying linguistics, one presumes at master’s level, although she did not specify. Her first experience teaching in a university was around that time, which she very much enjoyed as she was “treated like an adult as a professional really”. Her first experience in pre-sessional EAP at the university was in 1999 and she states how the “vibe” was exciting as the field of corpus linguistics was heavily influencing the course. She discusses the large amount of linguistics research going on in what was then an English language and linguistics department housed in another building than is now. She describes a time when teaching EAP was under an *academic* umbrella and tied to an *academic discipline*, which one presumes she is contrasting with the

present. Susan discusses *changes* regularly in her interview. Among changes that she has seen over the last 17 years, the lack of a staff room matters a lot to Susan. After prompting, Susan also mentioned how the EAP unit keeps changing jts name. The current name for her is *unprofessional* sounding “fly by night”. She states that there is a difference between *academy* and *academic* and that the teachers who taught her [presumably in professional development when she started at the university] were *researchers*. On being prompted about the fact that the unit had been moved out of the academic structure into an administration department Susan wished it would return to an *academic* department.

> “I mean I don’t know I don’t know about the funding but I just find it’s almost like we’re the poor relations. I find it really really bad that we are made to go all over the university. I mean I don’t know why they couldn’t provide us with a decent building. I like being part of the English department, why aren’t we part of the English department?”

Susan feels like she is not considered academic staff and that being spread over the campus affects her. Susan also talks about “like-minded people” who are on the “same wavelength”. One assumes she means that they have a similar professional background, interests and all have a desire to travel as mentioned below.

Susan claims that does not wish to become an academic but to continue teaching at the level she does or a change of career. She has taken an interest in creative writing which she insists is not that different from academic writing in the problem-solution process approach. She then says “I’m not interested in developing my career…I’m more interested in what I’m interested in.”

In the informal conversation that occurred after the interview Susan returned to being “on the same wavelength” with peers. She took a break from TEFL and began teaching complimentary therapy claiming her decision to do so was to “follow an interest”. However, over time she began to miss the intellectual discussions of her TEFL peers. “That’s what I mean by wavelength, not only are EFL teachers generally intellectual and have intelligent discussions but also they tend to have many different interests, travel being one but not only travel.”

Susan has worked in private, semi-private organisations and public universities. She is critical of the corporate leaning of many of the places she has worked at. Despite

this of one of the organisations, she praised their facilities but for the lack of a staff room.

5.2.3 Lisa

Lisa is a non-native speaker from southern Europe, female and in her late forties. She has been teaching EAP for over 10 years mostly in a British University context. She is currently teaching on the business stream of the pre-sessional programme which she has done for two years. She makes reference to *knowing* the business discipline to enable her in teaching on the pathway. “I wouldn’t like to be asked questions and not be able to answer them” she exclaims. Lisa claims to have had a love of the English language since she was a child and has always wanted to be a teacher. “Many people say that I speak English better than Greek…” she jokes. Her Bachelor’s degree is in English language and literature. Her *dissatisfaction with the education system* in her country led her, she claims, to study for an MA in TESOL. Since doing her MA she has taught in UK universities and presented at conferences (she highlights presenting quite strongly). She also is considering doing a PhD as she exclaims: “the sky’s the limit.”

When discussing the content of her MA she claimed to like the *Testing and Assessment* module despite not liking *teaching to tests*. Her interest in assessment can be seen in this excerpt:

> “Ok I think there’s a big gap between uh I was fascinated with assessment and the evolution of assessment and the difference between European assessment and American assessment in English so I made a lot of comparative analysis of degrees and diplomas and I actually in my dissertation I tried to show that students who take a test at 16 especially the Proficiency the Cambridge Proficiency in English in three years’ time they know nothing about it.”

Language knowledge and its use is important to her concept of proficiency:

“… can you actually tell me what the ticket officer told you then this for me means knowing a language being able to use it and get at the level when you don’t have to think…” Lisa goes on to discuss Proficiency:

> “And it was really interesting because when I asked my students who had passed the test when they were 16 to retake it at 20 they failed it because they had no practice with English and that’s what I mean teach to the test because at 16 you cannot be proficient in a language

> that's not your own. At 16 you increase you haven't graduated high school so you're not proficient in your own language how can you be proficient in another language."

Lisa links being proficient in a language to schooling and institutions of government. Her critique of 'teach to the test' returns her to her home country where she (one assumes due to using the pronoun *we*) has been trying to convince parents that teaching to tests will not raise proficiency. She even states that she is trying to convince the "establishment" too (one assumes this to mean the government of her country) to listen to the *professionals.* Lisa makes regular reference to proficiency rather than say competency, as it seems she has this ideal in mind as to the attainment of her learners and indeed herself. She makes regular reference to native speakers and how her students even with relatively high proficiency would struggle in native speaking contexts. Proficiency for her seems to be native speaker like. She also refers to students needing to produce *correct English*, whatever she qualifies correct English to be. In answering the question: "what does EAP mean to you?" Lisa responds by stating that it is about developing their *linguistic* skills before quickly moving on to *British culture*. She raises the importance of *acculturation* and that to know a language is to know the culture it comes from. Lisa places importance on *integration* into a cultural-linguistic community. One might suggest also that joining the native-like community is important to her and is reflected in what she suggests of pedagogy.

5.2.4 Rafa

Rafa also celebrates proficiency as a goal of the EAP learner and what he defines one of the main roles he identifies with, that of helping students develop as proficient academic *writers*. Rafa is a male in his late twenties, is a NNS originally from Eastern Europe and as of 2016 has worked on three successive Post-graduate Pre-sessional programmes at the university. His academic background has mostly centred around linguistics and is currently writing a PhD thesis in the field of Forensic Linguistics with an interest in writing. Prior to teaching on the programme, Rafa had taught academic writing skills in a support role at another university. Rafa's interest in writing skills has influenced not only his doctoral studies but also his publications, having recently published a book on writing skills. He has also created his own website dedicated to writing and writing skills, as well as contributing to another

website on writing and other topics. As far EFL/EAP is concerned, Rafa has had little experience of teaching prior to taking up his post at the university in 2014 and has recently (after 2014) completed a CELTA. When answering the question: "what does EAP mean to you?" Rafa had a lot to say beginning with the idea of a "*more rounded education*" focusing on particular *skills* development.

> "…preparing students for university education. And the principle of university education is to know everything about a small topic and a few little things about every other topic. So…a small area that you're focusing on. And then it's kind of trying to give you a *more rounded*; that's what the university is about. Even technical education at university is about this – trying to teach you a lot of different *skills*. And sometimes even *skills* that you don't know why you need them. Especially in European universities you have these electives and additional modules. For example, when my father studied, he studies forestry at university and he had things like biology, animal biology because his main focus was not on plants but on animals. So he studies animal biology and botany, and all sorts of subjects and basics of medicine, and financial accounting. He never needed that subject, never ever. But he studies it because this is something that gives you a more rounded education."

Rafa suggests that a kind of genericism in knowledge and skills is necessary for a more "rounded education." He continues by insisting that teaching in universities is about "reading skills", reading texts, and graphs for example but also "reading people" and "group dynamics". "So that's what I think EAP is partially about, *reading specialised texts* but also reading beyond that or reading inside those texts…from passages but also understanding how university works." He also talks about "learning to learn", how through learning about psychological processes we learn how to "learn best." "University is not just learning a subject, it is learning about yourself, especially when you do your first degree, but also when you do a second degree in another country. So, learning to live in another country is also the purpose of the EAP course – to teach students how to live in another country."

Rafa connects his father's experiences as a student and his own to support his view of a "rounded education" so too his idea that EAP is also "to help international students adjust to university" in "another country" and learn about "other cultures" like he has had to. Rafa makes a number of points about the EAP class being a learning space for teachers as well as students, learning about their cultures and be aware of their sensitivities. But at the same time he suggests that it is important that students experience different cultures and not to simply move in to their own cultural

“ghettos” (his own words), not venturing out and speaking English. He claims Chinese students on the EAP programme have a tendency towards this whereas “Arabic” students are “more daring.” This notion of being daring is something one imagines has been a part of Rafa’s experience in the UK. He further analogises this: “It’s like teaching a child to walk – learning a foreign language. At some point you have to let the child go. And if a child falls over a couple of times and has a couple of bumps on their head, well so be it. It’s not the best thing in the world but you have to do it. Otherwise the child will just always hold the skirt or your hand, and will never to walk by himself [sic].” Rafa refers to *acculturation* and *skills* to be able to live and study at university throughout the interview. He identifies “very specific skills, study skills” as “tools” necessary to pass the course (the EAP pre-sessional) and to prepare them for university e.g. “to teach them to work independently.” Rafa gives a strong descriptive rationale behind the role of the EAP teacher on the pre-sessional.

> “We teach them the *skills that are needed to pass the course* but we also teach them the skills that are needed to pass their future, pass their degree. Because we’re preparing them for university conventions, and again we’re acclimatizing them, acculturising them, if that’s the word. We’re preparing them for these academic conventions; referencing is compulsory, copying and pasting is not allowed, stealing other people’s ideas is not allowed, paraphrasing is compulsory, submitting on time is compulsory, preparing, coming prepared to lectures is compulsory, taking notes is compul…we are preparing them for what is expected at university in the UK. And the skills that we teach them, we’re trying to…with a broad set of tools. There’s always so much we can do in ten weeks.”

Rafa views the skills required for university as those that enable the student to avoid breaking the rules of the new culture (he also discusses the hidden curriculum of schooling e.g. teaching children to be patient or to do tasks that require certain concentration that have no specific end in themselves) to enable them to “pass” or at least a high level of competency even the idea that one might “master” a certain skill or knowledge.

> “I think if I’m honest about education…I’ve been studying for almost ten years. My bachelor’s degree, then my master’s, now my PhD,…but even after ten years I still don’t think I’ve mastered academic writing. To a certain level I can teach others but I don’t think I can write as well as other people can.”

Mastery and becoming masterful seem to be attributes that Rafa is keen to adopt. He then states that “This is not about writing” which means, one assumes that

academic writing is different or that writing is more than mastering certain ways of writing or technologies. He talks about efficiency and how academic papers need to be structured in a certain way with particular language devices. Although mastery and or high level achievement are arguably important objectives for Rafa, having not achieved them in ten years (his own words), he does complain that due to time restraints his students (EAP) should "only do their best." Here Rafa discusses time and its effects on his work:

> "So, ten weeks is a very *short time* and we can only do our best, try to do our best with *the time that has been given to us*. So, I've taught them to revise their own work, I've taught them to make sure every sentence has a verb. I've taught them that they should study independently, not only in class but also at home, at least maybe they don't hear my advice now, maybe they will in the future. But if I've explained this to them and if I've taught them that things should be referenced, I've taught them more or less how to structure an essay, how to go from broad to narrow, how to go from the beginning to the middle, how to list your points – let's say, hopefully that's good enough to pass the course. Hopefully that's good enough to reapply and develop when they're writing their master's works, their master's coursework."

With obvious influence from the course materials Rafa is selecting what is or should be prioritised in his pedagogy. He clearly chooses what is appropriate to get the students through the course and to aid them in their post-graduate studies, that is, the technologies and skills that will help students produce "good enough" academic papers. This is a more contextual interpretation of his and the students' work on the pre-sessional.

Rafa then moves on to another point he noted in response to the original question: "what does EAP mean to you?" He suggests "learning from students" or "mutual exchange" but states that much of his experience to date has been less like this. He claims a dislike for "unidirectional teaching" in which the student is simply the receiver of knowledge. Adopting a more interactional approach has been difficult for him and he is self-critical of his lecturing style in which *teacher talking time* is high although he says he likes lecturing. Rafa then suggests that autonomous learning should be coupled with "learning from each other" and that the teacher is not the only source of knowledge. Rafa goes on to discuss how moving to a new country has been a learning experience and that he now encourages "learning from experience" in his classes. This is quite central to Rafa's narrative in that his life experience

including learning experiences in some way influences how he sees his students and how his pedagogy may be structured. He continues talking about a book on essay writing that he has published and how in the book he discusses his own writing experiences, that they are his own and that students are encouraged to read more widely and not to solely take his (Rafa's) view on writing.

In returning to the topic of his own academic studies and future career Rafa discusses his PhD research in the field of Forensic Linguistics and his interest in comparing features of writing that distinguish certain linguistic clues to the writers identity or "authorship profile." In this discussion Rafa describes his research as drawing out "non-native" features of English and especially "mistakes and errors." Rafa, after being asked whether he wishes to develop his career along the lines of his PhD studies, hopes to possibly become a consultant in forensic linguistics although recognises the instability of such work. He then tries to link both his work as a linguist and as an "educator" through his interest in writing skills. "Yes, in terms of what my interest is, as an educator, it is *writing*, *writing skills*, as *a researcher* as well, it's *writing skills* and *written language* generally – the production of *written language*. Because it is too easy to recognise a non-native speaker if they have an accent but on paper it's much more difficult, That's what makes it interesting."

Again, Rafa returns to the notions of non-native speaker and mastery when prompted about his own transition to teaching English.

> "As a non/native speaker, I still think I am qualified to teach what I'm teaching because yes, I'm not a native speaker, I haven't mastered English fully in terms of let's say, the idioms, in terms of certain expressions that native speakers use and I don't still, I know English better than my students do and this is what is important in order to teach something, you don't need to know it perfectly."

He goes on to discuss how his qualifications and experience have given him the skills and knowledge that permit him to teach EFL but not say "literature in an English-speaking school." He claims that as a second language learner and researcher in language he has the skills and experience to teach at this level. He views linguistic knowledge as central to being able to teach it as well as the "meta-language" of its description. Whilst recognising his ability to describe language, Rafa again questions his ability in areas that he feels he does not possess native speaker proficiency that is in the "full spectre of linguistic registers and forms." Rafa

celebrates his knowledge of linguistic systems and his ability to describe them but still feels like he is lacking in the acquired knowledge of native speakers. He then criticises how native speaker proficiency is prized over the ability to describe *language systems* in the EFL teaching recruitment.

> "So, when I was at university, in my second year, I tried to apply for the British Council Assistantship to teach English abroad – that would have been a wonderful opportunity to teach in France, to teach in Spain. I knew enough English back then and I think I even had less of an accent. It changes from year to year, it becomes stronger or weaker depending on who surrounds me. And I wasn't accepted. They said they need native speakers. And I thought it was a little unfair. Because a native speaker has the knowledge of the language but they can only explain what is correct and what is not but not necessarily why."

Rafa ends his narrative by discussing his future career choices. He hopes to eventually become a lecturer and "not necessarily in EAP" but rather in linguistics. He also states that he would use that platform "teach them how to write." Rafa, after discussing his wish to be a lecturer and writing skills developer, redefines the role of academic writing as not simply to get through courses or to efficiently write research papers but as a life skill. "Writing well and explaining yourself well in a fluent manner, that just stays with you."

5.2.5 Scott

Scott, an experienced EFL and EAP (pre-sessional) teacher in his sixties, critically examines the problem of *needs*. He begins with beliefs about teaching which he describes as his "idea of teaching", that is student-centred based on their needs and goals and how that, although seemingly "pious" (in his own words), has become "increasingly more difficult when people are always more and more the same". Prompted again Scott elaborates further:

> "…um more and more the same of this kind of profile that I just described. The one child Chinese student who um who wants a good job in the job market and most of them want it for business work. So I mean I haven't had a class like about I'm going to say 2012 so four years ago I think when I had a class of a dozen students from about eight different cultural backgrounds and that's really that's very rewarding isn't it it's very creative it's a very creative classroom"

Scott suggests here that the "profile" of students on the programme is increasingly homogenised. Whilst appearing critical of this he then turns his criticism to why the

university does not exploit that “market” further with more support for Chinese students, by way of hiring “Chinese support teachers or assistants”. He then claims that the university should expand its advertising and improve its marketing if it does not want to “lose out” also claiming that students pay a lot of money and receive “not a very excellent service.” It’s interesting here how Scott is associating EAP, the programme, the university and students with business. His suggestion of bad service is a loose acceptance of a kind of service logic to the education of international students. Having said this, he sees his work as almost separate from any institutional logics relating to academic standards:

> “um I don’t think it affects my work really because I’m not committed to the university or any of the standards [one assumes those expected from the university or the British Council] you know I`m committed to the students. So I think it affects my work [being committed to the students?] I’ve always been my pride has always been my pride has always been about who I have got in front of me and what they want and what do they need and not this sort of the…the academic framework so much.”

Although Scott places his attention on the needs of his students he defines those needs as mainly linguistic and to certain “domains”, that is *objective linguistic needs* from *specific disciplines* students are entering into (one might term this English for Specific Academic Purposes). Moreover, Scott infers a measurable competency that students need to attain: “so you find out what is the target language use domain the area of how the language will be used and you test that they are capable of or they will be capable of functioning at that level.” Scott goes on to criticise the syllabus in that although he views his role as identifying “target language domain use” and the study of that target language to function at the “level” that is required in that domain the actual syllabus at the university is in fact English for General Academic Purposes (EGAP) and he feels inadequately knowledgeable of the target language needs of students whilst conducting EGAP classes. He states:

> “…really what we do is just we prepare them to get the exam to get the *pass the course* and to get onto that to get onto their course but I don’t think we’re really I don’t really know what I don’t really know much about their target language use domain because for example I’m teaching I don’t know what kind of academic needs they need and mathematics you know I’m teaching English for Academic Purposes so I’m it’s at a very general level but the target language use domain ok that will be partly social. You know what they need to survive in

[name removed] as a student but also partly academic what will they need for their subject and what kind of task will they have in that environment when they finish studying."

5.2.6 Charlie

Charlie, a female in her late twenties, is a non-native speaker (NNS) from central Europe and has been a teacher of EAP for five years. Her background academic study is primarily in English philology (TEFL, and English literature). She did a course in EAP but as a student of English herself. Her interest in teaching and in the English language stretches back to her childhood which she says informed her choice to study English philology. Charlie decided to focus on EFL as she accumulated qualifications: "I think the higher my qualifications the more passionate I am about being a teacher and I actually like talking about it and discovering new techniques". She claims that as a NNS becoming an EFL teacher is a "career choice." She holds the Cambridge CELTA and is currently studying for the Cambridge DELTA qualification (both general English teaching qualifications). Her experience in the field has mostly centred around the pre-sessional programme at the university coupled with a brief contract at a tertiary college in the region near the university thus her five year experience is less in practice (10 week courses each summer). Her main job is in her home' country where she teaches general EFL and is involved in professional development training within the organisation she works at.

In discussing the turn from general EFL to EAP as well as working at the university Charlie described the experience as "quite *professional* and people generally know what they are doing and *I kind of feel important* here". From this point, she quickly moves on to another of her prompts, "academic style", which she defines as "*texts*" and "*writing*" and how it is "the core of EAP". Charlie points out the *limited time* in which students and teachers are expected to utilise in order to meet certain learning objectives, "it's *intense*" in comparison to her regular job, she exclaims. "It's a lot of teaching but also it's a lot of learning". She then defines one of "our" roles as getting them (the students) to write academic texts claiming that it is difficult due to their *low level* of general English and that their texts are "worse" than general English texts. Charlie suggests that the transition the students have to make from general English to EAP is abrupt, that they are ill-prepared: "it's academic English from day one and I think that's why they produce um well texts in bad English". Charlie is prompted to

return to the notes she made about “working in a university”. She talks about *passionate people* interested in *research* and their subject as a motivating factor for working in the sector. She then states that they are “subject specific they are specialists in one discipline, and this is what I like about it”. She clarifies this by explaining that she means “people at university in general” rather than EAP professionals as “specialists”. “I have some doubt about that, but I mean most people who do the EAP course who teach here do not have an EAP background.” She claims that they have not done specific training in the field or done research. The researcher prompts her by asking about her own background. She spoke about EAP materials and books, her brief experience at a tertiary college and the transition from general EFL which she thought was not so difficult to begin with but discovered the more she experienced EAP the more differences she found. Charlie then makes the statement: “a good EFL teacher doesn’t necessarily mean a good EAP teacher”. She again makes use of subjective adjectives to describe quality and effectiveness. She then discusses her doubts about her ability to make this transition at the beginning, particularly when being interviewed for the position on the pre-sessional saying that her response to a question was not satisfactory:

> “you have to focus on different things this is the question that I remember from one of my first interview here the person who interviewed asked me what’s the difference between EFL and EAP and I don’t think the answer I gave was satisfactory um now I see more differences in terms of approach to students and um what they really need what is really important and there are some elements you need to forget about.”

Charlie also identifies certain features that mark out EAP practice that *is “approach to students”* and their specific *needs*. After prompting, Charlie then suggests that NNS or international students need a balance of focus on linguistic skills as well as academic skills but did suggest a leaning towards linguistic skills: “it is English after all when you think about it so you would expect more focus on linguistic skills I think…”

Charlie’s decision to undertake a DELTA stems in part she claims from her situation, that is:

> “a bit of pressure from my you know environment like being a teacher requires like you have to keep on developing and you have to raise your qualifications all the time and I done it for a while like I did my CELTA five years ago so I decide it’s time to do something more uh but I

> think my initial motivation was kind of more job opportunities after that and it's a requirement of more and more teaching positions especially if I want to make if I want to go up the teacher position ladder."

It is evident that Charlie is quite an ambitious person hoping to advance professionally and feels that TEFL qualifications are the way to do it as she does not speak about further study in other related fields such as linguistics research. EAP was her choice of specific English to study on her DELTA Module 3. Charlie states that she does not necessarily expect to remain in EFL teaching as she progresses with her career but wishes to continue in a university setting as she likes the context; as it is more "professional and something more important like working with people with intelligent people who have clear aims and they know what they want to do which is not always the case with general English". She mentions that she wants to continue doing EAP. One assumes that she means she would remain teaching EAP but not general EFL and/ or an academic discipline relating to teaching e.g. teacher education and professional development, but this would be speculation. She goes on to say that she gets tired of the Communicative Approach in EFL and does not find it applicable to or "the main focus" of EAP. Charlie further defines EAP as "less practical" in that it is only for preparing students for "work at a university", "when you do research" or "when you write your dissertation". This narrows her description to a more context-dependent orientation for the focus of student knowledge. Charlie, like others interviewed describes EAP work as specific needs, towards *clearly defined objectives*, a technical approach.. She goes on to discuss how the difference between the students' writing at the beginning of the course and at the end is quite marked suggesting the success of teaching and learning approaches on the course and student effort in despite a limited time period. Charlie mentions feedback as a method to support improvement in writing and that she "talks a lot about writing" as it is for her "the most important skill". Again, Charlie returns to skills and specifically writing skills and the production of texts as the most important element in her EAP practice and her students' learning.

5.2.7 Phil

Phil is the post-graduate pre-sessional programme's manager, which means he is in charge of the general post-graduate EAP stream and the business stream. As of 2016 he had been in the post for one year taking over from the previous *director*

[notice name change] in 2015. Phil had been a co-ordinator on the pre-sessional for a number of years before taking up the manager's position. In his late 40s, Phil has had more than 25 years of experience in teaching EFL and over 10 years teaching and managerial experience in EAP. He has worked both as a pre-sessional and in-sessional teacher in the UK and the Middle East. His initial motivation for teaching EFL was a wish to travel, influenced by the stories of his father's travels. After spending many years in Spain teaching general EFL and gaining a DELTA, he moved into ESP/EAP working in the Middle East for the British Council and an engineering (presumably HE) institution on foundation programmes. Phil regards this experience as "EAP lite" and his role on the foundation programme provided support for the "main" programme electives. His experience on pre-sessional programs began at the university in 2004. Since that time, he has also worked on foundation programmes and in-sessional courses at the university and has gained a master's degree in Applied Linguistics.

The main themes that Phil brought up in the interview related to *acculturation* or helping students develop a sense of *autonomy* necessary in a university context where one is expected to work alone at times. Another dominant theme was the recruitment of teachers. As a whole text it was evident that Phil's conception of EAP was for the purpose of *survival* in academic *contexts*, primarily for study in HE institutions. His opening description of what EAP means to him involves a generic description of what EAP is comprised of, and what of that composition is or should be prioritised.

> "So, Well, so it means English for Academic Purposes it means, that, it means that a focus on that *aspect of language* that will help students *while they are here in a university context*. So that means the *difficult texts* being able to *create those difficult texts* academic themselves or academic articles or reports or whatever it is they have to do to about *their discipline* um to be able to deal with you know I suppose if you are productive in a sense it's *skills you have got to listen to lectures* to *receive that information* to lectures books [unintelligible] can involve listening, speaking, reading can involve making notes so it's that *array of language skills* that focus on their ability to deal with that context that is a university so…that really sums that bit up, summarises it reasonably."

Phil clearly identifies the *productive skills* of writing as a priority for students over the receptive skills of reading and listening, although they are still emphasised early on in the interview and throughout. He notes that those productive skills are needed "to

create those difficult texts […] academic articles or reports or whatever it is they have to do about their discipline." The focus on *skills* is evident in other parts of the interview when he compares how EAP differs whether it is pre-sessional or in-sessional. Phil describes much of in-sessional work as support, and that support is based around tutoring students in aspects of *text production* which he rationalises by claiming that that is what the students want. The pre-sessional, for Phil, differs in that he believes that all productive and receptive skills need attention whereas on the in-sessional students concentrate on perceived problem areas. His elaboration of *discipline* and *context* leads one to surmise that Phil views EAP, at least on the pre-sessional, as giving students skills and language development tailored to more immediate linguistic and learning needs. Early in the interview Phil briefly lists areas of EAP that are legitimate knowledge bases but does not elaborate further on their utility on the programme and beyond.

> "[…] so if somebody was asking me in a pub you know so what do you do and I say I teach EAP then obviously that was probably the answer I would give to them. But there but if more specifically you'd be looking at things like *complexity*, *language complexity*, the *specifics of academic texts*, the spoken, the written text, noun groups, noun combinations um complex sentences, paragraph structure, signposting, hedging all those kinds of things… specific you know, teacher-talk, if they talk to a teacher they'd understand more fully."

His regular repetition of the need for *skills to survive in academic contexts*, as the purpose of EAP on the pre-sessional, over say, the learning of language structures, seems to show what Phil believes is not only what the students need to focus on but also what areas of EAP the teacher should prioritise. Phil uses the adverb "obviously" in the excerpt below which indicates Phil's belief that EAP is context specific. He elaborates on this claiming that developing skills is the purpose of EAP, then deliberates by specifying reading and writing as the main developmental focus on the programme giving rationalisation and reason to support that selection (students having to write essays).

> "So we focused on academic contexts it involves all the skills it involves nothing different there's nothing you know? In terms of you know, what students need. They still need to read, they need to write, they still need to listen, they need to understand, they need more vocabulary, to deal with pronunciation all those same things that are general to all language learners. But obviously there's a specific content, context not content that comes with EAP, so it's very much it's like like learning English but for this particular purpose so that's all skills,

> you know? But I don't think any of them are invalid. Some are a bit more important than others. So you might find, well, certainly, on our course we here on our programme, see reading and writing as being more important than say speaking and listening but they are still important… so we weight our results more towards reading and writing. But listening and speaking are really important as I said too. But ultimately students have to write essays, they have to develop their thinking based on what they read so those are two big areas..."

By setting the skills focus (reading/writing) on the composition of texts, Phil appears to be providing a legitimation for a particular orientation towards a curriculum and assessment of learning that is purposively reduced towards the production of texts. A kind of demonstration, through assessment, of learned skills that can enable reasonable competency as a basis for future possible proficiency. Later in the interview Phil elaborates further on this with the analogy of practical skills training of learner drivers.

> "So on those, on their course we have our aim is *to get them to a level* not only of English but dealing with those academic areas that they won't get on an IELTS course or if you've done a general English course so, um we do give them those academic skills. They do they do um, if they work hard they can develop those skills that can help them later. We do have anecdotal evidence from departments that say those students who do a pre-sessional even if they are coming in with a lower IELTS score are actually better prepared than those who are coming in um directly. Um also, and the way we see it. I've had to use the driving test analogy. You know, when you pass your driving test you are not an expert driver but you are considered to be at a point where you can continue your own learning on your own, you can do it on your own."

Phil describes the purpose of the programme's work as seeing the problem of raising competency, and as enabling the individual learner to operate at a functional level through skills *training*, enabling *autonomy*, in a sense limiting the meaning of the term competency. His attention to *pass or fail* assessment and scoring encourages a view of competency that seems to be a steppingstone to proficiency, or one that possesses accountable measures. As we discussed in Chapter 2, communicative competency as a needs target is complex, requiring competence in all areas of language and is potentially unbounded. The programme's *mission* according to Phil is to help students to develop their competency in the skills to produce texts, enable students to learn and write autonomously and to assess their production for entry into their target domain (academic department). What students need to know and what teachers need to know to enable successful completion is then

compartmentalised. The necessary knowledge to be able to create texts is then selected and transmitted through comprehensible input on the programme, framed in the curriculum.

Defining what knowledge was a priority for teachers was evident elsewhere in the interview when we discussed teacher training on the programme; a brief misunderstanding occurred. The interviewer imagined “in-house” training as a variety of teaching methodology, peer observation and EAP specialisation awareness (e.g. genre writing in mechanical engineering). However, *training* according to Phil was more concentrated on *successful completion* in terms of student assessment.

> “[…] by that teacher training I mean, I meant, coz it was related to uh the courses so um standardization, you know um moderating, dealing with the assessment.”

Programme teacher training appears limited to the programme’s assessment procedures and criteria and is evidence of what knowledge was prioritised for acquisition. Having experienced the training, I found much of that acquisition was to discuss what makes a *good* essay as opposed to a *not so good* one using samples from previous years. Teachers were given essays to mark individually then discuss in small groups and eventually all together, how, and why they gave the grade they did and then compare those grades with those of the programme manager and co-ordinators). No explicit training on e.g. text cohesion was provided. On noticing the slight misunderstanding, Phil did then discuss how he hoped that the unit could eventually become a teacher training centre delivering the Cambridge CELTA.

Phil was prompted further on what background training and experience is expected of teachers on the programme and how that informs recruitment of new teachers. He gave much more attention to teaching experience based on general EFL and preference was made for qualifications based on teaching preferably in ELT (English Language Teaching). He also expressed the desirability of EAP *experience* without elaborating on what that meant. His attention to the importance of being able *to work with others* was repeated regularly and prioritised over EAP experience and even teaching qualifications. Phil’s made criticism of *content specialists*, stating that knowledge of content, even, one supposes, EFL methodology, is not sufficient to teach on the programme. I prompted him by asking him if he knew about the existence of MAs in EAP which he seemed not to. He returned very rapidly with a

critical question: “Is there any teaching practice associated with it or is it *just* concept based?” His insistence of the need for teaching qualification and *practical* experience is rationalised in various ways for example in reference to the requirements of British Council accreditation.

> “See that’s the problem, we can have people who you know, maybe it’s something that comes up you know, it used to be applied linguistics that people did but then an MA in Applied Linguistics kind of broke up into TEFL and TESOL and it may well be that when because of our line there may be an MA in EAP. Um so but the problem is with that from the British Council point of view. Somebody comes in with an MA in TEFL, if there’s no teaching practice part of it you are coming in as an unqualified teacher and they are labelled unqualified. And we have a certain number of staff who are MA in TEFL so they’ve got all the theories, all the content but part of their course didn’t have a teaching component, an observed teaching practice component and technically speaking they are unqualified teachers. It doesn’t look good we have the problem, in our marketing, we say you will be taught by highly trained teachers. Well then if we’ve got a number of teachers who are technically unqualified according to the British Council so that then goes in flies in the face of that [inaudible]. So that’s something we’ve got to address.”

Knowledge necessary for practice, according to Phil influenced by British Council requirements is more centred on the practice of teaching over content. He also pays attention to marketing and image in the recruitment of *teaching specialists*: “it doesn’t look good” and “in our marketing.” Phil then makes a statement of obligation to British Council demands: “So that’s something we’ve got to address.” On prompting Phil as to why he thought there was still an interest in recruiting content specialists with a question of the origins of the unit he returned by giving a brief description of the development of the unit since he joined in 2004. He describes the unit as having been a part of an academic department in the discipline areas of Applied Linguistics and English Language and “run by academics.” He claims that the academics provided the content and materials for the pre-sessionals but were more engaged with in-sessional programmes. Teachers were “brought in for the pre-sessionals.” He describes the pre-sessionals as relatively new and seems to suggest their difference from in-sessionals, particularly its teaching orientation. Phil discusses how the unit was “taken out” of the academic department and eventually placed in Academic Services and the academics “gone.” His almost uncritical stance of the move to Academic Services is rationalised by stating: “you know we are part of academic services but we kind of get on with what we do…” The transformation of the unit into

an organisation focused on teaching rather than EAP theory and content is described by Phil in a kind of positive light: “I think since then [the move out of an academic department] the whole world of EAP has gone forward, developed.” And addressing my original question of retaining content specialists he suggests that this development and British Council accreditation has “forced” the unit to reconsider who they are recruiting; one imagines due to the status of teaching unit.

It is apparent at this point that, in terms of specialist knowledge, pedagogical knowledge and experience are favoured over EAP content knowledge as this statement suggests:

> “the way I see it if somebody’s got teaching experience and a so they might be DELTA or EFL generally or IELTS trainer or whatever never really done EAP but if they are TEFL qualified then it’s not a major step for them into the EAP world some will have training but they got to have the foundations to do it.”

Again, Phil elevates *teaching*, *teaching experience* and maybe *practitioner enquiry* into good teaching practice (as mentioning DELTA would suggest) as the favoured knowledge base of pre-sessional teachers. That knowledge base is centred on general EFL and IELTS training. EAP specialist content knowledge is not so important to make the transition and successfully teach on the programme.

5.2.8 Marco

Marco has been teaching for over twenty-five years and EAP since 1994 and has taught in a number of different countries such as Italy (where he currently resides), Saudi Arabia and the UK. Like many of the native speakers (NS) he states that English teaching was not a planned career choice, “an experience rather than a plan.” He has been teaching on the programme since 1996 which he claims was around the time it was founded. Marco uses the term “pioneers” to describe himself and others that inaugurated and taught on those early courses. He also set up an EAP course at a university in Italy. Marco claims that in the early years of the programme the approach to learning and teaching was more “people orientated” and “more fun,” something he feels is important for a learning experience as he states throughout the interview. He contrasts those “fun” years to a more “serious” approach adopted more recently partly influenced by the involvement of (assumedly teachers) “people from other nationalities coming in” and goes on to say that his own

approach has got more serious in response. During the interview he mentioned that he questioned the fun his students were having with a project, wondering whether he, and one assumes *they*, should get more serious. Marco mentions that his current employer's reasons (in Italy) for wanting an EAP programme were related to the university's internationalisation efforts. Such an orientation has been implicated by some e.g. Hadley, (2015) and Fulcher, 2009) in the dislocation and privatisation of EAP units due to their economic value, a point that will be continued below when we discuss marginalisation.

Marco argues that increased attention to bureaucratic processes may cause us to focus our practice on "technical work" and not the diversity of possible approaches in EAP. Despite this he does comment that he still has a great degree of *autonomy* which he is very positive about. Interestingly, Marco points out here that his experience has lead him to focusing needs away from technical description towards the needs of people or a kind of guided learning towards the development of the individual and *whatever they define their learning needs to be.* In fact, he describes the analysis of student needs not as needs analysis at all but as "ends" analysis, something he gave a presentation on at the teacher CPD event held during the summer. His description of needs suggests "working at the technical level" or technical necessities whereas ends puts the focus on the learner and whether any task or activity is suitable to the ends they have decided upon. This implies that a student can voluntarily engage in, criticise, and one imagines, shape activities they deem appropriate to their own specific ends. Controversially, Marco claims that technical needs do not "relate to *development of people*." As we discussed above, after the British Council teacher observations Marco attended a focus group meeting with the inspectors and I asked Marco how it went. He had a relatively negative tone claiming it was "heated" and that they came in "cold" and "procedural", talking about procedures and systems. An example Marco gave was the new Tutorial Record document and how he disagreed with another teacher over the specificity of the criteria of what information needed to be entered on in the document. The one teacher suggested the criteria was not clear enough leading to confusion as to what to write on the form. In disagreement Marco insisted that it should be the teacher's discretion as to what is recorded based on what emerges between herself and her student. Marco complained that "*human relationships were being undermined* by all

the procedure and bureaucracy and that management were out of touch with teachers and the everyday work they do. “The university has its work and we have ours.”

Marco clearly supports the idea of developing relationships, developing trust, developing yourself “alongside the student” due to the “advanced” English level, thus, providing a mutual learning experience. He then turns to the routine nature of his current employment and that he and his colleagues are not interested in developing themselves professionally in that context (“many people are waiting to retire and just don’t want to teach…”). Marco complains that many teachers he works with (in Italy) are not sufficiently qualified and that they entered the profession in much the same way as he did (not as a planned career choice). He goes on to say that teaching English (one presumes EAP) is *not recognised as a profession* externally (and “one feels that internally”) and is only taken seriously in the context of Bologna and internationalisation. Marco appears to want to develop personally and professionally and feels stifled in his main job. He enjoys teaching on the pre-sessional as it gives him the opportunity to put into practice what he believes his role to be and *to experiment with alternative approaches* to teaching. He also points to a sense of belonging, to a “community” in which “people are interested in taking knowledge forward.” It is unclear whether he is referring directly to the EAP community at the University or to academia. He seems to suggest that EAP is not isolated or should not be contrived in a sense that technical needs or specific assessment objectives direct our work. He returns to the notion of ends and how, if one views EAP as connected to all fields then a certain “*interconnectedness*” is achieved. He believes that encouraging students to make connections, cross disciplinary boundaries and enabling their “*freedom to learn*” is what a university experience should be all about. He states this referring to his own experience at university and reading, how he was free to learn and not “herded” into disciplines and directions. He then asserts that his role is to “activate possibilities” not to “insist” (“to get out of your box”). Insisting the implementation of technical approaches is how he claims others might see their work on the programme. Marco’s critique of technicism continues when discussing how it limits “human development” and that our “mission” is to *make sure that EAP and academia do not impose such a limit.* He

then goes on to talk of institutional/organisational constraints on the “mission” due to managerial appropriation and bureaucratisation of the programme.

> “You know, so it is in a sense the mission. I think that this is [one assumes the “human development” rationale behind education] in many ways an alternative to the EAP mindset but I think it is a way to make sure it is not closed completely in EAP or in academic life, i.e. I mean, the sense that uh we are really at a university, or we really want to study, or we really want to do lifelong learning, not because we want a career, not because it makes us technically more functional, but that we want to find answers, you know? And, um this is being lost, and it’s being lost actually here over the years, to go back to my experience here. Because this is the first year which is very bureaucratic. And it’s become like that and being left to our devices, we’ve been put in our places this year and we’ve been put into a situation where we must do our role and not question. We don’t really have any rapport with managers, and get on with it. And um, within that limit there is a lot of freedom so thank goodness for that. But, um it never was bureaucratic, it couldn’t be. And this is sort of the life cycle of an organisation I suppose, the pioneer and then the sort of, you are the people responsible for putting the course together because the manager who is external, comes in and you’re sort of a group who are trying to make it work in a university, which is not really interested in what you are doing, even though they recognize you are bringing in money for them, they just leave you out there. Now It’s become you are part of the university, you know you are structured into and you prove yourselves for us and that you can bring money in. And so the whole thing has been taken out of our hands as it were. Now we get on with it. So that’s the experience. Certain, being able to pioneer a course, to possess it, and then to realise that we have to find other rationales for being here for our own good. We are no longer essential elements of the course because um, anyone can do it in effect and they’re not asking particular people to do it.”

What is striking about his observations here is that he feels that he is constrained yet enabled at the same time or rather that he can still at least claim some autonomy under restrictions. He states: “we’ve been put in our places this year and we’ve been put into a situation where we must do our role and not question.” Despite this, Marco claims that teachers have been “left to our own devices” and the university is “not really interested in what we are doing” which in turn he celebrates, “within that limit there is a lot of freedom so thank goodness for that.” What is apparent from this excerpt is his sense of *loss*. He feels that the “mission” has been redirected due to managerial influences, his project as a “pioneer” has been abandoned by the appropriators. He strongly identifies as a “pioneer” of the programme and feels “it has been taken out of our hands” by university bureaucrats which in turn causes him

to *seek alternative* “missions”, “other rationales for being here”. Interestingly, Marco also indicates a kind of anxiety or consciousness of the precarious nature of his position in stating that one needs to seek other rationales “for our own good”.

Marco continues by suggesting first that current recruiting of teachers on the programme is less focused on a possession of linguistic knowledge, almost critical in tone; “we are no longer essential elements of the course [assumedly “pioneers” or those with greater EAP experience”] because um, anyone can do it in effect and they are not asking particular people to do it”. Despite his apparent reproval, he defends a plurality of knowledges and backgrounds as his previous notion of “interconnectedness” might suggest not to be too specialised to “bring ideas and knowledges together”. Marco later speaks of a *less superficial* human development that he refers to as a spiritual development, less material solutions to problems, asking questions of “why” informed in part by reading Newman. He sees human development as overly “cyclical” and “linear” which encourages “technical work”. He suggests also the “morally questionable” ego that pursues material gain over human relationships. Marco sees his “mission” in teaching to steer students away from a contrived sense of oneself as learning for material gain, he sees his mission as one that seeks to help develop a person’s self but not in the sense of what he calls an “Anglo-Saxon” and “scientific” model of ego, of “doing it for yourself” (which he claims is a cultural-historical tradition in the region). He controversially argues that one cannot find answers using a scientific method of inquiry. Questions are asked in trying to understand ourselves and listening to others and that there is destiny in those relationships, but it is up to us to decide not to let it be imposed. Marco claims we really understand ourselves with our interactions with others and that how we portray ourselves is not necessarily how we really are. Marco goes on to give an interesting analogy relating to his work. He suggests that the pioneers of the programme, including himself, were “nomads” in that they were not “systematic settlers” in the sense that farmers were but fighting “against forces” of settlement. Nomads are using “the powers of nature”, they are not individualistic, they are family-orientated, not “evolving themselves”, just surviving, “they just came and attacked, took what they wanted and went away again”.

5.3 Discussion: dominant themes and dimensions

In this section I will discuss the emergent themes from the interviews with the participants and establish commonalities and differences.

5.3.1 Marginality and the pressures of time

Many themes arose in the above descriptions but quite prominent were notions of professional identity. Particularly, teachers raised concerns about qualifications, experience, their status in the academy, collegiality and their sense of purpose. There were descriptions of what constitutes legitimate knowledge in EAP and even the right kind of knower. This introspection, in most of the teachers' accounts, was expressed in their descriptions of *marginality* or the feeling that their work or themselves as HE professionals is and considered less important to the main business of the university. This is not a revelation of course, as previous research and anecdote provide some evidence for its reality, as touched upon in previous chapters of this thesis. The teachers in this study regularly referred to being *on the margins*. An example highlighted by Malcolm whilst in a position at a German university seems to be typical. He and others (at the university) see him as a "wandering international figure who deals with international students". He claims that in Germany his role and the subject of EAP are not really recognised, stating that students enter university with a high level of English which lessens the need for EAP among domestic students. Malcolm's narrative contained many units of meaning that could be related to his concerns about *status*, of gaining a position that he feels fits a more scholarly or academic identity. His criticisms of what, for him are unscholarly or unacademic are attempts at legitimising his identifications. Placing EAP above EFL in a discipline hierarchy seems to be another attempt at this. Colin relates a general sense of the lack of *stability* in EFL to his experience in EAP, by describing it as "short-term" and "it's just considered EFL isn't it? It's considered…sort of…wandering EFL teacher syndrome." A teacher not described above, Colin, feels that teachers are "behind the lines" and that "nobody really knows you are here." He claims to not know other university staff, EAP teachers on the pre-sessional being in a "parallel world." Like other teachers he complains of little contact with other HE professionals and a sense that he is physically separated. "…there's a physical detachment that we feel in that we're not, we don't meet anybody, we're not sort of acknowledged or people don't even sort of notice really, you know you're not on the

radar.” This physical separation aspect of marginalisation is expressed by Susan, after, discussing the unit’s change from academic status to a teaching unit:

> “I mean I don’t know I don’t know about the funding but I just find it’s almost like we’re the poor relations. I find it really really bad that we are made to go all over the university. I mean I don’t know why they couldn’t provide us with a decent building. I like being part of the English department, why aren’t we part of the English department?”

Clearly, Susan brings in the influence of the unit and university in encouraging a sense of marginalisation, e.g., in describing pre-sessional EAP teachers as “the poor relations”, being made to teach all over the campus and the lack of decent facilities. Others spoke of a lack of a staff room or being on the periphery of the campus. She also complains about change, mostly that of the EAP unit moving away from an academic department and academic discipline. It is apparent that, for some, like Susan, their training and experience as professional educators is not appreciated in the university setting. There seems to be disappointment that her specialised learning in linguistics is no longer appreciated in the unit. It seems that Susan’s reluctant acceptance of change has led her to focus on pursuits other than her teaching career. This is a transformation in what she identifies with and the adoption of a plurality of projects.

The excerpt from Marco below, points to a marginalisation based on the changed orientation of the programme and/or unit, one that reflects Hadley (2015) and Fulcher (2009) descriptions of EAP being used as “cash-cow” to generate income for the university. Marco details how this turn has increased “bureaucratisation”, isolation, and dispossession.

> “And, um this is being lost, and it’s being lost actually here over the years, to go back to my experience here. Because this is the first year which is very bureaucratic. And it’s become like that and being left to our devices, we’ve been put in our places this year and we’ve been put into a situation where we must do our role and not question. We don’t really have any rapport with managers, and get on with it. And um, within that limit there is a lot of freedom so thank goodness for that. But, um it never was bureaucratic, it couldn’t be. And this is sort of the life cycle of an organization I suppose, the pioneer and then the sort of, you are the people responsible for putting the course together because the manager who is external, comes in and you’re sort of a group who are trying to make it work in a university, which is not really interested in what you are doing, even though they recognize you are bringing in money for them, they just leave you out there. Now It’s become you are part of the university,

> you know you are structured into and you prove yourselves for us and that you can bring money in. And so the whole thing has been taken out of our hands as it were. Now we get on with it. So that's the experience. Certain, being able to pioneer a course, to possess it, and then to realise that we have to find other rationales for being here for our own good. We are no longer essential elements of the course because um, anyone can do it in effect and they're not asking particular people to do it."

It is interesting to note that Marco's apparent despondency due to dispossessing the programme leads him to arguably dislocate himself from the mission of the programme, to "find other rationales for being here for our own good." His experimental pedagogy based on ends analysis may be his new rationale whilst still *getting on with it* in a utilitarian sense. Fulcher (2009) attributes marginalisation, in part, down to an institutional shift in orientation, or the utility of EAP/EFL in university contexts. He claims that the control of and appropriation of the means to deliver programmes by departments and service units for economic gain has further isolated the profession in universities. An orientation that seeks to maximise the recruitment of international students for departments. Fulcher (p. 30) even attributes the loss of academic status of the field to increasing demand.

> While demand is extremely high for English language, it is precisely this very demand that has led to its loss of academic status; treated as an income-generating activity by MFL (for survival) and the university (for income), it has become a mass-teaching operation.

This loss for Fulcher (p. 32) is due to "commercialisation" which includes "out-sourcing" to private providers. This process can be said to influence logics relating to EAP and its practice as Fulcher implies.

> UK HE is currently the target of commercial organisations seeking the outsourcing of TESOL/EAP provision precisely because it is the most lucrative activity. This commercialisation emphasises and embeds the notion that these activities are not academic, but pre-university teaching.

The notion that EAP teaching activity is *pre-university* or foundational could then, in some cases, influence beliefs about its position and orientation. Indeed;

> […] what makes any university department different from a non-university teaching operation: [is]its research, research-led teaching, an informed approach to course design and delivery, a scholarly and questioning environment, the study of assessment and language acquisition. But these are precisely what is being denied to TESOL/EAP units as part of the commercialisation of language education (p. 139).

Fulcher's own research, in which teachers and others responded to questions on the orientation of EFL/EAP and MFL units, seems to confirm a certainoutside' view of language teachers' work in universities. Teachers claimed that "the institution saw their activities as primarily entrepreneurial, and that their primary functions were to generate income and increase the number of international students applying to the university." Again, Hadley (2015) received similar responses. For Fulcher (p. 133), the confusion of where to place EAP/EFL within the organisation of the university points to a lack of understanding as to its purpose. Fulcher (p. 136-137) also reports that teachers in his study found that contact with departments and academics was somewhat *ad hoc* with some having a great deal of contact and some less. The lack of or close contact with departments, except Economics, did not arise particularly among the responses of teachers in our study but lack of knowledge in disciplines did. How the programme and its lack of organisational connectedness is exemplified can be found in Scott's claim to not know much about the students "target language use domain" and his criticism of selecting EGAP over ESAP as a "cop-out." He describes the selection as "cost effective" and sold as general needs for all students. This reflection has effects on how Scott rationalises his views on his role and practice, noticeable in this utterance: "…but really what we do is just prepare them to get the exam to get the pass course and to get onto that to get onto their course…"

Whether or not the above reveals how EAP is viewed, by those in universities not directly involved in it, it still provides evidence that teachers feel marginalised. The notion of commercialisation of the programme seems to lead Marco to feel like he is no longer contributing to the academic activity of the university, as well as losing possession of it and, in his view, its educational mission and for Scott the "cost effectiveness" of the use of EGAP to structure the curriculum affects his ability to specialise his knowledge to facilitate his students learning and transition to their department. Thus, some aspects of *marginality* may be linked to perceived *specialisation* particularly from those that claim technicisation of the curriculum, assessment and associated effects on pedagogy.

In an informal conversation, Scott recalled a conversation he had had with a full-time in-sessional teacher in which the teacher insisted that Scott was not a real EAP teacher. He claims he did not defend a stance that he was indeed an EAP teacher and that he does not usually do it (EAP), and that he "usually marks Cambridge

exams." Here Scott provides an additional consideration and identification with his usual work, the projects that take up more of his time over the course of the year. Scott's deliberation may indicate the influence of antecedent prompting (by the in-sessional peer) towards a feeling of marginalisation and is plausibly indicative of another issue relating to the programme, that is, its duration. And in a similar vein, Colin's being "parachuted in", and describing the work as "short-term" clearly shows a temporal dimension to marginalisation affecting attitudes to curriculum content, delivery, and assessment. Such an approach may cause practitioners to define work depending on specific contexts, a kind of technical efficiency. How time, one's position and orientation to it (*see* Maton, 2014) influences our reflections, concerns and emotions and a sense of being on the periphery is a regular theme among the teachers. It is possible to argue that those reflections are in part structured by the programme (and its agents), in terms of *Framing* (*See* following chapter). Maton has not explored this dimension in as much depth as the others and is currently redefining it. Therefore, a strong temporal framework for analysis is not available at present. However, *temporality* is a theme that arose frequently in the teacher's responses which can be described as being influenced by the programme in some cases.

For example, Susan reflects on time, specifying how the main assessment dominates the pre-sessional and the level differences of students compared with the in-sessional program. She also identifies the problem of building relationships with colleagues due to time pressures.

> "Well, there's some, there's, it's very pressurized. I'm doing the six week one and you know it's like a deadline to get in at the [assessment name removed] completely dominates, um, and the level of students is different, so with the in-sessional but I tended to do the foundation year so the level of the students is very different and you're also working with colleagues all year round, whereas, here it's just temporary, temporary post."

Susan also remarks, in contrast with both the in-sessional EAP program(s) and foundation program(s), on the temporary nature of the post. She emphasises the post's temporary nature utilising the adverb "just" meaning *merely*, *simply* or *no more than*. Susan is orientated towards viewing her position as short-term, and project-like. This view tends to instrumentalise her focus on the work of the programme whether critical of that or not and is not constituent of a greater project. Such

instrumentalisation may tend teachers to prioritise content and their pedagogy to immediate objectives e.g., the programme assessment rather than embedding that objective within wider goals or as Marco does, in allowing students to create their own. Obviously, Marco does not instrumentalise his work or the work of the students quite as succinctly as say Susan. Susan, like many others on the programme, is a returning teacher who seems to create clear boundaries between her pre-sessional work and her usual work. Rafa does instrumentalise but relates the skills students develop on the programme to not only passing the course but to their future, in the case below, to their main programme.

> "So ten weeks is a very short time and we can only do our best, try to do our best with the time that has been given to us. So I've taught them to revise their own work, I've taught them to make sure every sentence has a verb. I've taught them that they should study independently, not only in class but also at home, at least maybe they don't hear my advice now, maybe they will in the future."

He prioritises writing as a skill, as mentioned further above, but not simply to *pass the course* or limited to university study. Rafa's temporal view related to reading and writing stretches further and sees such skills as central to success throughout life.

> "Academic writing is for life, something that you learn and something that you…it's not just the skills that you should acquire for the sake of passing the course. It's the skills that you need to make it easier for yourself in life, to succeed in life. And no matter what you do, writing well and explaining yourself well, in a fluent manner, that just stays with you."

It is interesting how Rafa relates success to being competent in writing, something he himself feels he has achieved despite claiming not to be fully proficient. Throughout the interview Rafa makes reference, like other NNSTs to becoming proficient and specialises a particular skill(s) to get closer to that goal. In recognising his own skills of reading and writing Rafa has specialised in those areas in his PhD study and in publishing. He has chosen Forensic Linguistics as a discipline but does not expect to work in the area extensively. Rafa sees himself as a lecturer but not necessarily in EAP, but whatever discipline he teaches he hopes to continue developing students' writing skills.

Rafa like others in the study appears to have, over time, rationalised a particular niche related to his work as an EAP teacher, as does Marco with his ends analysis. The programme, with its emphasis on the skills of writing, seems to have some

influence on Rafa's selection of that particular area, although it is clear that it was a prior interest before working on the pre-sessional. To abstract the theme of temporality a little, meaning to avoid focusing on direct references to time, it is interesting how Rafa narrativises his journey from the experiences of his father, his own experiences and those of his students in order to legitimise his own professional direction. Charlie also relates her childhood to the present to legitimise the development of a teacher identity. Malcolm's experience with EFL teaching, and his work in translation and developing interest in areas of linguistics (and the distancing of himself from EFL) seems to influence his wishes of becoming a university academic.

5.3.2 Becoming an expert

Rafa's niche and his attention to *mastery*, *proficiency* and devoloping a career as an academic seems to indicate identification with becoming an expert. Lisa's narrative also makes much reference to proficiency, and mastery whilst suggesting study towards a PhD, she does not overtly state a wish to become an academic. Malcolm, like others, including Charlie, see working at the university (although not directly) as an advance in their careers without directly referring to EAP as a part of that professional development. They, again, position their presence on the programme within their narrative, seeing it almost as a steppingstone to greater things e.g., becoming a lecturer or doing a PhD, but always something better. Malcolm talks us through his academic and career development, moving from physics to linguistics, his disillusionment with translation after adopting an identity as a "terminologist", to doing a "couple of master's" to eventually the "more university professional environment" of the programme. The future for Malcolm sees him more engaged in research, possibly on a PhD program. This orientation is brought about in Malcolm's narrative, in part, due to the instability of temporary contracts in EFL/EAP employment. He, however, claims that "there's always been a spanner in the works that's prevented me *moving forward*." Malcolm does not specify what that is but then goes on to rationalise not publishing research he has already done by citing prominent historical scholars who have not done so either e.g., Ferdinand de Saussure and Jesus. Once again, in discussing the work Malcolm has done on data driven materials and academic scholarship, and criticism of the corporate nature of materials and their design, he brings in a temporal overview when summarising what

EAP means to him, a kind of *becoming*. That transformation is one that Malcolm hopes will provide him with greater status.

> "…I took it [his research on materials] to a more academic environment rather than a corporate one because I think people need a sort of a muse and yeah academics to me are the kind of people who replaced the more spiritual types the clergymen in the middle ages or the druids in the sort of high priest of the druids. It's a kind of priesthood to me, the academic world. It's a very kind of status that an academic has from a big business shall we say. So yes EAP is a way of getting closer to the priesthood."

Malcolm's legitimisation of an *academic* identity is made through emphasising a "cultural-historical inheritance", a status justified through its longevity and in contrast to what he seemingly indicates as unscholarly and temporary i.e., business and corporate ventures. Malcolm's "priest" analogy, as stated further above, ends his narrative that is story-like in quality. He utilises a diachronic narrative to legitimise a pursuit of status and elite membership. One that celebrates *honesty, integrity, sincerity, scholarly tradition, legitimacy, knowledge,* and *security* found in *specialism.* How it relates to marginalisation is in his criticism of EFL and translation. Their lack of professionalism and scholarly depth due to his experiences over time have led him to seek specialism and further rationalise those choices in the work he does on the programme. Malcolm's identifications are somewhat retrospective and focused more on his own professional development rather than the development of his students. Whilst celebrating the scholarly tradition of the programme and his feelings of legitimisation in the context, his reference to how that context shapes meaning with regard to legitimate EAP knowledge appears quite weak. The knowledge itself is elevated above the contextual factors that legitimise it. There is little mention in his account of the actual focus of EAP work in the context(s) of pre-sessional EAP practice. Susan also describes a linguistic and research orientated scholarship as legitimate to her, whilst unlike Malcolm, she laments the loss of a linguistics-based approach in the programme's practice over time with the relocation of the EAP unit. Charlie too focuses on similar themes that legitimise a language professional with an elevated status from working at a university. She celebrates *professionalism*, working in an environment with *subject specialists* who are *passionate* and *intelligent.* Like Malcolm her gaze is often inward in that she focuses on her own development and celebrates being among professionals and creates hierarchies of specialised knowledge.

5.3.3 Authors and editors

Marco narrativises his experience on the programme and adds a temporal dimension to the shift from *authorship*, and *loss of ownership* to bureaucratisation and the technicisation of the EAP teacher's role. Marco rationalises this by stating that he believes it is the "lifecycle of an organisation" and that has provided him, despite feeling a little disenfranchised, he feels enabled with the autonomy of the position and with the opportunity "to have to find other rationales for being here for our own good." Marco's interests in needs and ends provides him with a new rationale that he can experiment with in his work giving him a future orientation. Marco's pioneering identity is unique among the teachers as many of the original authors of the programme had moved on but the continuance of a mission towards a student-centred *holistic* educational experience, which seems to have been foundational principles, are still central to his beliefs and attitude to EAP despite the shift to a more bureaucratic and technicised approach on the programme. His belief in students developing their own sense of purpose, towards their own specified goals appears as a critical challenge to the orthodoxy of the course which, judging by Marco's description of it; being technicised with needs defined not by students but by programme managers and curriculum designers. His criticism of newer teachers being "anyone" does indicate that he believes in the defined ways of *being* and *thinking,* of possessing particular specialised knowledge and experience, as well as people-oriented practices that he describes in his mission.

Marco complained about increasing bureaucratisation of the programme, claiming that teachers were "left to their own devices" which he applauds whilst negatively' turning to the current need to find other rationales for being on the programme (as opposed to the ones he in part pioneered). Marco's pioneering gaze sees pedagogy structured as ends rather than needs and that those ends are decided upon by the students themselves, giving them a sense of autonomy in constructing their learning experience. Despite this, and throughout the interview, Marco criticises how the learning experience as structured in the university is bounded by a technicist view of education. He complains of students not being given the opportunity to develop the self, e.g., *spiritually*, and that their learning is structured by an economic imperative. Marco supports this by claiming that western culture, specifically Anglo-Saxon culture, is dominated by technical views to problem solving. He sees deductive

reasoning more valued than a discovery or inductive reasoning. Marco suggests that students (and possibly teachers) are forced to limit problem solving to prescribed methods and are shown what *should be done* over what *could be done*. It is interesting how Marco feels free to structure his students' learning experiences towards discovery and personal development whilst at the same time indicating that that is in some way constrained by reduced notions of students' needs based on rote approaches to both content and learning.

Rafa also supports the view that his work and the students experience should be more "rounded", not too specialised but unlike Marco he insists that this is understood through technical skills development. As discussed above, Rafa sees the development of the skills of reading and writing central to his work and to the needs of his students. He claims that their successful completion of the course, their ability to manage the demands of their post-graduate programme and even their careers and lives beyond the immediate learning contexts are facilitated by development in those skills areas. Rafa, whilst claiming the necessity of developing reading and writing to pass the course (the EAP pre-sessional), adds that study skills are central to success and that independent learning is given attention. He rationalises this in the following way:

> "What we teach, what we try to teach them in ten weeks, is to give them the set of tools that are needed to pass the course." [interviewer prompts: "Just to pass the course?"] "No, not just to pass..well, primarily to pass this course but also to prepare them for university and to teach them to work independently. And that's a very important skill that a lot of students may not have, especially students who are undergrads. School is, proofreading, only in many countries and school doesn't encourage independent learning. Now I could talk about school for ages and the functions of school, functions of education – why does it start at nine and why do you have to be present – because it prepares you for the world of work, because when you are at work, you need to start at nine and not when you wake up."

Interestingly, despite claiming the importance of independent learning it is still in the context of skills training with the example of proofreading; that is technologies that can be acquired on a short-term training programme. Rafa appears to intrumentalise student autonomy towards the learning of technical skills that will enable students to perform in higher education. This is in contrast to Marco who has a broader conception of autonomy that includes student involvement in knowledge building. Rafa makes little reference to teacher autonomy directly but his focus on skills

needs, framed in part by the programme and his own personal development, seem to suggest weak autonomy or that possible trajectories regarding content and pedagogy are limited by what he perceives as central to student success. Despite this, in his functional description of learning in schools, Rafa criticises the top-down authoritarian pedagogies of schools with their obedience training and vocational orientation. He suggests a *democratic education* where students have a say in how they learn.

Similarly, Phil discusses how the students coming onto the programme lack the skills of independent learning, and collaborative learning and that the role of the EAP teacher is to help students develop that.

> "But ultimately students have to write essays, they have to develop their thinking based on what they read so those are two big areas…there's a lot of focus on independent study. Learning IS ah you know not ALL, there's a large proportion of the time when you are on your own, thinking on your own. Umm, you do, it does work if work with other people at some point and share ideas and discuss lectures and seminars. It engages, engages the students…the project they are working on etc. But a lot of the is that they are on their own. You read a book, you understand it, you might share your ideas later to help you learn."

Like others, including Rafa, the uncritical rationalisation of the necessity of autonomous learning is a kind of acceptance of the culture of higher education, in that students are expected to work alone. Again, the need to be autonomous is instrumentalised as a skill to be developed whilst on the program to help students not only in their academic successes but also to "survive" at university in the UK. Phil additionally frames student autonomy in the technical work of producing essays. With regard to teacher autonomy, Phil reduces the work of teachers to the skills needs of the students and their goals for success. Phil discusses how he expects teachers and co-ordinators to be relatively autonomous and does not hope to micro-manage them. He also talks about how being able to work with others is an important quality in teachers and that disruptive behaviour (e.g. being argumentative) is undesirable. He does not elaborate further on this regarding what constitutes argument and disruption, but one wonders if professional conflicts of ideas, values and beliefs may be included in that. It can be deduced, however, that Phil's views on the role of teachers on the programme, that is, to support skills development needs

and manage assessment, is influencing teacher's autonomy, promoting, among some, an instrumental orientation.

Many of the teachers complain of a lack of *collegiality* on the programme, partly influenced by being in different parts of the campus during a typical workday. However, many enjoy the relative autonomy they imagine they have in their work despite their work being seemingly constrained by time, an orientation towards skills development and the dominance of looming assessment. Colin exemplifies this when comparing control of practice between EAP courses in his experience. "Some courses are a bit more rigorous and teachers are expected to follow a course more closely and doing the same things at the same time. And they also monitor your meetings."

Interesting the relative autonomy felt by a number of the teachers is somewhat affected by the focus of training and the topics for discussion for meetings. Again, the foci here is dominated by assessment and standardisation of marking. The programme's concentration on assessment and its dominance in the schedule of work will tend to bound any autonomy the teacher may have. Susan exemplifies this comparing the programme to the year round in-sessional programmes:

> "Well, there's some there's it's very pressurised. I'm doing the 6 week one and you know it's like a deadline to get it in and the [name of assessment removed = students' assessment paper] completely dominates. Um, and the level of students is different so with the in-sessional but I tended to do the foundation year so the level of the students is very different and you're also working with colleagues all year round whereas here it's just a temporary temporary post."

The excerpt appears to indicate a tendency among many of the teachers to compartmentalise their pre-sessional work from their other work in part due to its short-term nature. There seems to be an almost grudging acceptance of how the programme is fashioned towards immediate goals and assessment, a gravitational alignment with the practices of the programme authors This may be influential in developing an instrumental orientation and quite possibly, a technicist view of pedagogy. Marco felt that teachers in the past had more control over their pedagogy and the development of the curriculum. He described a loss of authorship and a reduction in teacher autonomy over time with the increased bureaucratisation of the

programme. Any autonomy remaining gave the teacher a role of editor of programme content within the classroom rather than author.

5.4 Summary

What was evident in this initial analysis was that teachers were legitimising the basis of knowledge often in terms of *hierarchy* of discipline specificity, e.g. linguistic descriptions over communicative skills competency, and also the *status* of legitimate knowers in terms of educational background and qualifications. Phil emphasised a professional learning background that was based on the skills of teaching over language knowledge. Some identified *academic skills* training as legitimate focus on the programme whilst others viewed attention to language is equally relevant. There was attention to developing the students as subjects and legitimate knowers, although many were oriented towards students acquiring the right kind of knowledge to enable them to progress on the programme and in their desired degree course. This contextualised feature was apparent through many of the interviews, especially with regard to assessment, a heavy emphasis on the skills of reading and writing being most obvious. What was apparent was that different teachers had different approaches to specialising EAP and the degree to which their views are orientated towards context.

In the next chapter I will provide further analysis in terms of the LCT dimensions of Specialisation (ER/SR) and Semantics (SG).

Chapter 6. Specialising EAP: meaning making in the local context

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I identified that teachers responded to the question of what EAP meant to them in a number of ways. However, in terms of a generalisable orientation, teachers tended to discuss themselves, their backgrounds, professional trajectories, their beliefs and values relating to their professional development and how that embodied experience is relevant to their situation on the programme. Another aspect that arose was their views on or orientations towards their practice on the programme; what they seemingly valued as legitimate and practical despite the constraints of time. One more aspect was their view on students and their needs which was often used to legitimise their views on practice. I will discuss how, through the dimensions of specialisation (ER+/- and SR+/-) and semantic gravity (SG+/-) EAP practitioners on the programme legitimise their practice towards their perceived bases to knowledge, focus of knowledge and the degree to which those views are context dependent. In turn, incorporating the pedagogical practice of Framing (particularly, +/-F^e), I will detail how the programme legitimises certain practices to provide a localised interpretation of EAP. Ultimately the goal will be to suggest how that such localisation helps shape the views of teachers on the programme. In terms of structure, I have purposively placed the analysis of teachers bases and focuses of knowledge before that of the programme to not suggest a top down influence immediately, but rather, to emphasise the powers of identity in activating or not activating the powers of the programme. I will put more emphasis on practitioners who demonstrate tendencies that may or may not activate those powers.

6.2 Knowledge codes

Malcom clearly identifies with and engages with the production of knowledge, defining what he believes EAP *should* be much more than other teachers in the study. Bernstein (2000) describes this field, in that it is scholarly and research-led bases found in tightly defined academic disciplines. For Malcolm this is found in linguistics. Some of the teachers, however, do discuss the importance of specialisation of knowledge or the placing *linguistic* knowledge at the head of a

knowledge hierarchy. Malcolm, seems to relate much more to knowledge generated within academic or production fields. His interview was particularly interesting as he defended a linguistic knowledge over a teacher methodology-based knowledge found in general EFL. In doing so he appears to draw boundaries between EAP and EFL and a kind of antagonism towards teacher training in EFL.

> "I'm concerned there is no assumption of pedagogical effectiveness in a monolingual communicative classroom that cannot be critiqued at a doctorate level by appealing to a discipline or linguistic science that goes beyond the DELTAs mandate I mean I would simply argue that [what] the DELTA qualification is to linguistic science [is] what Fox news is to [journalism]. I really do see it as it's a partisan corporate power structure and it's trying to push the whole industry in a certain direction that is compliant with its whole business model."

It is evident that in Malcolm's early career he identifies strongly with being academic or scholarly over being a professional teacher and with being a particular species of translator, that is, a terminologist. The corporate influence on his work-life caused Malcolm to become disillusioned with translation work. He sought a more specialist, that is 'academic' and professional direction in his career. Malcolm described this in his own words as; to "relaunch" himself into the "teaching world", into a "higher level" in a "more university professional environment." This idealism brought him to HE teaching and the pre-sessional, and towards what he called the "priesthood"; a social and professional class committed to their specialism. Malcolm's fear that the Cambridge DELTA will become the standard entry qualification to teach on the pre-sessional seems to be centred around those insulated boundaries that he describes of the linguistic specialist will be permeated and knowledge diluted or devalued. Themes arising from Malcolm's interview centre around professionalism, collegiality and seriousness, clear definable objectives, structure, the importance of a more professional working environment, and enhanced criticality. This again solidifies a kind of impossible idealism found in Archer's (2003) "meta-reflexives", and that ultimately their ideals are found wanting in professions and positions that do not meet their high expectations. Malcolm also creates not just hierarchies of knowledge; placing linguistics and research based practice at the top and the "corporate" and methodological proceduralism found in general TEFL at the bottom, but also organisational and sociological hierarchies by championing BALEAP over IATEFL and the celebration of an academic "priesthood."

From this I suggest Malcolm's tendency towards strong Epistemic Relations (ER++), detailed in the translation device. He emphasises educational qualifications that are discipline specific, and discipline specific knowledges required of the practitioner or in the needs of students, which are considered legitimate to EAP practice. In his critique of DELTA, Malcolm clearly valorises a basis to knowledge concerning pedagogy, that is, in his view, more legitimate than that which seems to be legitimised by the TEFL 'industry.'

> "**I'm concerned there is no assumption of pedagogical effectiveness in a monolingual communicative classroom that cannot be critiqued at a doctorate level by appealing to a discipline or linguistic science that goes beyond the DELTAs mandate** I mean I would simply argue that [what] the DELTA qualification is to linguistic science [is] what Fox news is to [journalism]."

Whilst Malcolm pays little attention to the opinions, contributions and attributes of his students, he does describe a kind of ideal knower in the teacher: one with a knowledge of linguistic description and one who bases pedagogical practice on interaction with empirical research. In his criticism of EFL approaches to professional learning that emphasise *how to* teach over describing language problems and their resolution, Malcolm seems to create a preferred or ideal type of teacher: a scholarly – academic linguist. This does not, however, suggest that, for Malcolm, the teacher has a great degree of discretion in what should be taught, or that theirs or their students' opinions as valorised in what constitutes legitimate knowledge in EAP. This suggests that Malcolm exhibits tendencies in line with SR- of the translation device.

In terms of Semantic Gravity, Malcolm places emphasis on an understanding of EAP and the needs of students in relation to wider contexts: the learning of specific language problems, their descriptions and the objects and devices to resolve those problems; to enable students to effectively improve their communicative accuracy in whatever particular context they find themselves in. He does not seem to relocate understandings of EAP into espoused and legitimated practices that others attribute immediate contextual needs, e.g. the skills necessary to produce a particular type of text. Thus, Malcolm tends towards a semantic code closer to the translated concept described as SG- in the translation device.

In analysing Rafa's narrative many themes arose that are important to his personal and professional EAP teacher identity. His biography as a non-native speaker, learning and developing his skills and knowledge as a language expert, especially in the discipline of writing, has influenced his studies and career direction into the field of forensic linguistics. EAP, for Rafa, is not central to his professional identity and sees his EAP work as developing the specific linguistic tools and skills to successfully complete the pre-sessional course and to be able to study at post-graduate level. Writing and writing skills are prized by Rafa and his publishing and work experience are mainly in this area. He even claims that he was accepted onto the programme due to this background as he did not have formal EFL or EAP training and very little experience. He states that he has enough knowledge to teach EFL as he knows how English grammar systems work and can give appropriate descriptions. Rafa seems dissatisfied with EFL in some way as he often mentions the NS versus NNS issue and how his knowledge in description and the "why" of a language point might be deeper than that of NS whilst at the same time they are still favoured. It is apparent that Rafa is reluctant to adopt a specifically EFL teacher identity preferring to identify with academic writing and forensic linguistics. Rafa legitimises his identity as a teacher/tutor of writing by downplaying the importance of discipline specific knowledge and rationalising his own academic background in English. This provides an academic niche for Rafa, whilst in turn legitimising EGAP. He shows interest in becoming a lecturer in those areas on completion of his PhD. Rafa's specialisation in regard to writing skills, despite stressing the importance of developing a range of academic skills, leads him to believe in its prominence in EAP and its necessity towards proficiency. Unlike Malcolm, Rafa puts more emphasis on the focus of knowledge rather than its basis. It seems that Rafa's understanding of EAP to the learning of certain skills is similar to a kind of *training for university life* and is somewhat instrumental in its ambit e.g., to "pass the course" or to "prepare them for university." This is almost contradictory to his stance regarding a more fuller experience. Despite this tendency towards a particular knowledge over the right kind of knower, Rafa's tendency to orient towards writing skills development align with that of the programme much more than Malcolm. One senses that Rafa, despite his democratic approach, has some doubt over his own authority in the classroom whilst defending the experience and knowledge of the NNS teacher. He doubts his level of

so-called mastery. The idea of mastery is raised regularly in Rafa's narrative and is comparable to Lisa's *proficiency*. They both legitimise their positions on their experience and their proficiency/mastery. Rafa's mastery is a kind of idealism that even he feels is difficult to achieve yet still utilises the idea to frame his beliefs about his work. Rafa does not offer a fuller conceptual description of what writing and mastery entails with no support from literature for his beliefs. His semantic gravity (SG) leans toward an immediate context relevancy. Again, like Malcolm, Rafa specialises knowledge in terms of linguistic knowledge although for the utilitarian purpose of writing. He appears to place the language expert over the EFL methodologist without needing to place too much emphasis on comparative legitimacy. One wonders that whilst having little experience of general EFL Rafa's criticality is biased towards what transferrable experience he has, that is as a writing specialist. With the programme's strong orientation towards the students' production of texts there appears to be further rationalisation of this orientation. Despite describing the many academic skills necessary for his students, Rafa emphasises where he believes the focus of their knowledge should lie:

> "But if I've explained this to them and if I've taught them that things should be referenced, I've taught them more or less how to structure an essay, how to go from broad to narrow, how to go from the beginning to the middle, how to list your points – let's say, hopefully that's good enough to pass the course. Hopefully that's good enough to reapply and develop when they're writing their master's works, their master's coursework."

Like Malcolm, despite not detailing a strong basis to knowledge especially, Rafa does describe linguistic mastery as important but with the focus on language production. Rafa therefore focuses knowledge on the production of written texts. In his references to mastery and proficiency he does indicate a kind of knower but firmly based on acquiring a certain type of knowledge in that *becoming*. One might suggest that Rafa produces a knowledge code ER+ whilst at the same time suggesting a social relations code that does not encourage or emphasise the importance of students' opinions, attributes or dispositions as constituting legitimate contributions to EAP knowledge.

Many of the other teachers including Susan, Lisa and Charlie place some emphasis on a particular basis to their own knowledge as teachers, rooted in linguistic

knowledge. “it is English after all when you think about it so you would expect more focus on linguistic skills I think…”

Charlie later emphasises the improvement of teaching skills rather than linguistic knowledge as she seems to be confident in her level of linguistic knowledge. However, unlike Malcolm, they tend to also focus knowledge in terms of their students learning. Like Rafa, this is often regarding the development of writing skills with the objective of essay production in mind. The specialisation plane below gives a picture of the variation between those whose claims about knowledge are more or less associated with strong academic/research supported bases found in disciplines. Malcolm sits at the further extreme, with his emphasis on research informed knowledge, particularly in linguistics whereas the others direct their emphasis more towards the acquisition of academic skills, primarily writing. None of these teachers emphasised teachers’ individual discretion, experiences and beliefs about practice or did they particularly encourage students' opinions, attributes or dispositions as constituting legitimate contributions to EAP knowledge.

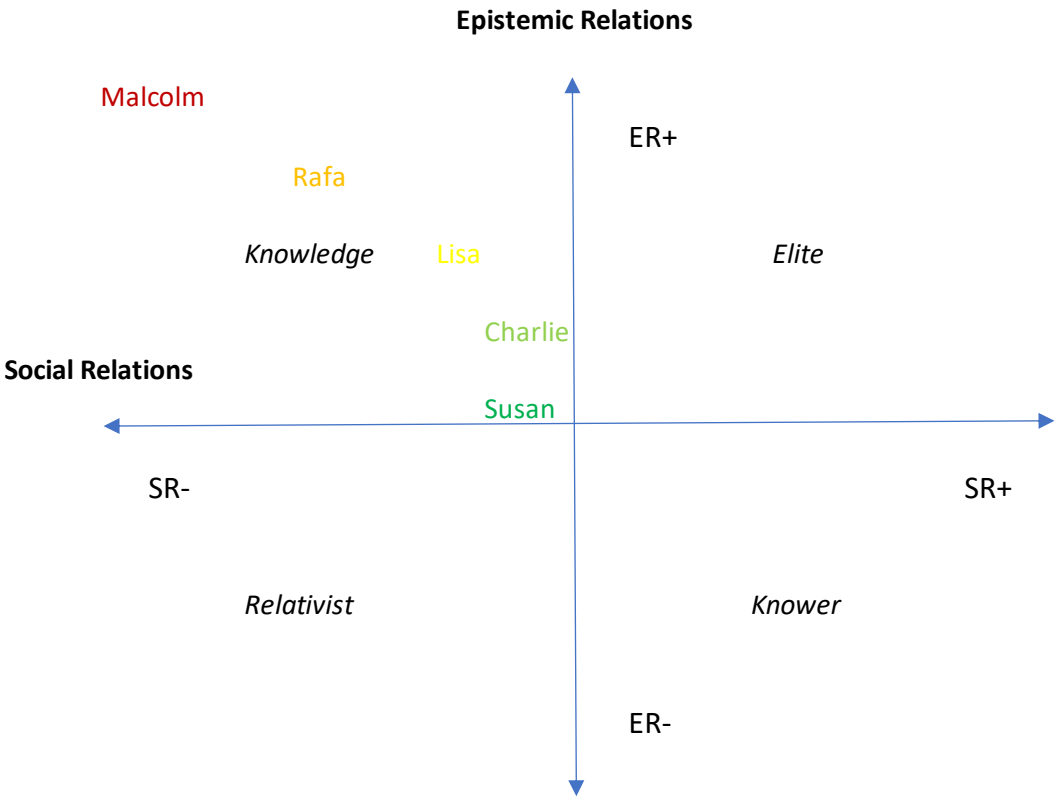


Figure 4: teacher knowledge codes

6.3 Knower codes

It's interesting that Scott has developed a technicist view of his EAP work, as contrived language systems and lexis coupled with skills "to survive" (whatever they may be) in a specific context (the university). This *survival*, one might say *sink or swim* analogy is not too dissimilar to Lisa and Rafa's 'proficiency' to be able to successfully acculturate into British academic life and into the target language domain e.g., in a discipline or profession. Unlike them, however, he tends not to emphasise specific knowledge needed to help students in their success. Despite that, he does complain that students are not prepared in their specific domains. Although he is critical of the "teach to the test" philosophy he observes on the programme, Scott sees the implementation of EGAP as a "cost effective" measure on the part of the university but is irrelevant to some specific domains e.g., mathematics, as the programme's interpretation of EGAP is focused towards the use of general academic language and academic skills, moreover, essay writing skills. He fears then that certain students are not being prepared for their target language use domain. The provision of language study and skills to enable students to succeed in the "target language use domain" is important for Scott and is, as we have already discussed, a BALEAP competency. The relative importance that Scott gives to this competency is not necessarily due to direct influence of BALEAP, and makes no reference to the competencies *per se*. He does, however, mention "standards", claiming: "I'm not committed to the university or any of the standards." This does indicate a kind of resistance to constraints (e.g,. the mismatch between EGAP and the BALEAP competency of target use domain) on his work which he believes is based on *student-centredness*. One may then still argue of an influence of BALEAP standards, construed by the university and the programme, as influential on his attitude, and amplifying his beliefs about his work. Having said that, in distancing himself from the university or university standards, Scott seems to activate his own powers of discretion, and amplifying a sense of teacher autonomy from the framing mechanisms of the programme.

Scott criticises the role of the organisation in what he calls "gatekeeping", that is, one assumes checking what those students need and that the organisation has provision

for them, not accepting them unless it does. Scott even uses the word “corrupt” in his assessment of gatekeeping in the organisation. He goes on to observe that the programme (including the PG stream) is becoming “more orientated towards business studies” partly due to the cohort mostly studying on business and economics programmes. He suggests that, again, students are choosing business related disciplines.

Scott returns to the disparity between the programme and student needs discussing how students come to the university not to integrate into the local culture and community but to acquire the skills necessary to communicate more globally, thus course content that focuses on native speaker pronunciation is irrelevant to their needs. Again, Scott defines those needs and goals as those that appropriate to “effective communication for their target language use domain”. This criticism places Scott’s views more in line with BALEAP competencies than with ‘emergent’ beliefs in the PRF. Scott has a relatively pragmatic view of EAP and of his work with its focus on needs. He in some way misses the “golden age” (his own words) of language learning when it was about “bettering oneself” intellectually and culturally whilst at the same time accepting (often grudgingly) the marketisation of higher education and the priorities of students in search of lucrative careers. His reflection on the changes that have affected his classroom orients him closer to emphasising attributes, views and opinions of students. This may be interpreted from the idea he presents in relation to a “creative” classroom.

> “So I mean I haven’t had a class like about I’m going to say 2012 so four years ago I think when I had a class of a dozen students from about eight different cultural backgrounds and that’s really that’s very rewarding isn’t **it it’s very creative it’s a very creative classroom**.”

This seems to support Hadley’s (2015) view that some teachers of EAP particularly in the past, saw themselves as lingual cultural artisans rather than skills trainers. Scott applauds a move away from “elitism” and claims the turn to the market has made higher education more democratic. In our discussion about the change in name of the organisation and its relocation to a services department Scott pointed out how errors in content have remained in the materials for ten years whilst the name of the organisation (changing twice in recent years) on materials is quick to be

changed. He implies that name changes seem to be of greater importance to managers than course content.

Scott appears to legitimise an identity similar to Hadley's (2015) TEAPs. This identity is framed by what EAP *has been* yet resistant to what he considers irrelevant to his role in supporting students in their learning, not too dissimilar to Marco. Indeed, they both have longevity on the programme. The emergent *gate-keeper* or *student processor* role is one he is not readily accepting of. Although Scott is critical of the intervention of organisations such as the programme, he is still context-orientated in how he attaches meaning to his work, this is pronounced and description of student needs and goals as those that are appropriate to "effective communication for their target language use domain". This is where he differs from Marco.

The analogy of "nomads" is particularly interesting with regard to Marco, as he claims the identification himself as one of those who "pioneered" the programme. The original pioneers of the programme assumingly set it up focused on ideas of human development but were not ultimately intending to stay on the programme over time. They seemed to focus on a short-term project or series of projects without necessarily establishing any ultimate goal or mission that is transcendental through each project. Although Marco identifies with *nomads* he does not appear to possess the tendency to move on. He has returned year after year to work on the programme with what seems to be a particular objective or mission. Rather than the analogy of nomad one might describe his tendency to persist with his ideas about teaching and learning as missionary-like, in his own words, believing in an *essence* as to what EAP means to him. His own term "pioneer" is quite fitting as it suggests that those with these concerns are founders, they build their ideals about EAP from identifying with the foundation of a particular course or programme. That founding spirit is kept alive in his beliefs, attitude, and practice. He talks about how the original programme at the university was more about human development and fun, and identifies strongly with this in principle and in practice in his current work. In stating that "it's out of our hands," Marco seems to resent losing authorship or at least consultation on the direction of the programme. *Authorship* and teacher *autonomy* were also was brought up by another pioneer (Rick) on the programme (currently a co-ordinator)

who, in an informal conversation, discussed how curriculum “in the early days” of the programme was open to the interpretation of the teacher and that in effect each teacher could create their own curriculum. He seemed to support such autonomy and how the programme in the past was freer, and collegial, teachers openly sharing a variety of knowledge with each other. However, he quickly nullified his apparent support for individual authorship in favour of some kind of standardised curriculum by arguing that it was difficult to know whether any single authored curriculum was not “a piece of crap” (in his own words). Rick was critical of how the ideals of the programme have changed, from a freer, holistic learning experience towards a “service” orientation, under the tutelage of the university and departments, although seemingly accepting of the new role of the programme and the unit. The autonomy of the teacher and their expertise seem to go hand-in-hand in Marco’s account to the point that under the new bureaucratic orientation the expert is being lost. One may interpret this in the following: “…because um, anyone can do it in effect and they are not asking particular people to do it”. This critique is clearly a response to the *turn* in part being orchestrated by the unit’s management towards qualified teachers over those with content knowledge. In doing so he identifies the knowers as those who have either longevity or experience or those with more specialist knowledge. However, it seems that content knowledge is of less importance than those who have had more experience.

If Pioneers are identities possessing certain tendencies then they will challenge and criticise new directions and maintain their ideals, formed in part by their participation in founding a programme, as to how their practice should be. His trenchant position on what university education means and dislike of technicism in teaching and learning is reflective of those tendencies and indicates a condensing of meaning. Marco is an idealist yet pragmatic to an extent, but his pragmatism stretches within a limited scope, the definition of “ends” rather than needs and that the teacher’s pedagogy should be adapted to helping students to reach those ends. Students must define their own ends not contaminated by imported contrived notions of what they need. Unlike many of the teachers in the study Marco’s pedagogy is somewhat constructivist in that he allows emergence in the classroom, that is, emergent knowledge and also the direction the class takes and attitudes to materials. Again, such descriptions by Marco indicate a relatively strong knower code, and less

context specific. This example from the interview indicates how Marco forefronts the discretion, opinion and autonomous learning management of students over the objectives of the curriculum.

> "And I think that sort of frame works again as an ends analysis because they start to work with it and they do role-plays, they do debates, they do case studies which require them to solve problems and suggest their own solutions as well as the writing techniques they focus on, but in the context of the week."

In being pioneer-like, he is accepting of a democratic education but strongly believes in the ideals formed from those early programme(s) and continues to wish their maintenance, an idealistic mission. His reading and apparent spiritualism seems to influence this. Marco is hopeful that he can still continue his mission despite the constraints of bureaucratisation of the programme but does take into account that organisational mission and his own are and will remain in conflict. He argues that increased attention to bureaucratic processes may cause us to focus our practice on "technical work" and not the diversity of possible approaches in EAP. This, again, clearly represents a semantic gravitational difference from that of others with less meaning making emanating from the immediate context (SG-).

Marco's account identifies the constraints of the programme, as it has changed over time, on his own view the purpose of EAP on the program and how it should be taught and learnt. His criticisms of technicisation and bureaucratisation of the programme clearly indicate a concern which he has responded to with further critique of the 'needs' focus of EAP and its essentialised version on the programme, which are arguably more institutionally-centred rather than student-centred. Marco's emotional response is similar to that described by Burke (2004, 2007) and Burke and Stets (2009) in that conflict arises between "internal" and "external" standards, and that a kind of renegotiation of what his work means occurs. This conflict when interpreting needs is further elaborated through his notion that the student experience and teacher's work should be centred on developing the individual subject (human-being) and that the realisation of this project is constrained by arguably incompatible projects. Indeed, the very need to get British Council accreditation for the programme seemed to interfere with many of the teachers' work and sense of responsibility towards their students. During a meeting, the programme manager asked teachers to include "lots of pronunciation practice" in their observed

classes as “they (The British Council) like that.” Some teachers (those included in this study) inquired about the relevancy of extensive pronunciation practice in EAP when their students are concentrated on writing. A *gravitational pull* based on contextual factors. One imagines, however, that Marco would be supportive of pronunciation work but not as an external standard.

As a summary, Marco’s response to a needs-based approach seems to be the development of what he terms “Ends analysis”. This direction is demonstrative of his interpretation of EAP and as he has read widely, he has knowledge in various fields that influence his own research in the area of student needs and ends. In terms of semantic gravity, Marco seems not to overly contextualise knowledge, despite conceding to curriculum pressures (“in the context of the week”), and yield to the programme and its mission *per se*, and views EAP as an extension of a holistic education experience.

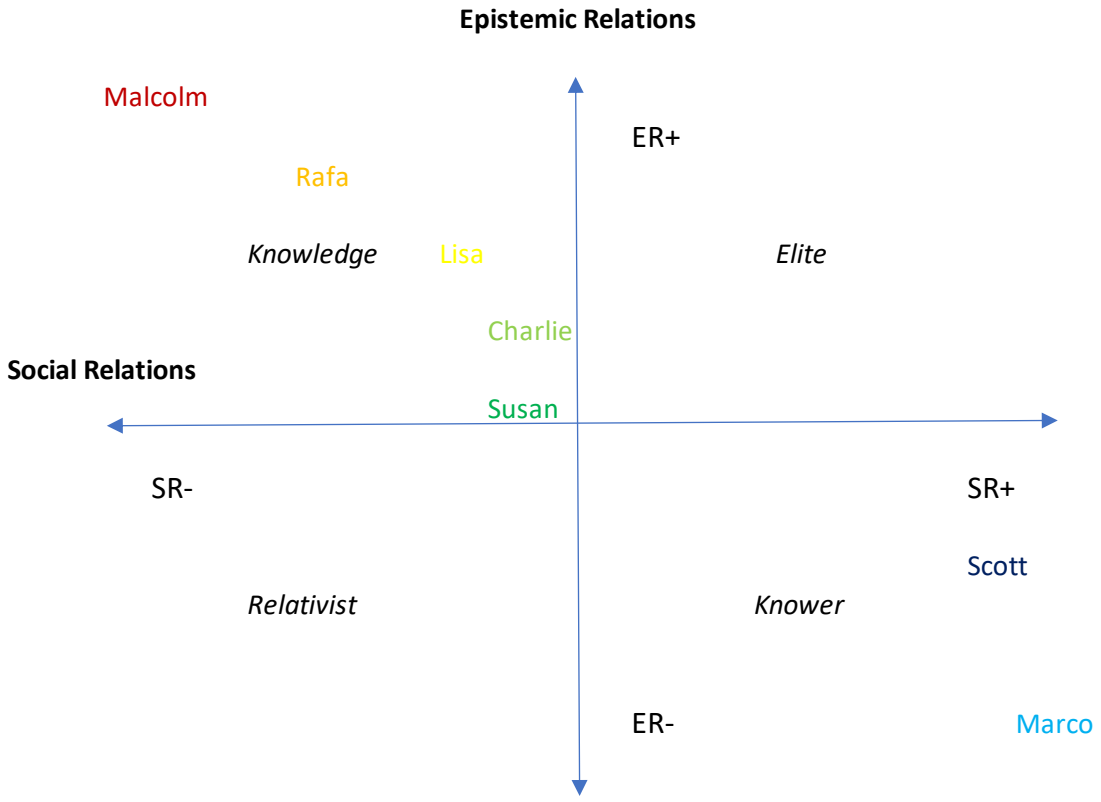


Figure 5: teacher specialisation codes

The above plane shows where both Scott and Marco are placed in terms of their emphasis on importance of teacher and student relationships, the development of a mutual learning environment of teacher and student, a general student-centred pedagogy and an emphasis on the learner as subject. Marco emphasises context much less than Scott in his attention to students receiving a holistic learning experienced away from the technicised nature of the programme.

6.4 Analysis of organisational influence

Below I will analyse, with reference to the above narrative data, the influence of two organisations immediately relevant to practitioners. One is the professional organisation BALEAP (British Association of Lecturers in English for Academic Purposes) and the other is the pre-sessional programme.

6.4.1 Standards and the influence of BALEAP

The focus of knowledge for most of the teachers lies, in the acquisition of skills both developmental and linguistic. Many of the skills described involved included those that would aid the student in the transition into British higher education, acculturation. Other skills detailed were with regard the academic conventions such as appropriate referencing. Few mention areas of specialisation within academic fields that might be considered the basis of knowledge, such as linguistic descriptions or corpus analysis. Malcolm attempts this more than others. The *developing writer* seems to occupy the teachers' beliefs more than any other. But this is not in terms of the right kind of knower, rather, the acquisition of the technical skills to enable the development of the writer. Epistemic Relations from the teachers' narratives are relatively weak strong although the majority emphasise the focus of knowledge over its basis. EAP, for the teachers, is not reduced to essential knowledges generated in the production field. Whilst many of them possess degrees in language and linguistics few have researched areas specifically related to EAP. What is noticeable in many of their accounts is the belief that EAP (especially for pre-sessional courses) or its purpose, is the acquisition of academic skills related to reading, writing and to a lesser extent, listening and speaking. Specific language systems and specialist lexis to be learnt feature only briefly in their accounts. What is evident in most of the

interview discussions is a description of EAP as broad in its knowledge base but somewhat instrumental in its purpose. As Lisa's specialism indicates, many of the pre-sessional teachers were drawn to reducing much of their work to the purpose of acculturation into British academic life and to skills needed to enable students to get through the course (the pre-sessional) and through their post-graduate programme on completion of the pre-sessional. This *genericism* of knowledge for practice can be described as experienced or learnt in practice contexts rather than a deeper exploration as to what EAP might mean. As we have discussed, EAP knowledge is likely to have been *curricularised* from its production fields by agents and concentrated on the field of practice (usually higher education settings). EAP, in the reproduction field (from the beliefs and orientations of the teachers), in this case the activities of the programme, represents that arena, is thus recontextualised.

Recontextualised knowledge for practice transformed from production sites can be read in the discourse of the EAP professional teaching organisation BALEAP (British Association of Lecturers in English for Academic Purposes). The programme, in turn, utilises the organisation's description of EAP practice and the role of the EAP practitioner in its pre-sessional recruitment literature. The introduction to the framework defines the purpose of the document and its conception of competency.

> The teaching of English for Academic Purposes (EAP) has expanded with the increasing use of English for study, teaching and research in further and higher education institutions worldwide. In recognition of a gap which exists in EAP-specific teacher qualifications, BALEAP has established a description of the core competencies of a professional EAP practitioner, in order to provide teachers new to the field, and those responsible for training them, with clear goals and understanding of the role of an EAP teacher. Competency is here understood as 'the technical skills and professional capabilities that a teacher needs to bring to a position in order to fulfill its functions completely' (Aitken, 1998). The development of the competencies framework was informed by the findings of a 3-stage survey of EAP practitioners between April 2005 and January 2006. In addition, the competency framework was presented for discussion at the BALEAP conference in Durham in April 2007. The competencies, thus, reflect best practice as viewed by experienced practitioners (BALEAP, 2018, p. 2).

The introduction poses a problem, that is, the gap between the demand for EAP and EAP specific teacher education and qualifications. The framework is offered as a guide constructed by experienced practitioners for trainers, and new teachers to the

field offering “clear goals and understanding of the role of an EAP teacher.” Clarity of goals and roles, one imagines, will be defined and negotiated in the PRF.

The overview statement provides an initial generic description of what is expected of the EAP practitioner.

> An EAP teacher will be able to facilitate students’ acquisition of the language, skills and strategies required for studying in a further or higher education context and to support students’ understanding of approaches to interpreting and responding to the requirements of academic tasks and their related processes (BALEAP, 2018).

The framework lists the main competencies and knowledges as:

> 1. Academic Contexts. An EAP teacher will have a reasonable knowledge of the organizational, educational and communicative policies, practices, values and conventions of universities. 2. Disciplinary Differences. An EAP teacher will be able to recognize and explore disciplinary differences and how they influence the way knowledge is expanded and communicated. 3. Academic Discourse. An EAP teacher will have a high level of systemic language knowledge including knowledge of discourse analysis. 4. Personal Learning, Development and Autonomy. An EAP teacher will recognize the importance of applying to his or her own practice the standards expected of students and other academic staff. 5. Student Needs. An EAP teacher will understand the requirements of the target context that students wish to enter as well as the needs of students in relation to their prior learning experiences and how these might influence their current educational expectations. 6. Student Critical Thinking. An EAP teacher will understand the role of critical thinking in academic contexts and will employ tasks, processes and interactions that require students to demonstrate critical thinking skills. 7. Student Autonomy. An EAP teacher will understand the importance of student autonomy in academic contexts and will employ tasks, processes and interactions that require students to work effectively in groups or independently as appropriate. 8. Syllabus and Programme Development. An EAP teacher will understand the main types of language syllabus and will be able to transform a syllabus into a programme that addresses students’ needs in the academic context within which the EAP course is located. 9. Text processing and text production. An EAP teacher will understand approaches to text classification and discourse analysis and will be able to organize courses, units and tasks around whole texts or text segments in ways that develop students’ processing and production of spoken and written texts. 10. Teaching Practices. An EAP teacher will be familiar with the methods, practices and techniques of communicative language teaching and be able to locate these within an academic context and relate them to teaching the language and skills required by academic tasks and processes. 11. Assessment Practices. An EAP teacher will be able to assess academic language and skills tasks using formative and summative assessment.

The framework goes into more detail with each competency and what is expected in their realisation. The range of knowledges is quite extensive which is one might imagine somewhat of a difficult task to develop all of them with any great depth. And what appears to be missing are knowledges specialising in areas such as Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and other approaches to lesson planning theory and methodology outside of the communicative approach (CA) that one might imagine is being produced in specialised sites of knowledge production. In fact, the framework almost demands adherence to CA. “An EAP teacher will be familiar with the methods, practices and techniques of communicative language teaching and be able to locate these within an academic context and relate them to teaching the language and skills required by academic tasks and processes” (p.3). The document as a whole tends towards listing capabilities and abilities for performative practice rather than deeper knowledge within specific areas. Direct reference to BALEAP and its competencies is not evident in the discussions with the interviewees and only one stated he was a member (Malcolm). Having said that the generic performativities listed by BALEAP are indeed evident in the interview narratives. If we take an example from the framework, we can see its legitimation in the discourse of interviewees. Let us choose:

> 1. Academic Contexts. An EAP teacher will have a reasonable knowledge of the organizational, educational and communicative policies, practices, values and conventions of universities.

This description might be interpreted as acculturation. Rafa, focused on skills, brings in acculturation regularly in his interview, for example:

> “We teach them the skills that are needed to pass the course but we also teach them the skills that are needed to pass their future, pass their degree. Because we’re preparing them for university conventions, and again we’re acclimatizing them, acculturizing them, if that’s the word. We’re preparing them for these academic conventions; referencing is compulsory, copying and pasting is not allowed, stealing other people’s ideas is not allowed, paraphrasing is compulsory, submitting on time is compulsory, preparing, coming prepared to lectures is compulsory, taking notes is compul…we are preparing them for what is expected at university in the UK. And the skills that we teach them, we’re trying to…with a broad set of tools. There’s always so much we can do in ten weeks.”

Rafa rationalises his skills focused orientation with the conjunction “because” in preparing students for the conventions of academic life in the UK. He also utilises

repetition (the adjective “compulsory”) to rationalise acculturation practices and the skills necessary to operate in that environment. *Culture*, in a broader sense, dominates Lisa’s narrative. She speaks of a “love” of British culture and the English language stating:

> “…I truly believe that when you’re learning a language you need to know a few things at least about the culture and the history of the country because there’s no point learning English uh if you don’t know where England is or what’s the difference between England, UK and Great Britain.”

Despite the assumption she makes about needing to know about British culture and learning English, her attention to its importance is interesting as it is followed by her insistence of the need for students to learn about western culture as part of a wider education. She, unlike Rafa, does not specify *academic conventions* and, or *values*.

> “…we talked about the area, we talked about the history, we made comparisons between that era here and the same era in China and Greece or Kazakhstan or South Korea and we saw the differences in the civilizations and similarities, and the children [sic] loved it. And they had to write a paragraph about it …so students I have the chance to go beyond curriculum but at the same time staying within the expected outcomes.”

Lisa’s interest in culture and cross-cultural experience which is often repeated in the text seemingly inform her pedagogy and orientation towards her teaching. She is also cautious to not ignore the discourse of needs and performance objectives with her use of “expected outcomes.” Further, she uses acculturation to elaborate and give reasons for her focus on the need for ‘proficiency’ among her cohort.

> “…being proficient for me also means making mistakes and learning from them because I think we make mistakes in… all the time I know I do so not being afraid to make mistakes in that language this for me shows that you are proficient that you are now ready to be let’s say absorbed in an environment which is not yours.”

To be “absorbed”, one assumes, is to be acculturated and to be acculturated one needs to be proficient. Proficiency here may be interpreted as purposeful in that it serves to enable students to participate in a given environment. It is interesting here how Lisa states that the environment is not “yours”, that one is not native to that culture. Her focus on culture and acculturation is contextualised even legitimised through reference to her own learning as a NNS of English and of how she had also needed to acclimatise to an environment that was not her *own*. She speaks of how in

Greek society multi-culturalism is not celebrated and that in her work (outside of that on the pre-sessional) collaborating with British universities she hopes to change that. She claims that by working with British universities "we need to adjust to this style (celebrating difference)." Susan 's attention to collaboration among students and how she feels a sense of "self-worth" in her work on the pre-sessional also draws on acculturation as a part of that. She states: "…I really enjoy the um it's like it's welcoming people who aren't familiar with conventions at university. British academic university conventions and helping people to sort of become comfortable with living in England." She rationalises this in regards to collaborative learning in her subsequent response after prompting. "I think I like this idea of you know getting a group identity in the class that they support each other. They support each other with the learning and they support each other outside. So, I suppose I work quite hard to get them to work together." Susan's repetition here seems to indicate not just a strong belief in collaborative learning and her pedagogical orientation towards it but also the 'cultural' importance of collaboration in and "outside" the immediate context. However, her reference to conventions, like Rafa indicates a context orientation and possible external influence.

Of the BALEAP competencies most prevalent in the interviews was that of needs;

> 5. Student Needs. An EAP teacher will understand the requirements of the target context that students wish to enter as well as the needs of students in relation to their prior learning experiences and how these might influence their current educational expectations.

Although, again, they do not appear to be directly quoted from or informed by any involvement with the organisation. In general, needs are specialised by most of the interviewees with regard to what skills and knowledge is necessary to pass the pre-sessional course and what is necessary to study towards their elected degree programme. This attention to target context is further elaborated by Phil below, with focus on gaining a sufficient "score" to enable students to enter their chosen departments. One can analyse the BALEAP framework competencies document to elicit a specialisation code not too dissimilar to the teachers as it tends towards a teacher competency that emphasises the ability to help develop skills, to enable students to be successful in more immediate contexts. A *focus* for knowledge more than a clear base. However, as competency 5 suggests, a degree of attention to the

experiences of students to facilitate their learning does indicate a slight shift towards developing the student as subject although in no way as enhanced as, say Marco.

Again, it is not sufficient to merely associate BALEAP competencies with the teachers' orientations towards pedagogy and student needs. How such competencies and orientations towards teaching and learning are contextualised on the programme may offer a more plausible causal connection.

6.4.2 The pre-sessional programme, recontextualisation and framing of knowledge for practice

As few of the teachers in this study claim membership or even clearly identify BALEAP as a source of their knowledge, it is argued here that they have weak direct influence on teacher's beliefs and practices. Their list of competencies is vague and generic and despite teachers enacting certain principles propagated by the organisation a direct influence on their deliberations cannot be established. One might argue that BALEAP, as an organisation of EAP practitioners, rather than a production arena is better described as an entity involved in the recontextualisation of EAP with varying degrees of influence on reproduction or sites of teaching and learning, as Maton (2014) describes. However, in the process of analysing the teachers' interview transcripts for influences on the legitimation of their beliefs and practices in their EAP work, it is evident that professional learning had been influenced by their experiences in practice. Many had discussed or compared EAP with their other practice, whether it was general EFL or not, and had formulated their descriptions of it and their own beliefs, attitudes and practices in response to their experience on the programme in question and in a few cases other EAP programmes. Most of the teachers had only gained experience in EAP on the programme in this study. BALEAP discourse may be of substance in the framing of knowledge in terms of general teacher competencies required for practice but the programme appears more influential in deciding what is to be prioritised.

If one analyses the teacher job description document formulated by the university and the unit, one can see that it directly references the BALEAP framework as it directly requests that teachers adhere to the principles it sets out.

> Be conversant with and uphold the principles inherent in the core competencies of an EAP practitioner, as detailed in the TEAP competency framework, developed by BALEAP.

Obviously, the programme seeks to uphold these professional competencies whilst suggesting further obligations that are more specific to the immediate practice context. This is where one might see a context-dependent elaboration on standards and principles in the framework. The description regularly cites the importance of managing and administration duties that would be necessary to guide and support teaching and learning. One particular statement seems to indicate what teachers should emphasise in their work.

> Supervise student projects, **particularly students take home essays** and generally assist students to improve their academic communications skills, develop relevant study skills and habits and adapt to their new environments socially and academically.

Of course, this is of no surprise on a programme such as this that it must provide summative assessment of learning to enable student transition to their respective academic departments. The “take home essays” are central to the programme’s curriculum and assessment, and take up a great deal of time and effort in class input, tutorials, formative assessment, marking, and discussion both in programme meetings and in peer discussions in less formal settings.

Meetings throughout the summer generally focused on course administration and the written assessment (a 3000-4000 essay). At least two sessions were based around standardisation of marking and what constitutes a “pass.” Although many of the teachers present did not necessarily agree with meeting time taken up by such activities there was a general acceptance that it was necessary. The agenda in one of the sessions included:

- the essay (summative assessment)
- oral presentations (summative assessment)
- listening (exam) practice (summative assessment)
- marking and marking groups (administration and summative assessment)
- the up-coming Home Office audit (administration)
- the up-coming British Council inspection (administration)

One of the programme co-ordinators in a grudging even sarcastic tone introduced the meeting by stating that the British Council wanted to know about our standardisation procedures (e.g. the marking of the essay).

> "I don't think they are that interested really"… "we can defend ourselves under rigorous attack from the authorities" … "the idea is that we sing from the same hymn sheet."

As a UK government sponsored organisation, the British Council is thus a representative of the ORF rather than the PRF, and its standards are much broader than simply the competencies of the EAP teacher. Their intrusion into the programme's work was at times conflictual as it seemed to raise the spectre of authority or who decides what in EAP practice. The meeting that concentrated on standardisation procedures in marking (requested by the British Council) brought to the fore such conflict. Although general accepting of a standardised marking framework, there was a lone dissenting voice among the teachers. Colin disagreed on the concept of standardisation rather that each essay needed to be assessed on its own merits. I caught up with Colin after a later meeting in which the teachers were asked to adjust their content and methods when classes were being observed by the British Council. Teachers were asked what they could do to "pep up" their classes by one of the managers of the EAP unit. The teachers were quite unresponsive to questions and prompts by the management and even silent when asked to respond to further questions regarding the inspection. The British Council partnered with English UK, do not seem to specify exactly what teaching methodologies they prefer in their accreditation criteria when observing teaching practice but do state that the approaches taken should reflect the focus and outcomes of the lesson and that:

> [t]eachers will demonstrate sound knowledge and awareness of the use of English and the linguistic systems underlying it, and will provide appropriate models of both spoken and written English (British Council, 2015).

The accreditation criteria, and one imagines the criteria of assessment for teacher observations, is general EFL not EAP specific, and questions were raised among teachers (not with management directly) whether observers may mark down teachers who were not performing typical methods of the Communicative Approach that still dominates ELT at present. Some argued that many CA methods were not

appropriate to EAP specifically. In the interview with Colin, he questioned whether we should use ELT methods at all, as students needed to be exposed to a “lecturing” style; a practice of acculturation one might infer, but not one legitimised by the programme. He seemed critical of any consensus of how teachers should teach EAP. Colin complained that there was a lack of collegiality among the pre-sessional teachers on campus never getting the chance to interact. He added that in not sharing ideas teachers were in danger of “clashing” over what was acceptable in academic writing. He argued that there was a disparity between what was “out there” in academic writing and what was “on the programme”, suggesting a limited or narrow conception.

Following up on the inspection, I spoke with Marco, a founding practitioner on the programme after a focus group meeting with the British Council inspectors. He remarked that the meeting was “heated” caused initially by them arriving “cold” and “procedural.” The inspectors were critical of the document that was used for tutorial meetings with students, that it was not apparent what should be discussed in tutorial and recorded in the document. Marco disagreed believing that tutorials should be student-authored, when any discussion could emerge based on their particular concerns, and not necessarily decided upon by the teacher. He argued that “human relationships were undermined by all the procedure” and that “management [sic] were out of touch with teachers and the everyday work they do.” He also complained that, “the university has its work and we have ours.” Marco defends against what he feels *isn’t* his work, a discrepancy between how EAP *should* be in practice from the perspective of organising entities and how it might be understood by teachers. Scott and Charlie, unlike many of the other teachers, complained of the focus on writing on the course and that teachers and students were burdened with an extra writing task in the form of a writing sample to ensure authenticity of students work. They complained that the late additional task (an extra assessment added to the main writing task) represented a lack of planning on the part of the management. Scott felt there was a feeling that one was “jumping through hoops.” It was unclear whether he meant this with regard to teacher or student or both, however, the procedural nature of work tasks was clearly unappealing to him. Interestingly, any negativity about the extra written work was not apparent in the final teacher meeting where concerns of the summative assessment were more pressing.

What was apparent here was the limitations set by the co-ordinators to allow for a discussion that would challenge the beliefs and orientations of their descriptions of the programme's mission. Those alternative views were silenced by co-ordinators asking for adherence to the meeting schedule and that any suggestions can be passed at a later date or in the post-course teacher feedback. Orientation was shifted to standardisation, and other acts of validation. Phil's narrative provided further evidence of the programme's influence especially in how he prioritises context over EAP content knowledge. In doing so he. This is done by favouring teaching experience over specialist content knowledge to the point of favouring teachers who may not have much knowledge of EAP over those with extensive general EFL teaching experience, assuming the transition would be relatively easy. Charlie brought up this knowledge deficit when speaking of her own transition. She discusses this in the context of her initial interview for her position three years prior.

> "you have to focus on different things this is the question that I remember from one of my first interview here the person who interviewed asked me what's the difference between EFL and EAP and I don't think the answer I gave was satisfactory um now I see more differences in terms of approach to students and um what they really need what is really important and there are some elements you need to forget about."

This excerpt also suggests that there would be a *difference* and that those differences are *known* by enlightened knowers i.e., the pre-sessional manager and co-ordinators (the interview is undertaken by the manager and one co-ordinator). As Charlie had had no EAP experience in HE she would have had to learn those differences, and one would imagine much of that learning took place once employed on the programme. This utterance seems to suggest that:

> "now I see more differences in terms of approach to students and um what they really need what is really important and there are some elements you need to forget about"

The "what is really important" and "elements you need to forget about" are assumedly those she has learnt in practice, whether in isolation or likely to be the influence of peers on the programme.

What really is important and elements you need to forget were often specified by Phil in interview and in meetings. As the programme manager I would suggest his definitions of those aspects could influence the orientations of teachers. Phil placed much emphasis on skills development over aspects of language description. Teacher knowledge for Phil should better reflect that orientation and gives greater value to pedagogical or teaching experience over other EAP specific knowledge. EAP knowledge or content' knowledge is then less favoured when considering teachers and when training teachers. Learning to teach EAP can take place within practice settings among knowledgeable peers, at the same time, it gives an impression that there's not a great deal of difference in content knowledge necessary to make a transition from general EFL to EAP. Phil appears to suggest this here:

> "the way I see it if somebody's got teaching experience and a so they might be DELTA or EFL generally or IELTS trainer or whatever never really done EAP but if they are TEFL qualified then **it's not a major step for them into the EAP world** some will have training but they got to have the foundations to do it."

This may represent a framing of knowledge, where any antecedent knowledge of EAP is largely irrelevant to the actual practice context. In this case knowledge becomes largely context dependent. Phil takes immediate context further:

> "But obviously there's a specific content, **context not content** that comes with EAP, so it's very much it's like like learning English but **for this particular purpose so that's all skills**, you know? But I don't think any of them are invalid. Some are a bit more important than others. So you might find, well, **certainly, on our course we here on our programme**, see **reading and writing as being more important** than say speaking and listening […]But **ultimately students have to write essays, they have to develop their thinking based on what they read so those are two big areas…**there's a lot of focus on independent study."

Phil localises context to "our programme" and specialises what that programme should prioritise, in terms of receptive skills of reading and the productive skill of writing. In doing so, one might suggest, as does Maton (2013: 178) that "meaning is dependent on its context, so knowledge acquired in one context does not necessarily have meaning or relevance in other contexts". Phil's rationale for a focus on certain skills forms part of a recontextualisation, one that seemingly narrows down pedagogy to the development of specific skills and contrived assessment targets. The largely skills based curriculum and prioritising of reading and writing skills and

the assumed pedagogical implications of that, place Phil's specialisation of EAP as heavily influenced by a logic that suggests greater emphasis on knowledges that will help students achieve specified practical goals e.g. writing an essay. Other knowledges, such as, developing a critical voice, or discipline-oriented discourse familiarisation are secondary.

Weekly training, led by Phil, was based on standardisation of assessment, mostly relating to the written assessment. The criteria for assessment were distributed to teachers, bounded criteria that gave little room for argument, consolidated by an agreed mark from the perspective of the programme co-ordinators (including Phil). There was little discussion of the complexity of marking written texts or the use of say genre analysis to gauge the appropriateness of the text for the target discipline, which could have been a *cumulative* learning opportunity or "to extend and integrate their past experiences and apply their understandings to new contexts" (Maton, 2014, p. 175). As well as the marking criteria, model texts were passed around to highlight the desired features of essay writing as a benchmark. Such practices show a relatively strong framing or "locus of control within contexts" (Maton, 2014, p. 62) from those managing and co-ordinating the programme ($+F^e$). It should also be noted that the procedures for marking the final draft essay showed further evidence of external control. Teachers marked the papers then selected those which were considered *borderline* (not reaching the necessary criteria). She/he would then pass them to another teacher to be double marked. If agreement could not be met on a mark, the paper would be passed on to a programme co-ordinator to make the final judgement.

Phil's legitimation of teaching knowledge over academic or content knowledge exemplified through a preference for recruiting teachers with general EFL teaching qualifications over higher degrees based on concepts, even in Applied Linguistics and EAP masters in which there is no significant teaching practice element, offers a further control over knowledge in the local context. Seemingly a control of who should enter the *arena of struggle* based on a legitimised knowledge and professional experience. It is tempting to suggest SR+ values here but I would still contend that defined knowledge and ways of knowing are of more importance in Phil's legitimation of a basis to knowledge centred around practicable skills (ER+). In

the skills of teachers Phil emphasises the skills and qualifications related to teaching over content.

> "See that's the problem, **we** can have people who you know, maybe it's something that comes up you know, it used to be applied linguistics that people did but then an MA in Applied Linguistics kind of broke up into TEFL and TESOL and it may well be that when because of **our** line there may be an MA in EAP. Um so but the problem is with that from the British Council point of view. Somebody comes in with an MA in TEFL, if there's no teaching practice part of it you are coming in as an unqualified teacher and they are labelled unqualified. And **we** have a certain number of staff who are MA in TEFL so they've got all the theories, all the content but part of their course didn't have a teaching component, an observed teaching practice component and technically speaking they are unqualified teachers. It doesn't look good **we** have the problem, in our marketing, **we** say you will be taught by highly trained teachers. Well then if **we've** got a number of teachers who are technically unqualified according to the British Council so that then goes in flies in the face of that [inaudible]. So that's something **we've** got to address."

Phil utilises the pronouns "we" and "our" regularly in the above excerpt, possibly indicating that he speaks for the programme rather than his personal opinion. He invites the influence of the British Council in his rationale for hiring qualified teachers over content specialists but offers a contextualised elaboration: "It doesn't look good, we have the problem**, in our marketing**, we say you will be taught by highly trained teachers."

Phil seems to celebrate the transition of the programme towards an exclusive teaching orientation and the direction of EAP in the university "out of the hands" of academics. His preference for teachers with teaching experience and general TEFL qualifications suggests a salient example of purposeful gatekeeping in selecting teachers for the programme and a control over the basis of legitimate knowledge.

6.4.3 The pre-sessional programme: segmentalising knowledge for local practice

The critical stances of both Scott and Marco are indicative of the organising influence of the programme, particularly in how meanings are restricted through re-contextualisation, defining what EAP in its local context and practical contextual concerns. They highlighted growing external control on their practice, constraining their autonomy and their pedagogical responsibilities. The professional learning of teachers with regard to EAP, especially those who have been recruited in more

recent years, seems to take place almost exclusively whilst working on the pre-sesssional programme. Meetings being the principle site in which peers could interact to aid learning. Their exposure to broader or more generalised meanings, and opportunities to explore others is clearly limited due to the discourses of context-dependence legitimised by those who appear to control the legitimation device. The programme being most immediate. As stated above, specialist EAP content knowledge from production fields is relatively weak, demonstrated by teachers accounts lacking reference to theories and theorists producing research in the field, lack of involvement in EAP specific research, and membership of EAP professional organisation, but also in the gatekeeping practices of the programme's management, where teaching skill is favoured over specialist language knowledge. This indicated that the *right* kind of knowledge is legitimated by the programme. Social relations to knowledge seemed weaker based on the lack beliefs relating to encouraging a plurality of voices or emphasis on a variety *academic* educational backgrounds and experiences. The near absence of, for example, professional learning opportunities that might provide the critical discussion of the potential variety of possible meanings of EAP and its practice for those whose exposure to EAP is mostly limited to their experience on the programme may influence what EAP means to them as practitioners. The development of the programme within the EAP unit over time, its *de-academisation* has arguably encouraged further weakening of a plurality of possible meanings of EAP as understood outside the particular context of the pre-sessional. Semantic gravity refers to what we discussed above, that is, to the extent that meaning is strongly or weakly context dependent. Knowledge that is heavily context-dependent is more *segmentalised*, "when knowledge or knowing is so strongly tied to its context that it is only meaningful within that context" (p. 175). Knowledge may become insulated from antecedent knowledge and other possible or alternative knowledges and perspectives, and if it is weakly segmentalised, it is generalisable, abstract and applicable to a variety of contexts. I suggest that the programme has strong semantic gravity (SG+).

6.4.4 Aligning practices

In the practice of constructing the curriculum, programme managers constrain its possible elaborations. The programme curriculum was dominated by generic skills considered appropriate to enable students to adapt to academic life in a British

university and to enable them to read and produce academic texts. Although seemingly generalisable to other contexts, the curriculum should weak connection between contents and depth in terms of their development. The materials on the PG stream were developed by previous managers and co-ordinators in the English department, many years before the 2016 programme. They gave attention to a wide range of language and skills problems e.g., noun combinations and passive voice, critical voice and referencing conventions. The materials covered all four English skills. However, it was noted by some of the teachers that time constraints forced them to prioritise certain areas, namely those which enabled students to develop their reading and writing skills. This was reflected in the curriculum document that did not give equal weight to language and skills, favouring skills. Susan described this problem: "Well, there's some there's it's very pressurised. I'm doing the 6 week one and you know it's like a deadline to get it in and the [name of assessment removed = students' assessment paper] completely dominates."

Rafa, also, exemplified a knowledge focus towards such areas:

> "So ten weeks is a very short time and we can only do our best, try to do our best with the time that has been given to us. So I've taught them to revise their own work, I've taught them to make sure every sentence has a verb. I've taught them that they should study independently, not only in class but also at home, at least maybe they don't hear my advice now, maybe they will in the future. But if I've explained this to them and if I've taught them that things should be referenced, I've taught them more or less how to structure an essay, how to go from broad to narrow, how to go from the beginning to the middle, how to list your points – let's say, hopefully that's good enough to pass the course. Hopefully that's good enough to reapply and develop when they're writing their master's works, their master's coursework."

It is interesting how he considers other areas e.g. student autonomy but prioritises writing skills such as text structure in part rationalised by time restraints of the course. This aligns somewhat with the curriculum and prioritisation of materials content. In the three day induction, teachers were not instructed to follow the materials unwaveringly but were asked to use their discretion in their usage or replacing/ supplementing materials with their own, suggesting weaker framing of the curriculum (-F^e). However, they were also advised to follow a curriculum plan that prioritised aspects of the curriculum usually in line with assessment. These elements expected to be completed at certain stages of the course. Priority is given to

Academic skills materials over other aspects of the materials as the curriculum document (Appendix. 5) shows (PG stream). Interestingly, the academic skills that are most prioritised over the 10 weeks are those focused on writing skills. These range from text structure to appropriate paragraphing.

The listening test comprised 20% of the final course assessment and required that students answered a series of comprehension questions. The tasks did not require any subjective interpretation with multiple choice answers providing no ambiguity in the response. The presentation (20%) component allowed for students to present any aspect relating to their research with little prescription as to what it contained. The only control was on length (12 minutes) and preferred structure. The final essay component made up for 60% of the overall assessment on the course. This could suggest stronger framing of the curriculum ($+F^{e}$); however, students were given autonomy in selecting topics and titles of their essays. As discussed above, assessment criteria and the procedure and standardisation of marking afforded little discretion on the part the teacher. Most of the teachers made reference to the writing assessment and how it focused their pedagogy. This aligned with Phil's belief that students "ultimately" had to write essays. Some teachers showed resistance to a narrow focus on writing skills and other technical skills, and how they felt that impeded their discretion in deciding what was appropriate in their students' learning. This was apparent in the interviews of both Scott and Marco. This excerpt from Marco is provided as example:

> "And I do feel that there is a certain sense of in this because if you do get stuck in as we say that discourse or we get stuck in a technical approach, which is very arid, we are moving in a direction, we're moving others with us uh which cannot be conducive to a real human development. Tomorrow cannot be better if we are merely focused on the mechanics and the technical and the you know, the sense that we have to only be logical without concern about what we are arguing for."

Despite his critical description of the technicisation of EAP on the programme Marco goes on to celebrate the fact that he still maintains some control of his pedagogy, inviting the participation of students in the direction of their learning. However, most of the teachers seemed to exhibit strong control of their pedagogy with a more teacher-led approach as Rafa describes above. Its apparent that this internal framing

aligns with the prescribed curriculum priorities and in the more rigid controls on assessment.

6.5 Training a gaze: is there an underlying principle organising the programme's knowledge practices?

It is apparent from the previous section that the programme exhibits a knowledge-knower structure that place emphasis on the legitimation of principled, hierarchical, and procedural descriptions of what and how EAP should be practised locally. In its purposive framing of EAP, it narrows curriculum down to acquirable skills that can be enacted by students in the production of essays. Other skills and their acquirable knowledges are not prioritised. Teacher and student discretion are constrained by such prioritisation whilst affordance is given only in the adaptation and supplementation of materials (not straying from the content of the curriculum), and the choice of topic for the assessed essay and presentation. EAP, as reconceptualised on the pre-sessional programme in this study, appears to generate a knowledge code (ER+). "For knowledge-code fields the principal basis for legitimacy is developing knowledge, and training specialized knowers is a means to this end (Maton, 2014, p. 149)." Thus, attention to developing a cumulative learning ethos on the programme (as described by Marco) had been gradually eroded or replaced by one that was more top down, controlled, and segmentalised.. Ideal knowers have become less of a concern than acquiring the necessary knowledge to perform tasks as gateways to other horizons. Purposeful practices on the programme were centred around training students in the legitimate modes of practice positioned as of most need to them. Both practitioners and students alike are orientated towards clear consumables, and the expected transformation into tangible products based around certain assessment objectives, constraining what other potential and legitimate bases and focuses. This *trained gaze* is apparent in the alignment of the teachers specialised basis and focus of knowledge, describing their thoughts and modalities of practice in a similar way to the programme (ER+). Notable exceptions to such alignments were those of Malcolm and Marco. Malcolm expressing a specialisation (knowledge code, ER++) that although firmly rooted in the acquisition of a particular knowledges, the description of them being of a markedly different character (linguistic knowledge). Marco firmly oriented towards a specialisation code that was more centred on legitimate knowers, their discretions,

and dispositions. The constraints of the programme were evident in how Marco criticised an ethos that was moving towards a procedural technicisation. These divergent elaborations of tendencies or identifications with what EAP means in the local practice arena are interesting in themselves and have caused me to spend some time in describing them further.

It is important to note that the identities described below are not fixed, they are mere models of collections of tendencies observed during the research process. I will now describe three identities observed during the process of research and identify the properties, tendencies and eventually the principle generative mechanisms that allow for their elaboration.

The *Pioneer* as discussed above with Marco, is an identity that is formed from being present on and involved in the inauguration of the programme in the 1990s, and the continued belief in what it stood for in its initial years, possessing a kind of idealism. An idealism based on the human development and democratic learning. Clearly, the Pioneer has longevity on the programme and has witnessed most changes that have occurred. What is noteworthy is the critique of such changes, e.g., increasing bureaucratisation, that is through criticism of current practices, the pioneering of novel gazes on practice. Recognising the limitations of their autonomy, the Pioneer seeks to build on the values they see foundational to practice on the programme as it was in the past, through legitimising their presence and participation in the present. This legitimation is evident in their championing of ideas that, on the one hand, are suggestive of radical change in pedagogy whilst at the same time carving a new role for themselves on the programme, which remains true to their original values. Marco's CPD talk on *ends* as opposed to needs gave him an opportunity to explore a role in teacher development. Marco's critical stance seems influenced by the changing programme and its current constraints on what he sees as central to his work. He celebrates autonomy both for the teacher and for the student but it is an autonomy that requires an exploration into what the teacher believes is his/her role and putting the student at the centre of the learning experience.

Marco's identity is kind of unique on the programme, partly due to being the only Pioneer and his longevity in EAP. This longevity and the fact that he teaches EAP in-sessionally in Italy leads one to imagine that he identifies more with EAP than others

on the programme. It is possible that his critique of the technicisation of EAP, due to interpretations of needs, has developed over time and due to his negative experiences in his main work and on the programme. However, there are tendencies that Marco possesses that are observable in others. His description of *Nomads* includes the idea that teachers take on projects throughout the year, not maintaining one year-round employment. Of course, this is in part influenced by the fact that EFL/EAP is unstable, in that contracts are rarely permanent and often much shorter term e.g., nine months. The pre-sessional *fills a gap*, so-to-speak, not necessarily featuring highly in what constitutes one's identity as it competes with other roles and projects. Marco embarks on the pre-sessional each year, a project somewhat different from his usual work. However, as we have seen, he attaches some continuity between projects in his own intellectual projects, building an identity that can transcend projects, based on his views of a deeper education founded on principals of human development. Unlike many of the Nomads he does not reduce his work to technicism and short-term learning goals and outcomes. Like many of the Nomads, Marco, is committed to a student-centred approach to pedagogy, creating an environment that allows for collaborative and democratic learning. The Pioneer describes EAP from its various bases and with less semantic gravity, for example, in developing receptive and productive skills but also in linguistic descriptions. Unlike the *Priest*, as we shall see below, the Pioneer is concentrated on developing themselves as teachers and as an EAP specialist (in all its bases and maybe specialising in a limited few). Like the Priest the Pioneer is an idealist, concerned about losing their status as experts and as educators, or viewing their role as wider than simply instructing skills development and the teaching of contrived language systems. Thus, the basis for knowledge in EAP is considered wide and should encompass diverse fields such as Linguistics, Applied Linguistics, education theory, philosophy and even spirituality. This then tends Pioneers towards greater exploration of what EAP means , like with Marco's attention to the theoretical and empirical exploration of needs and ends, and less to immediate utilitarian purposes

The Priest categorises knowledge into hierarchical fields and disciplines e.g., Linguistics, and its sub-disciplines that are seen as relevant to EAP. Malcolm's critique of DELTA and its assessors was legitimised by his claim that they knew little of linguistic science and their ignorance to applied linguistics research. Malcolm

believed that pedagogy in EFL should be informed by such research. His elevation of linguistic knowledge over TEFL methodology, apparently weakly based on linguistics, is indicative of Priest tendency to categorise knowledge into hierarchical disciplines. Interestingly, as a critical reflection, Malcolm's elaboration on his failure in the DELTA assessment being partly caused by their linguistic incompetence, may indicate a Priest's *elitism* which may have implications in their own practice. The Nomad emphasises more specifically on trainable skills, especially writing skills, concerned with the acquisition of technologies to aid their students productive output. One suggests here that this is in part influenced by recontextualising agents (e.g. Phil) and foregrounded due to the assessment requirements of the programme (agreed by recontextualising agents). The knowledge to apply a skill set in an academic setting is an important goal orientation they provided for their students, as is developing skills to be able to survive in academic contexts. Knowledges relating to linguistic structures, e.g., grammars, lexical devices *etc*, are not strong bases. Nomads appear to give more attention to developing themselves as pedagogues, improving their practice whether it is formalized CPD, such as DELTA or through attending workshops, and even experimenting in class. The Nomad tends towards a student-centred classroom and possibly one that is democratic, sometimes allowing the student a voice in their own learning. It is also evident that the Nomad favours the Communicative Approach to language teaching rather than approaches that give more authorship and authority to the teacher as knowledge transmitter. Despite an interest in pedagogy the semantic dimension of EAP from the Nomad's gaze is tended towards that prescribed by the practices of the programme. Their lack of diverse and dense meanings of EAP that could provide specialism is quite evident. Their technicism borne out of an instrumental orientation, in part, influenced by the programme's focus and project-like interpretation of its work, tends them to lack the urge to explore the field and its complexities, e.g., in its varied academic bases. In temporal terms, the Pioneer may identify the short-term nature of projects but builds them into a more cohesive professional narrative, which is less pronounced with Nomads who may see projects as possibly unrelated and unique in themselves, a more episodic professional history each seemingly teleological in how they are understood. In Nomads, purposes, reasons, and goals are structuring factors in their gaze. The Priest is more likely to view projects such as the pre-sessional programme

as potential steppingstones to *greater* things, e.g., becoming an academic or a writer or anything else they view as high status. The programme and its short-term nature offer little more than a peek into the *priesthood* that they so wish to become a member of. There exists in them an identification with categorising knowledges or singular knowledge disciplines, already existing social categories (e.g., author, academic, lecturer, linguist or terminologist) that are internally hierarchical and somewhat critical of other identities that do not specialise EAP knowledge in their essentialist way. They champion formal, certified, qualification and licence to practice, be it in pedagogical mastery or in linguistic content. EAP as a possible area of research and professional development is not prioritized by most of the identities described here but is especially lacking in the idealism of the Priests. Their gaze towards, singularity or specialism is left wanting in an unstable, temporary engagement such is the pre-sessional programme, although there maybe attempts to do so to legitimise their perceived status (that is perceived as higher than a general EFL practitioner). They champion research, however, as others may well do, but research in fields that they might feel are further *up the ladder* than EFL/EAP in academia, e.g., forensic linguistics. One does speculate that influenced by the short duration of their contracts on the programme and not engaging in EAP practice beyond it, engaging in research to supplement their EAP practice particularly, is probably not their priority for CPD or advanced study. The career possibilities in EAP (full-time contracts) are few and far between, thus providing little incentive for research specialisation in the field. Unless of course they pursue a prospective career and/or develop an identity in a specialist field such as linguistics. It may be argued that the short-term nature of the programme (and maybe other projects) does not tend Pioneers towards short-term goals, instrumentalism and technicism whereas it may in Nomads and Priests. The problem of stability in EFL and EAP is not unrelated to the short-term nature of most engagements, such as with the length of courses, contracts, and the possibility of contracts being renewed, might also lead Priests towards finding that singular profession that satisfies their identification with status, a *calling* and specialism. The connection with experience, in EAP particularly, is of interest as many of them are relatively new to it, almost naively seeking professional stability within their newfound specialism. Nomads, having more years of experience in returning to the programme, seem to set their gaze, in regard to

stability, on *job security*, on *familiarity* (with role and expectations as well as with opportunities for collegiality during the programme), and on the cultivation of positive teacher-student relationships. They are fearful of *rocking the boat*, so-to-speak, maintaining what they have cultivated to return another year.

In recognition of student autonomy in higher education contexts, all three identities view its development as important in their pedagogy but differ in what that means on the programme. It seems that Nomads and, to a lesser degree, Priests see developing student autonomy more in terms of skills development. This may be in tasks that involve students developing their research skills, reading skills and providing activities that they can discover how to apply rules of text construction to their own texts. In a way, students are *empowered* through allowing them to be aware of how something works to enable them to replicate it later with increasingly less support. One imagines the *scaffolding* approach to teaching and learning as a framework to this view of autonomy (*See* e.g., Bruner, 1957; 1960). In short, one can claim that there is a teleological vein running through the development of autonomy in students. The Nomads value teacher autonomy on the programme but are largely uncritical of the constraints to it apparent in the framing of knowledge for practice and of the pressure to perform (both teacher and student) in the short time window available. Their response is usually pragmatic, and their autonomy is celebrated in the possibility to create student-centred learning experiences. If we are to take the Nomad analogy further, one might suggest that nomads do not wish to spoil their oasis as it may be needed again in the near future. What this means is that, far from criticism being mute, it was observed on occasion that those considered Nomads on the programme were reluctant to criticise ideas and actions arising in meetings, favouring to isolate complaints among peers rather than direct to programme management. Our Pioneer and some of the Priests were a little more vocal in their criticism, as one might expect. Of course one can only conjecture that Priests may feel more comfortable with providing criticism as they see their opinion grounded in what they hold is the legitimate basis of their work supported by their own explorations into what it means to be a teacher of EAP. Maybe a part of that meaning is that the teacher is free to criticise practices of all her peers including those in management. One suggests further that Priests may well conceive that management, especially those not engaged in any way with the field of production or

other informative and specialist bases to their proposals, themselves lack legitimacy The autonomy of students was an area largely untouched by Priests if only to support the instrumentalist position of autonomy to enable independent learning. The Pioneer position regarding teacher autonomy, as discussed in the previous section (Marco), was one that perceived an increasing loss of status whilst maintaining a degree of autonomy to experiment with ideas and pedagogy. The sense that autonomy has lessened is evident in his criticism of needs, bureaucratisation and the technicism observed (by Marco) in the discourse of agents in the management of the programme and presumedly among his peers. Obviously, Marco celebrates student autonomy quite differently to the Nomads. He sees student autonomy in the development of a student-centred classroom and a student-centred interpretation of needs and ends.

As one can see from the cartesian plane above (fig. 4) those teachers closer to Malcolm exhibit tendences listed that are more Priest-like (ER+/SR-) and those nearing the centre are more Nomadic whilst still possessing relatively strong Epistemic Relations and weak Social Relations. The difference lies in what they identify as legitimate knowledge. Priests will likely construe meaning that is less context-dependent and Nomads will place more emphasis on practices that are contextualised. The Pioneer is less likely to construe meaning from immediate context and less likely to emphasise particular bases and focus for knowledge. Nomads tend to align their practices with a principle that seems to underlie the Knowledge practices espoused by the programme. The programme might be seen as training a gaze to identify with principles of practice that value the acquisition of practical and demonstrable knowledge, both on the part of teachers (teaching skills) and students (the development of particular receptive and productive skills and their assessed demonstration). Principles that may emphasise other nuanced bases for knowledge or teacher and student autonomy in controlling curriculum, pedagogy and assessment are purposively constrained. The permanence of those *outlier* identities on the programme may be unlikely.

6.6 Summary

In this chapter I sought to analyse the data regarding the dimensions of specialisation and semantic gravity. This was done with attention to the tendencies

of teachers towards practice categories of curriculum, pedagogy, and assessment. It was found that teachers varied in their respective strengths in Epistemic Relations (ER+/-) and Social Relations (SR+/-). What was apparent was that most of the teachers aligned with espoused practices of the programme; a view of EAP that was locally recontextualised and shaped to legitimise a knowledge base that emphasised the importance of academic skills. A principle that places emphasis on the learning of particular knowledge, for both teachers and students, over one that celebrates a diversity of possible knowledges and the development of the knower. The influence of this ethos was found in the framing ($+F^e$) of certain practices e.g. the focus on assessment and the knowledges required to successfully produce an essay. That influence was also found in the critiques of those identities closer to the one dubbed Pioneers, in which they openly condemned to narrow focus of the programme on supposed academic skills. It was also suggested that those identities more aligned to the programme's practices, or Nomads, far from uncritical, were less likely to openly challenge the direction of the programme. Those that exhibited Priest tendencies; those that were more inclined to define EAP in terms of discipline specific bases and linguistic descriptions (as well as a tendency to celebrate one's status within the university) were less to overtly align with the programme's practices of recontextualisation towards academic skills acquisition.

Chapter 7. Conclusions and implications for EAP teacher professional learning and practice.

7.1 Introduction

It is argued in this thesis that the pre-sessional EAP programme is influential in the formation, and transformation of EAP teacher professional identities. The local context of practice (the programme and the university) provided the conditions, resources, and mechanisms (e.g. the framing of legitimate knowledge) for the re-contextualisation of EAP and the alignment of practitioners to those practices and principles. The tendency of most of the teachers was to imagine EAP in terms of training students in the development of reading and specifically writing skills, to enable successful completion of the pre-sessional programme and entry to their post-graduate programme. Additionally, and somewhat controversially at this juncture, one may propose that in legitimising and validating discourses and practices that are orientated towards the acquisition of knowledge for *production, trainability,* and *contingency,* the programme influences the emergence of a *new* professional identity with emergent concerns. The new identity is equally concerned with (as is the programme) the issue of validation, and licensing as it is with student needs but those needs are increasingly not concerns, previously framed by knowledges and discourses relating to language education *per se* (linguistic, cultural and methodological), posed by the identities (Pioneers, Priests and Nomads) on the pre-sessional programme. Those emergent identities prioritising knowledges relating to investigations into and the practice of alternative pedagogies, curriculum and assessment and closer attention to language are likely to be abandoned or transformed in a context where concerns are more focused on processing (Hadley, 2015) students. Such activities appear to be necessary when goals are defined by masking over perceived deficiencies in students' knowledge and placing the onus on the student to gain what they need to achieve towards their performance objectives. What is required is so great yet not so well-described that the student and also the teacher may find it near impossible to cover what is required comprehensively. One may then suggest that contrived performances are valued at the expense of competence. Evidence of this in this study is various like the case of student learning needs being ambiguously described as the necessity to develop a range of academic *skills* over any attention to linguistic needs that may aid them in that

develop. The role of the teacher is to facilitate those students in their skills development ensuring they have reached the required level of development to enable advancement onto their desired programme. This reduction in the role priorities of the EAP teacher is perpetuated by the programme which can be said to be training teachers, through its control of the legitimation device, to value such orientations. The problem that arises from such training is that teachers are expected to have knowledge in extensive areas of expertise in the vast field that is skills. The concern, however, is that, in training the gatekeeper, such knowledge is indeed not expected or assumed and that training as skills development practitioners neither expected or presumed. CPD training on the programme did not specify any particular necessity or urgency in directing teachers towards enhancing their knowledge of skills development. An example of this could be in developing literacy skills through genre analysis. The almost non-committal nature of focus in CPD on the programme may give one the feeling that the ultimate concern of agents involved in the management and coordination of the programme lay elsewhere e.g. in maintaining high student numbers. Having suggested this, and concerning teacher development, the programme can be said to act as a transformational professional learning environment, transforming what EAP means in the context of pre-sessional learning and what it means to be an EAP practitioner in that context.

7.2 A pragmatic field and the move to instrumentalism on the programme

In Chapter 2, I suggested how the productive field of EAP, in research, publications, in professional organisations and academic departments is an eclectic *mishmash* of specialisms exercising their own unique description of its purpose. The very foundation of EAP was found to be centred on the logic of needs and an acceptance that needs change. I concluded that EAP and its practice is pragmatic in that it responds to the demands of its context and the actors extant within it. The specialisation, arguably found in other fields in higher education, was therefore less based on firm knowledge bases but rather weakly focused around an ambiguous set of academic skills and contrived linguistic devices to be acquired by the practitioner's cohort. It might be, then, that due to its diffuse nature and lack of obvious hierarchy of knowledge, the production field holds little influence over practice. The knowledge of the teacher is more centred around the marketable capacity to provide good teaching including a *student-centred* methodology, although the later seemed less

obvious in practice. This market-orientated responsiveness shifts the relevance of knowledge for practice away from the so-called production field into the re-production field, where knowledge is selected on a basis of its practical rationalisation. The programme quite clearly made a move from the competency of linguistic knowledge to the demonstrative performance of both teacher and student as can be interpreted in the responses of Phil, Rick and Marco above with regard to the focus on assessment. This change in orientation has also brought about a vagueness in explicit knowledge demands on practitioners. An ensuing insulation between what was and what will be in terms of beliefs and practices is purposively put in place. The re-production field thus recontextualises EAP for its local demands. BALEAP, the British Association of Lecturers of English for Academic Purposes has little direct influence on teachers (with just one of the teachers in this study being a member) and any it has is reframed by the practice organisation in its local context. The so-called competencies of lecturers are numerous but lack depth of description, as the following overview suggests:

> An EAP teacher will be able to facilitate students' acquisition of the language, skills and strategies required for studying in a further or higher education context and to support students' understanding of approaches to interpreting and responding to the requirements of academic tasks and their related processes (BALEAP, 2018).

Or the following which gives a less than comprehensive description of needs.

> 5. Student Needs. An EAP teacher will understand the requirements of the target context that students wish to enter as well as the needs of students in relation to their prior learning experiences and how these might influence their current educational expectations (BALEAP, 2018).

The teacher is left with resources that are legitimated by the agents and organisations that are concerned with managing and prioritising attention to demands. Any resources from outside (even from the production field) are only legitimate if they are not deemed intrusive to the organisation's and/or programme's mission. A mission orientated toward *market-consumables*, in our case the neatly defined goals and objectives promising the delivery of success and advancement. The same can be said for ideas, beliefs, and attitudes of teachers. Teachers are free to bring in their wealth of experience and knowledge but are constrained as to what experience and knowledge is relevant by the articulated demands and projected

consumables of the local context. Deeply held beliefs about practice e.g. the idea that a detailed knowledge of language structure can aid proficiency (Lisa) and that materials should be data driven (Malcolm), may be side-lined or abandoned under the constraints of the perceived practice necessities of dominant actors in the organisation. The marketable-consumables analogy is evident in the above description of a move to instrumentalism but how do we get such a shift? And what does that mean for our three identities?

7.3 Framing EAP for local practice

The Pioneer, Priest and Nomad are identities with certain tendencies towards, it was argued above, their beliefs and attitudes about their work. We discussed that they are *actual* and likely temporary identities in that they are not fixed realities, that they may change as one's professional and life courses change. From the discussion, we concluded that the Nomad identity was the one that was more likely to predominate as it tended to evolve over time and multiple returning to the programme. The Priest identity was most likely to transform or to disappear as an identity on the programme, due, in part, to a possible deliberative internal conversation that begins to reject the current circumstance and seeks more favourable contexts to realise their ambitions (*See* Archer, 2003), and influenced by those same constraints affecting the Nomads. We also discussed how other recontextualising agents and organisations were prompting the framing of certain beliefs, attitudes and orientations, most notably the British Council and the indirect approach of the university in placing the programme within the management of Academic Services and the change in the EAP unit's management.

The framing of EAP towards an intrumentalist orientation of its purpose was evident in the description of EAP within the practical boundaries of curriculum, pedagogy and assessment. The generative mechanisms by which framing practices were activated were found in curriculum and course documents, the focus of meetings and in CPD activities and programme induction. Charlie's recollection of her interview for the programme gave another possible and intriguing generative mechanism, as she felt that her understanding of EAP did not match that of the programme managers.

	F[e]	**Selection, sequencing and/or pacing of curriculum content and tasks is...**	**Examples from the data**
Curriculum	+F	...largely fixed, and determined by the course managers	PG course curriculum document; induction training; teacher meetings
	-F	...flexible, and teachers are able to make their own decisions	The actual materials used; afforded authority in supplementing/replacing materials
	F[e]	**Selection, sequencing and/or pacing of assessment content and tasks is...**	**Examples from the data**
Assessment	+F	...largely fixed, and determined by the course managers	Tasks narrowly prescribed (listening test)
	-F	...flexible, and students are able to make their own decisions	Essay and presentation topic and title decided on by student
	F[i]	**Selection, sequencing and/or pacing of classroom content and tasks is...**	**Examples in the data**
Pedagogy	**+F**	...determined mainly by the teachers	Rafa's description of what he teaches his students

	-F	...flexible, and students are able to make decisions that influence teacher practices	Marco's description of students defining their 'ends' as opposed to prescribed needs imposed by the teacher

Table 7: translation device for framing

In terms of external framing (+/-F^e), it was found that the curriculum was largely fixed and determined by the course designers (+F^e). The content, sequencing, weighted focus on certain skills and prescribed outcomes in the curriculum gave little opportunity for teachers to supplement, replace, or shift focus as weekly objectives around what must be covered were made imperative in meetings and induction events. Teachers were, however, told that they might supplement the materials whilst still reaching the desired objectives and outcomes in the curriculum. Assessment was largely fixed too, with summative assessment tasks dominating the direction of the curriculum (+F^e). This was evident in the weighting afforded to the final essay (60%) and the time allotted in the curriculum to skills related to the production of essays e.g. text structure and to formative assessment e.g. individual feedback on the first draft essay (both written and oral). Framing was weaker (-F^e) in the selection of topics and titles for the essay, these were decided on by the student under teacher supervision. Control over curriculum and assessment also affected pedagogy in that teachers were restricted as to what, when, and how but despite this criticism, some teachers, such as Marco, did celebrate the fact that teachers were afforded some autonomy in how they organised the teaching and learning of students. However, some restrictions were placed on teachers by the programme managers, rationalised by the British Council inspection. Teachers were asked to provide lessons that were demonstrative of the Communicative Approach to language teaching and the focus on certain aspects e.g. teaching pronunciation. Despite these suggestions, pedagogy was mostly determined by teachers whether or not they aligned with preferred approaches (+F^i). Criticism of such framing of pedagogy was found in the responses of both Scott and particularly that of Marco where he espouses a more democratic classroom, in which students take decisions on the direction of their learning (-F^i). This was not evident in the responses of other

teachers. Many of the other teachers suggested *student-centredness* and the development of student *autonomy* e.g. Rafa, but this tended to align with Phil's description in that it was a skill to be developed rather than a negotiation between teacher and students as to pedagogical practices and directions. One might suggest, however, that whilst Marco believed in an ideal of democratic learning, it is in part due to a strong philosophical underpinning to such practices. This then, in a certain way, may cause the teacher to maintain some control over practices, not necessarily in agreement with emergent suggestions and demands from students that may challenge the teacher's ideals. Malcolm, like Marco, challenged orthodoxy of pedagogical practices but more indirectly. He criticised the validity of approaches endorsed by the programme in the form of the DELTA qualification. Malcolm claimed that it lacked sufficient empirical evidence to support its claims to knowledge underpinning teaching practice. These stances generative to teachers' identities are seemingly not legitimised by the programme managers and directors, as alternative or directly contradictory stances are favoured.

7.4 Aligning practices

What was noticeable from the above summary of the framing of EAP was that most teachers seemed to align with a description of EAP translated for them in the formation of the pre-sessional curriculum and in the practices of assessment. The reasons for this apparent alignment might be understood as those pertaining to the seeking of stability, the maintenance of short-term work projects and the possibility to return each year, and/or simply due to a lack of professional learning within the wider field of EAP. It might be that teachers do not engage in such learning outside of the programme as EAP does not form part of usual professional practice and thus less priority in their reflections on their CPD needs. It was found that the Nomads were more likely to align due to such reasons. The specialisation code that was generated by those with Nomadic tendencies aligned with that of the programme (ER+) or (from the translation device) a relationship to knowledge that "Emphasises particular educational qualifications that are less discipline specific, and knowledges required of practitioners or in the needs of students less related to specific academic disciplines, which are considered legitimate to EAP practice. May emphasise a focus for knowledge over a defined basis e.g. the development of academic skills."

There was little to no direct reference to students' claims to legitimate knowledge among Nomads, and their trained gaze orientated students towards the prescribed learning of skills-based knowledge suggested by the programme designers (SR-). Again, this seemed to be due to the limitations of the programme in terms of time, but also in terms of the justification of priorities. Phil spoke of the need for students to write essays, justified by demands from their departments. This might be described as a recontextualising logic (Maton, 2014); as was the focus of the discussions at teachers' meetings, often centred on those demands and a perceived general acceptance of orienting efforts towards the goal of meeting the standards of the departments. Much of the time spent on the standardisation of assessment was focused on agreeing on the appropriate textual features of essays. Teachers came to agreement on whether example texts were in line with expectations of what is required of departments, mediated by prior evaluations of the texts by programme managers and co-ordinators. Disagreements were had, but most teachers did not voice them overtly. After teachers had given their evaluations of the example student texts, the managers and co-ordinators would provide their own evaluations. They would then suggest that marks should fall near to the marks that they had given. This practice was evidence of, arguably, a forced alignment, or the imposition of a *distributive logic* as to who can claim to ultimately know. One might go further and argue that the above recontextualisation practices and distributive practices provide contraints on the means to create new knowledge (*unthinkables*) (Bernstein, 2000; Maton, 2014) in the reproduction field (teachers' pedagogy and practice) or create new meanings or understandings of the purpose of EAP. The above might then be evidence of an organizsing principle that gives less emphasis on the experiences and attributes of individual teachers and more emphasis on the specific knowledges required to perform particular tasks (ER+/SR-).

7.5 A local imagination and a prospective gaze

Identities formed under the re-contextualisation conditions and resources apparent in this study have already been described above and will be compared here to Bernstein's description of emerging identifications. Bernstein (2000, p. 59) describes identities under continuous pedagogic re-formations and "re-training", as "specialised", possessing a "capacity"; one that is able to respond to contingencies and to project itself meaningfully into the future and to renovate its past.

> This identity, which is the dynamic interface between individual careers and the social or collective base, cannot be constructed by lifting oneself up by the shoelaces. It is not a purely psychological construction by a solitary worker as he/she undergoes transitions which he/she is expected to perform on the basis of trainability. This identity arises out of a particular social order, through relations which the identity enters into with other identities of reciprocal recognition, support, mutual legitimisation and finally through a negotiated collective purpose (p. 59).

The identity, according to Bernstein (p. 59), is "socially empty" in that it is more oriented to the "materialities of consumption" than other signifiers.

> Here the products of the market relay the signifiers whereby temporary stabilities, orientations, relations and evaluations are constructed. The extension of generic modes from their base in manual practices to a range of practices and areas of work, institutionalises the concept of trainability as the fundamental pedagogic objective. The specialised recontextualising field produces and reproduces imaginary concepts of work and life which abstract such experiences from the power relations of their lived conditions and negate possibilities of understanding and criticism (p. 59).

Thus, certain identities are more likely to emerge under such conditions, conditions that permit exclusivities of belief, and practices legitimised due to perceived and projected ideas of the instrumentality of life and work. If we consider that universities and indeed their departments and programmes, despite the grand narrative of and pedagogical orientation towards economic materiality, are relatively autonomous, then the resources to construct identities are what Bernstein would call *local resources*. We identified above that segmentalisation might occur due to such autonomy and certain discourses are elevated over others. These resources are therefore *de-centred*, and from those resources two principal identities emerge, those being, retrospective and prospective identities (p. 66). It is argued here that prospective identities are dominant as a market-orientation in the discourse shapes its pedagogy. Prospective identities are constructed out of the need to adapt to cultural, economic, and technological change. Prospective identities are shaped by *selective* recontextualising of features of the past to defend or raise economic performance (p. 67). The retrospective is opposite in that it does not immediately seek to engage in the market and seeks stability of the past to project into the future. The prospective identity selects from the past to stabilise the future and engaging in contemporary change (p. 68). The retrospective identity celebrates a collective social

base (established social forms) whereas the prospective identity is career focused. The retrospective is to some degree introspective or *therapeutic* in its orientation as it seeks coherence, belonging and bounded criteria (p. 74). It can seem elitist and opposed to other identifications and foregrounds education and socialisation into its narrative. The retrospective identity is somewhat narcissistic in this sense. Their education and bases for knowledge are bounded by discipline and, one imagines, theory over practice. Our Priests may be described in such a way. Under the recontextualisation conditions of trainability present on the programme this identity seems under pressure and its positions and orientations untenable in the light of constraint. The gatekeeping practices of the programme's teacher recruitment are evidently highlighting a perceived irrelevancy of the prized beliefs and attitudes of those with priest-like tendencies when favouring *expert teachers* over *expert applied linguists*. Malcolm, indeed, exhibited these tendencies more than others but one might suggest that Susan, Lisa, Rafa and Charlie did emphasise similar specialisation in the form of scholarly and academic bases to knowledge. They also exhibited tendencies to focus knowledge on the skills of reading writing aligning to the programme. Interestingly, Malcolm and Lisa were relatively new to the programme, whereas Susan and Charlie had returned over a number of summers. One might suggest that their view of EAP and their role on the pre-sessional has become more and more aligned to that of the programme over time. This may lead them to develop the Nomad identity, one that seems to adopt a more prospective view of their work and career.

The prospective identity is being continually formed as it negotiates contemporary conditions and events. Its lack of introspection is apparent in its focus on the "short term rather the long term, on the extrinsic rather than the intrinsic, upon the exploration of vocational applications rather than upon exploration of knowledge" (p. 69). Now it is important to note that the Nomad whilst seemingly more economically motivated does not possess the full range of dispositions and identifications of the prospective identity, they do tend towards defining their work in project-like ways. Despite seeking regularity or stability in their expectations of their work conditions and professional interactions, Nomads are influenced by short-termism more than the other identities, upon extrinsic rationales for learning and upon vocational application of knowledge, both in the focus of teachers on teaching and learning

methodology and in the application of students' skills in producing papers for specific purposes, e.g. to pass the course, or to get their master's. The Nomad appears to possess the tendencies of what Bernstein would call a *de-centred identity*. This identity is influenced by an autonomous local recontextualising organisation which can "vary their resources in order to produce a competitive output" (p. 68). It is not retrospective in that it seems more focused on the present and in the same way it is not overtly prospective as it is not always future-orientated. If the Nomad is, often reluctantly, focused on consumables and projects their identity, that is, formed from external contingencies, then the Pioneer is quite the opposite. The Pioneer is largely a *therapeutic* identity, not unlike the Priest, where internal sense-making dominates over external segmentation. "Here the concept of self is crucial, and the self is regarded as a personal project" (p. 73). As an identity formed from de-centred resources then, like the Nomad, the Pioneer will seek other sources of reference for their work if others are likely to be pursued. The Nomad may seek further economic resources but the Pioneer will, more often than not, exploit "other reasons for being here" that are more concentrated on the developing self and that of the selves of his/her learner. For the Nomad, one avenue for the gathering of economic resources maybe to extend her project or to seek longer term employment at the EAP unit. This has been observed on the programme when some Nomads have had other projects become untenable or have chosen to extend their current project to meet the commencement of a future project. Phil's identity was most likely that of the Nomad judging by his description but as it stands is no longer that. In gaining longer term employment at the unit Phil's identity may well have transformed.

7.6 Moral justification and future-orientation

Finally, and not dissimilar to Hadley's (2015) BLEAP typology, there is a further emergent identity that needs some consideration as it is central to recontextualisation on the programme. Not much has been spoken of it thus far as it is not an immediately obvious identity among teachers *on* the programme but one that is evident in their deeds. Those acts may be speech acts or other, and in the case of some changes in their position from temporary, as on the pre-sessional, to full-time employment as an in-sessional. Of course, Phil was a pre-sessional teacher that became an in-sessional teacher and latterly involved in the management of the pre-sessional. As discussed above his description of what EAP means had an

instrumentalist orientation but what differed from the Nomads was a prospective gaze rather than one that is more centred on the present. This *upwardly mobile* (See Hadley, 2015) identity seeks to carve out a new role for themselves in a changing local context. “Prospective identities are shaped by *selective* recontextualising of features of the past to defend or raise economic performance” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 67). This BLEAP type identity attempts to rationalise and legitimise certain beliefs and attitudes and celebrates particular resources in the construction of identities. The prospective identity validates forms from the past, e.g. the *communicative language teacher* and invalidates those that are not seen as viable e.g. the *linguist*. In promoting an instrumentalist conception of EAP on the pre-sessional, the prospective identity, in their deeds, emphasises goals and objectives, and clarifies the seemingly unclarifiable; that is, the purpose of the field as it is understood in the local context. Phil’s critique of the *academics*, or those who pioneered the programme, was rationalised in a way that legitimised *new* forms of becoming: “I think since then [the move out of an academic department] the whole world of EAP has gone forward, developed.” In de-legitimising the academic identity and by assessing who enters the programme and what constitutes their eligibility for the position, the prospective identity is demonstrating their becoming on the one hand and influencing the becoming of others. They scrutinise, validate, they license, and create novel “criteria of membership, belief and practice developed, economic and political aims formulated; a new social category has been established” (p. 77). “The group basis of prospective identities contains gatekeepers and licensers” (p. 76). The prospective identity like the BLEAP, who is upwardly mobile, will not concern herself with what has been but will, exploiting economic resources, be concerned with what can and *will* be under a market-driven PRF (university and programme). The gatekeeper is evident in the work of the teacher too when much of their work and justification for it is concentrated on assessment. This role being projected onto to teachers on the programme does not go unnoticed as one teacher (Scott) made clear. “Well I mean I’ve heard that the mathematics don’t do essays which is eighty per cent you know which is the [sic] basis of our kind of what is it gatekeeping,” When prompted by the researcher about whether he felt that was his role he responded quite critically: “well yeah, well I think they [one assumes the programme’s co-ordinators] say that themselves although you know the gate is I

think the gatekeeper is a little bit corrupt." Despite a charge of dishonesty one can easily imagine the licenser and gatekeeper as those that can exert influence overcontrol moral judgment. He can decide when to suggest a belief, attitude or practice is *right*, and when to give sympathy or empathy based on his own or that of the new social group's criteria (*see* Bernstein, 2000, p. 77). However, such moral judgments require moral justifications which again tend toward the economic benefit of the student rather than the array of other possible justifications. It is not that, morally, one should indeed consider the student's immediate goals and future economic benefits but rather that those are deemed central to a moral justification. Marco's *ends* analysis is in itself a moral justification for his beliefs about practice, in that the teacher by not allowing the student to decide her own needs and ends is not fulfilling a moral responsibility towards her.

The framing of EAP in this sense arguably weakens its epistemic relations with the productive field of EAP and even its variety of meanings. Teachers learn about EAP and its practice *in situ,* insulated from its otherwise varied and complex production bases. The programme, its limited duration, and its mission to help develop students' academic skills and adaptation to British academic culture provides little opportunity for the teacher to advance her professional development with any degree of depth and competency. She is expected to deliver much with little chance of developing expertise in any given area of academic skills training. This is evidenced in Scott's frustrations over an inability to perform to the multitude of needs of the students.

> "…really what we do is just we prepare them to get the exam to get the pass the course and to get onto that to get onto their course but I don't think we're really I don't really know what I don't really know much about their target language use domain because for example I'm teaching I don't know what kind of academic needs they need and mathematics you know I'm teaching English for Academic Purposes so I'm it's at a very general level but the target language use domain ok that will be partly social. You know what they need to survive in [name removed] as a student but also partly academic what will they need for their subject and what kind of task will they have in that environment when they finish studying."

Scott's complaint is one where the expectations of the autonomy of the teacher and student to construct, from limited local resources, an effective learning experience that cannot, in any real depth, be delivered. Under such conditions, Scott feels forced to instrumentalise expectations and work.

> "…really what we do is just we prepare them to get the exam to get the pass the course and to get onto that to get onto their course…"

Scott feels that his role, as he sees it, is at times undermined to favour the realisation of performance goals. *Getting students through the course* was a dominant theme/orientation among many of the Nomads, who on returning year after year to the programme adapted their beliefs and attitudes to practice more in line with the performance goals of the EAP unit and those set for the students. With *Student-centred* beliefs for the most part, despite being based on pre-determined needs, Nomads tend to rationalise their expectations and their pedagogy towards instrumental realisations, whilst at the same time sometimes critical of such an approach. The Priest and Pioneer remain seemingly dogmatic in their respective beliefs and ideals about their practice, the former with specialist knowledge the later with empowering the student to define her own learning experience and in the case of Marco, to define their own *ends* over prescribed needs. As we have discussed, the rationalisation of the beliefs and ideals of both identities is problematic under the constraints of the programme. If rationalisation fails and ideals not easily enacted in practice, the teacher may well seek other horizons or adapt and transform his beliefs. It was Marco who, in reference to the "bureaucratic" practices of the programme, stated that one had to find other reasons for being here (working on the programme). As professional identities both Priests and Pioneers are difficult to maintain as their resources (e.g. a knowledge of language forms and structures and their description) for the construction of their beliefs and ideals are not legitimised by those managing the programme and even other teachers on the programme. Indeed, the reductionism of the Nomad to enable comprehensible targets was at times more vocal in the presence of their peers. On one occasion during the CPD event, one of the Nomads from the study was asking about the relevance of using an *unplugged* methodology (less reliance on technology, and other pre-made resources) in the EAP classroom. Her question was interesting as it seemingly legitimised what she believed EAP meant in the practice context. It also marked a clear indication of what she believed her role and identity and the roles and identities of her peers *are* or *should be*. Her question paraphrased here was: how can the Dogme [unplugged] approach be applied to EAP when we are essentially skills teachers not language teachers? The question was answered but no challenge to her statement; "…when

we are essentially skills teachers not language teachers", was raised among other participants in the study.. Of those participants present, most were Nomads with the exception of one, Charlie, who had shown Priest-like tendences in her interview, did not comment. Charlie, as remarked above, may be in the process of transforming her identifications more akin to those of the Nomad, rationalised in realisation of the shortfalls of EFL/EAP work e.g. the unstable, temporal nature and the acceptance of a project-like view of her career in the future. Or even the pe-sessional work losing its centrality within her career ambit. This project-like view seeks to legitimise the beliefs, attitudes and modalities of practice that may best support their own demands for their career trajectory and those demands of the context. The Nomad, willing to adapt to the expectations of the programme, find themselves, sometimes reluctantly, identifying with instrumentalities they may not have done previously, for they wish to maintain their *oasis* without too much disruption. It is in this identity that we may see a further transformation and emergent identity, one that is more evidently a social identity as it is socially legitimised by its members and by agents and organisations exterior to it. However, it is important to point out that this identity is prospective, based on becoming, not as yet fully realised but identifiable in the tendencies it acts out thus far.

It is also interesting to note that one of the returning pre-sessional teachers (not interviewed) had gained a full-time position the previous year and had become one of the co-ordinators on the programme. Her influence seemed not to alter the message of the programme.

7.7 A new lexis in the language of legitimation

The prospective identity emergent in the practice context, as Bernstein (2000) suggests, has a gaze that is future-orientated; one that is ready to transform itself if events and conditions require it to. The Priest, a retrospective for the most part, looks to the past, to already established forms of being and of knowing. He is resistant to change and the transformation of what he has construed as the ideal in the hierarchy of knowledge. The specialist for the Priest is an academic, of a discipline with a clear view on what knowledge is or should be legitimised for practice. The Nomad, more focused on the present, may stumble into the future more unaware of the changes occurring around them, adapting to them often without

contestation to the recontextualisation of what EAP means. We discussed above how such recontextualisation occurs, that is, through control of the legitimation device (the rules governing the language of legitimation) by means of an organising principle that places the acquisition of a particular bounded knowledge as above the development of democratic learning and recognition of knowers. The programme, engaged in such control, acts as a principal recontextualising entity. The Nomad is not a passive acquirer but in her acts of rationalisation and legitimation is party to the transformation. After returning for many summers, the Nomad appears to adapt and transform their beliefs and practice to the demands of the programme finding 'other reasons' for being on the programme. Their attention to good methodological teaching and learning practice and a student-centred orientation can be seen as both a recourse to the skills and knowledge they have gained throughout their EFL/EAP careers and to the constraints of the programme to base or focus their knowledge otherwise. Those constraints are found in the legitimation of the methodologist and skills developer over the lingual-cultural artisan and the de-legitimation of identifications otherwise. Also, constraints are found in mission-like rhetoric of the programme management, which influences instrumental orientations. The goals and objectives of the pre-sessional are bound to the perceived needs of the students. Those needs closely aligned to developing skills to produce demonstrable results for standardisation, a pre-requisite of the gatekeepers. The teacher, under these conditions, is often free to explore methods and approaches that they feel can best help their students get those results. This autonomy seems to allow for a kind of *pedagogical relativism* one which does not critique or question beliefs and ideas about practice as long as they apparently enhance the students learning experience. This experience should contain training towards the acquisition of consumables, that are recognisable or standard signifiers of success e.g. formative or summative assessments based on the four skills with more emphasis on the productive skill of writing. Malcolm's critique of DELTA and of the knowledge of its assessors as well as a need for data-driven materials was a critique of beliefs and practices which appeared to be justified purely on their prominence in the market than on their demonstrable validity. *Finding new reasons for being here* implies a notion of autonomy that allows the teacher to experiment and explore his or her role and the possibilities that a weakly defined discipline may enable. However, *new reasons*

relate more to justifying one's presence. Phil's description of the EAP unit's move from an academic department to academic services and the relative autonomy it possessed is a reasonable mirror-like comparison to the autonomy of the teacher. In claiming that "they [the programme management] leave us to our own devices" means more that within the constraints of the prescriptive goals and objectives of the programme, teachers are not free to explore what EAP means in all its possible complexity but rather that any exploration would necessarily need to be justified. Again, justified on the marketable criteria mentioned above and without further question. The justification given by the programme management as to the qualities required of teachers and their methodological orientations is that of the ability *to teach* over any other capacity. Although, appearing incontestable, this framing was justified to maintain the programme's status as validated provision by the British Council. If a teacher cannot justify beliefs, attitudes, and practices in line with the expectations of the validator then deeds are deemed less legitimate or unfavourable. The relative autonomy of the unit is suggestive of the ignorance as to what EAP means from those outside its practice. Phil hinted at this by stating that "they do their thing and we do ours." The university, its managers and governors, have clearly seen the utility of the unit to attract and admit international students as the relocation of it may suggest, but with little input or interest as to what is involved in those processes. The unit and its managers then are charged with delivering on the demands of those influential organisations and agencies with other and broader concerns. The work on the programme, not intimately known by *outsiders*, like that of other *so-called* services on campus must demonstrate how it is of economic value, of cost and benefit, providing a return. This return may be exemplified in admissions and the monetary returns that ensue. The professional practice of EAP professionals, its meaning and purpose, is left for those in their local context to decide under the above conditions. Phil's justification for recruiting teachers with teaching experience over EAP subject knowledge was justified by what validators (British Council) demand and by market signifiers, or what is described as quality in an educational experience. Phil's comments on the fact that teachers can just be quickly trained how to do EAP was also indicative of much of the above argument. Such conditions are constraining as it forces practitioners to legitimise their work in terms of economic value. One of the programme coordinators (Rick), in reference to

the need for high numbers of students passing the course, complained that if we cannot deliver results then we are at risk of being privatised. In this way, “we have to justify our existence”, he added.

From this, we can begin to see how recontextualisation is framed through control of the legitimation device. Beliefs, and practices become legitimised due to their explicit justification based largely on an economic imperative. Authoritative voices are those that justify their thoughts and deeds to the service of getting results. What EAP once was or is, *is* only relevant if it can be self-justifying under an economic rationale. The practitioner has to keep up by negotiating and renegotiating her beliefs and attitudes about practice forcing her gaze forwards to *stay in the race*. That race is a competition built around justifying one’s existence. In this justification, with an orientation firmly transfixed by results, authority is based less on teaching experience, pedagogical knowledge or the capacity to provide complex linguistic descriptions but rather on the development of innovative ways to extract results through inputting ideas as to providing more successful assessments. The development of the *technologies of assessment* become the main focus of an emergent identity. Again, this is not too dissimilar to the upwardly mobile BLEAP. This identity is not immediately observable among the pre-sessional teachers; those that have come to be named Nomads, Priests and Pioneers. Rather, it is what they might become.

7.8 EAP is dead, long live EAP

In training the Gatekeeper, the recontextualisation field, that is, the programme and the agencies and organisations above it in the hierarchy of university governance, has re-construed what EAP means to its practitioners and at the same time influenced the emergence of novel tendencies among them. Those tendencies are only observable in the deeds of the actors performing them. In a realm where legitimacy is often framed by justification, EAP practice seems to be modelling itself towards performance rationales. These rationales need to be digestible to a range of consumers from student to university governor. Their justification appears not to require a relationship to knowledge that is capable of rationalising academic purpose as transmitting deep description of language systems or theories in acquisition. At the same time, it does not require that practitioners have an academic background

that specialises in fields that represent the complexity of the field. The instrumental purpose of EAP in the context of the above described pre-sessional programme is unique in its character, as specific contingencies demand, but shares with others the need to segmentalise or reduce EAP to its demands. Pre-sessionals at universities throughout the UK (after glancing at role descriptions for teaching positions) appear to have similar orientations shifting to performance modes, e.g. “the teacher should *demonstrate*…” and responding to their unique context, recontextualising EAP and thus defining what it is and its purpose on those criteria. The dominance of the recontextualisation field, in reshaping EAP from competence modes to performance modes, has radically changed what the field means to practitioner and others which is evident in the training of the Gatekeeper. The Gatekeeper is a graduate of a professional learning environment with a pedagogy that restricts the knowledge of what it means to be an EAP teacher. This identity is active in its own formulation, but also active in the reformulation of the field. The Gatekeeper, being the validator, processor, licensor and regulator, is concerned with more than assessment of students but with the management of pedagogical modes and thus rationalises, elaborates, and justifies, intransitively, whatever EAP was, is and will be under an economic imperative.

This, of course, does not mean what EAP *was* is dead; the lingual cultural competence model may re-emerge if a justification is found. However, there still remains a concern that what EAP, at least within the pre-sessional context, was and could be is reshaped to an extent that the field no longer possesses the density of meanings that might be needed to even define it as a field in its own right. The deeds and pedagogy that *close the gate* to the many knowledges and voices that have contributed to what EAP means thus far, may ultimately be its demise. One may suggest that in this demise, orchestrated by narrow justifications, the Gatekeeper, is stripping EAP of one its most prized commodities, that is, quality research informed teaching, and the field of its teachers with their varied and in-depth knowledge bases. One may argue, alternatively, that pre-sessional EAP has its unique purpose and that practitioners on its programmes do not need a deeper understanding of EAP. But as a professional learning context, their transforming identities may likely be the mechanisms that transform the field as pre-sessionals come to be more dominant in the provision of EAP.

7.9 Postscript or post-mortem? On the *death* of the language teacher

In training the Gatekeeper, the future of the *teacher* of EAP (TEAP) is precarious. As agencies and organisations mould their EAP provision under the above descriptions, we may well see the further emergence of that *third space* professional that is charged with more than the teaching and learning of students.

Job titles vary from university to university with some describing their practitioners as EAP Tutors, some as EAP Teachers, and Teaching Fellows although what is expected of them in their practice, despite local contingencies, is quite similar. Indeed, practitioners have teaching, assessment and administrative duties that may be beyond that expected of non-EAP teachers. Particularly in those third space administrative tasks. For example, the role described at the university in this study required that teachers do administration tasks that guided the transition of international students into UK academic life. Actual tasks were both related to academic work on the programme and that of *processing*. Teachers were involved in giving information on the documents necessary for applying for study visas and other tasks normally expected of administrative officers. The sheer number of students needing processing has seemingly motivated those deciding on the roles and responsibilities of pre-sessional EAP teachers to include such tasks. This is, one imagines, to be expected when the EAP unit is located or relocated into administrative departments as was the one in this study. A recent (2018) job description (University of Cambridge) with a novel title; Language Teaching Officer for the EAP practitioner, appears to reflect this emerging identity. The use of the title “officer” implies in this case the work of an administrator as well as other responsibilities. The description also specifies the requirement to engage in student recruitment e.g. open days. The officer role, like the tasks performed on the programme, is indicative of a shift away from the imagined lingua-cultural artisan to the Gatekeeper. The Gatekeeper: a prospective identity ever becoming, and ever accepting of his emerging responsibilities, is increasingly no longer a professional *teacher* of English for Academic Purposes. The teaching and learning of students of academic English may indeed become the least of his concerns as his work as the validator, the licenser, assessor is emphasised. Although he still performs teaching and training responsibilities they are framed and rationalised in a way that legitimises a particular view of what EAP means with the help of moral justification.

The problem still remains. The generic practitioner, expected to be both teacher, marketer, and administrator, as well as whatever she *will become* will likely struggle to perform the specialist practice of a professional teacher. If the teacher, now expected to specialise in the development of academic skills in all their variety and necessary depth, prioritises her work according to what is prioritised by the PRF, she will need to deliberate on what is of less necessity in her work. In making statements such as: “we are skills teachers not language teachers”; one can begin to observe legitimation and increasing identification. The lack of challenge to the administrator role is evident too despite Marco and Scott’s protestations.

The EAP teacher, is not dead but the identity of EAP *language* teacher may well be dying. The language specialist previously celebrated is now being side-lined even openly criticised in role descriptions, by programme director and even among teaching practitioners. At this juncture, one begins to be concerned with the future of EAP in its practice contexts. The constraints on the possibility of alternative beliefs, attitudes and practices under moral justifications for advancing praxis towards perceived student needs framed by an economic imperative might plausibly limit the orientation of EAP and render it manipulable by agents and organisations not directly associated or concerned with the a greater variety or depth in the educational needs of students. This distance or lack of understanding of what EAP has meant to date, could be influencing those in university governance to orientate EAP as it will. The lack of a firm knowledge-base and recourse to active research happening locally arguably weakens the idea of a professional, practising specialist work on campus. Without the plurality of voices, specialist knowledges and the autonomy of its organisation and practitioners to help direct the appropriate direction and orientation of the field, to deny them entrance to the democratic discussion of what EAP means in practice may limit the fields ability to respond to future demands. The justification for *our* existence will be increasingly hard to find under a pragmatic, evolving yet monolingual pedagogical discourse.

7.10 Significance of the research

Similar studies e.g. Hadley (2015) have attempted to shed light on structural factors influencing the direction and orientation of EAP and the effects this has on teachers. Kirk (2018) offered a way to identify how through the organising principles of a programme, structural elaborations of EAP curriculum differed with and aligned with the pedagogical realisations of teachers. This approach helped influence my own with attention drawn more towards realisations of identity, in the form of stances and their legitmation. The expanding pre-sessional provision and the nature of that provision will undoubtedly influence beliefs and attitudes about practice. The nature of the programme (pre-sessional), its perceived purpose and orientation, will provide a more nuanced description of EAP in practice. This study will hopefully elucidate the 'how', largely through the 'thoughts and acts' of legitimation and identification, and its consequences for practice, Thus the potential significance of the study one feels is related to providing a relatively original explanatory framework; offering a detailed lens on a complex phenomenon. The significance of this work can then be divided into three more specific areas: (i) the methodological/theoretical approach to the problem of structure influencing agency and (ii) how through the acts of legitimation, the professional learning discourse of EAP from the example context is restricted to enable certain identifications over others and thus potentially influencing the emerging identities of practitioners on the programme.

A third (iii) possible significant contribution to understanding the dynamics of professional identity is how those control mechanisms which generate restricted codes, through the discourse of EAP practice, constrain possible emergent identities, as such control makes the realisation of their identifications, if not impossible, unsustainable in the long term. This is then described, critically, in this thesis as problematic to the professional identity and practice of language teachers; such recontextualisation may call into question their ownership of their profession and their ability to direct its course.

(i) The methodological and theoretical approach to the study incorporates the philosophical and theoretical approach to social enquiry, Critical Realism, and one of its social realist methodological approaches; Legitimation Code Theory (Maton, 2013). These approaches together help one to demonstrate the plausibility of structural influence on individual agency, as I believe this thesis does so. Of course,

numerous observers have argued that structure is at least invisible in that is not directly observable or at most non-existent due to all thoughts and acts being ultimately reducible to the individual agent. Here we do not argue against the primacy of agency as structure is impossible without it but despite that through the thoughts and acts (legitimation) of individual agents we can discover that that reductionism cannot be logically sustained as the *what* of those legitimations is not the product (initially) of any single agent. *What* EAP means is, of course, legitimised by individual agents but it is the relational or social legitimation that is often evident in the thoughts and acts of individuals. This thesis discusses the sustainability of emergent identities on the EAP programme and how that programme (socially) legitimises certain identifications over others. Through those teacher's acts of legitimation one can suggest the realisation of certain practices generated by those thoughts and acts. It can be observed that weak and or strong relations to specific knowledges, will influence the degree to which an alignment of beliefs and values is attained. It was found that the framing practices of the programme helped in the realisation of alignments.

(ii) Using codes (ER+/-, SR+/-, SG+/-) provided a retroductive basis to find out *who* is enabling or constraining professional knowledge. Certain organisations (including the programme) are influential in the discursive meaning-making process of professional knowledge for practice. Their influence is a purposive (but not always an overly conscious one) restriction of knowledge for practice providing socially agreed descriptions of EAP and justifiable selective criteria for teacher recruitment according to what is deemed legitimate for practice in the particular context. This control of the Legitimation Device (Maton, 2014) is not the work of any one individual but that which is socially generated. Not only is it socially generated, those agents involved directly in restricting knowledge and indeed gatekeeping or controlling entry to the profession are not always the same agents who legitimise those acts. Therefore, there are those legitimising from above and those from below. Thus, a clear hierarchical knowledge structure exerting its influence on the *what* and *who* of EAP practice. When those legitimations clash, a critical response was sometimes observed. Such reactions to acts of control are evident in this study. They identify the influence of structure through the elaboration of structural conditioning via the organising principle described above.

(iii) The above described control is then influential in the identifications of teachers on the programme. This study describes three identities that emerge from analysis of legitimation in their interviews and informal conversations, those being the Priest, the Nomad and the Pioneer. Without going into detailed description of each, it was found that due to their legitimation and at times defence of their beliefs and values, certain identities were more or less likely to be sustainable under the conditions of restrictive control of the legitimation device on the part of the programme; their socially construed deductions and interpretations of practice. Those identities, enabled rather than constrained, were shaped by a more flexible legitimation strategy. One which was informed by personal (often economic) needs and the needs of their students. Those who identify in such a way maintain a pragmatic attitude about, and to practice and are more likely to continue on the programme. This pragmatism is described in this thesis as potentially giving justification for certain thoughts and acts, justifications that perpetuate an economic imperative to teaching and learning; a goal-orientated and instrumental framing of practice. This might be giving rise to a *new* emergent identity; one which adapts to constant change and projects itself to the future of what EAP might become rather than what it is or was. The *critical* part of the realist theory under construction here picks up on this emergent identity, the Gatekeeper, and its projective beliefs and attitudes. It is argued that in shaping beliefs and attitudes (often subservient to the demands of the programme) according to perceived goals and learning needs legitimised within that particular practice community then the autonomous nature of the language teacher will be gradually diminished. What EAP means will be restricted to what is perceived or deduced solely within the local context limiting the potential of a varied or more nuanced bases to the professional identity and practice of EAP specialists.

7.11 Limitations of the research

The most obvious criticism and limitation of a Critical realist approach, as touched on above in Chapter 3, is its *causal criterion for existence*, which suggests that "unobservable entities can be known to exist through their impact on observable events (Lewis, 2001, p. 250)." The criticism relates to this rendition of the nature of causality in that establishing the existence of causally efficacious social structure requires that observable events are caused in part by those structures. For some

realists (e.g. Harré,and Varela, 1996) the causal efficacy of social structures is doubtful as the “powerful particulars” necessary for social action are invariably human agents. Causality is then reduced to the observable interactions, conversations and actions of persons not unobservable social structure. This then presents a problem of epistemology in that if social structure is causal but not observable then how do we come to know its existence and causal efficacy? For Harré and Varela (1996, p. 314) Bhaskar (1979) commits the “fallacy of collectivism”, the act of “reifying a property of a group of social actors into an entity.” Harré and Varela’s (1996) account sees idepenedent human entities as the source of activity in the social world and their causal power and efficacy is evident in that activity. Much of that activity is caused through conversation. “From this perspective, it is people’s conversations and not (as critical realists believe) the interplay between human agency and ontologically irreducible social structure that lie at the heart of social life. The social world is the joint product of people’s discursive practices” […] (Lewis, 2001, p. 255). However, a realist critique of this would claim that we are born into a world with pre-existing social manifestations not of our individual making (*See* for example, Bhaskar, 1998; Sayer 2000; and Archer, 1995; 2003). This suggests that our take on the world is in some way fashioned for us, or our material for replicating social forms and/or transforming them is already in existence when we enter social life. Again, this does not make social forms cause behaviour directly but must in some way influence it. Even Critical realist theorists (e.g. Archer, 2003) attribute human agents as the principal causal variables in social action, but here is where I might defend Critical realism once again on the grounds that causation might not be reducibly limited to the actions of agents alone. A definition of causation could then include other entities that are not powerful particulars but rather a secondary level of causation that is required for those powerful particulars to act in certain ways. One can claim that other entities have efficacy but are not *active* causal mechanisms, this is again, “[b]ecause social structure lacks the capacity to initiate activity and to makes things happen of its own accord it is not an efficient but a material cause of social activity (Lewis, 2001, p. 258).” A material cause of social activity e.g. a university although not directly observable despite the people, the buildings, books etc makes a difference to people’s lives. “And in virtue of making a difference to people’s actions, pre-existing social structure satisfies the causal criterion for

existence and qualifies as a possible object of knowledge for social scientists (p. 258). In stretching the definition of causation, we invoke entities that are part of the legitimation for action whether in conscious deliberation or not. As stated above one may come to know material causes through those deliberations and internal conversations. Ascribing causal efficacy to material realities is less problematic when we do not give them the status of powerful particular which is still reserved for the deliberator. With this description of causation, it is possible to see that actions are caused by entities other than individual agents caused by relational phenomena. Our descriptions of those phenomena should be *practically adequate*, which means that our knowledge and truth claims are built on some kind of evidence through practices that should be replicable and that although that knowledge may not be perfect it still amounts to *some t*ruth of the phenomena in question (*See* Sayer, 2000: 40-46). This can be approached by listening to and observing the behaviour of powerful particulars, those agents. Thus a vindicated Critical realist project put simply is; "to move from the manifest phenomena of social life, as conceptualized in the experience of the social agents concerned, to the essential relations that necessitate them" (Bhaskar, 1979, p 32). This thesis was relatively successful in identifying those essential relations present on the programme and how the legitimation of the organising principle of knowledge influenced the alignment of practices. Those organised relations are doing something, and if they were different, e.g. within a knowledge structure that was not insulated from the production field, then the conditioning practices and potential elaborations would likely be different too.

The apparent ontological assumptions of the research design do not stop at a real world of agents activating the powers of social and institutional phenomena that are in themselves unobservable but also to those experiences that agents use to make sense of the world constructed into narratives. Using a narrative approach, albeit in a way that does not assume that interpretation is sufficient in explanation, seemingly infers that humans reflect on their lives in story-like form and or the researcher constructs their story through her/his authoritative voice. The social sciences are dominated by theses that possess assumptions and descriptive notions that we naturally live or reflect on our lives through narratives and if we do not then we should to live a richer life (Strawson, 2004, p. 428-429). However, and according to

Swanson such assumptions lack clear evidence when many live their lives in “episodes” that lack any obvious story-like quality.

Those who tend to experience life in episodes do not construct a personal and even professional identity through a fluid-like narrative but rather through events or episodes which they hold as significant. These episodes may not contribute to a whole identity that can be read off in a linear autobiographical account during a research interview rather it would be the researcher’s task to uncover those events and episodes during interviews to draw out data that could support a thesis that hypothesises the salience of social and material factors. This is where the use of narrative’ in this study is related to method rather than assuming and confirming an ontological claim that humans narrativise their lives. Whilst prompting interviewees to reflect on their profession it is hoped that they recall events or episodes that are important to them, with the rationale that they provide some evidence as to the material cause thesis presented about. At the same time the diachronic or life-story narrators will most likely use narrative and indeed events and episodes to make sense of the question posed potentially exposing those non-observable entities that have some degree of causal efficacy. I used a narrative prompt (“what does EAP mean to you?”) to move from experiences to the relations (material causes or underlying realities) that are in part necessary for emergent identities.

Herein lie further methodological/epistemological issues relating to moving from experiences to the relations that are necessary for emergent identities. The first relates to the length of time given to the project, the second to the number of participants and limited selection of methods and the third, the problem of implicating material causality despite our vindication from a theoretical standpoint. The field work element (interviews and informal conversations) took place over 10 weeks during the summer of 2016. This short period of time affects the project in that it provides little time to conduct the work thus limiting the time allotted to interviews and their possible follow up. This then limits the number of participants and the number of methods to extract data. Opportunities are also limited due to participants being mostly spread over the university campus over the course of a typical day. The data gathered will then reflect in some way the limitations listed in that the experiences narrated may offer little direct evidence of the influence of non-agential

causal effects on emergent identities. Evidence that the programme shapes identities may be absent despite clearly affecting the quantity and quality of data gathered. Having said that the data and the theories generated from it should provide the researcher with practically adequate knowledge. The validity of the findings may be called into doubt due to the sample size, length of interview and the problem of claiming causal efficacy to non-observable social entities but at the same time searching for a generalisable truth claim about *actual* identities is not the principal idea behind this research project. In Critical realist tradition it is the actual realities that provide us with the basis by which to discover what was necessary for their emergence, for it is there, those mechanisms, that the potential for a multitude of actualities is discernible. It is those mechanisms that provide the most interest from the realist perspective. If one is to attempt any kind of generalisable claim, it would be that conditioning practices being part legitimised by the existence of an organising principle, are likely present elsewhere. The principle may change but it is still there.

Another limitation to the study is the sample and its constituents. Although attempts were made to ensure the sample was as diverse as possible, e.g. sex, native and non-native speakers and a variety of ages, the fact that all were current EAP teachers (except for the programme manager) and no non-EAP actors were included in the original sample. This might cause problems when certain mechanisms are being activated, for example, discourses relating to internationalisation, which means certain prominent actors in construing that discourse will not be approached. However, it was deemed impractical to seek those actors and also unnecessary in light of the hypothesis, that is, that the discourse can be identified through the methods employed and their very existence enough to infer a causal relationship.

7.12 Future research directions

A further limitation of the research relates not only to philosophical assumptions and the practical methodological issues described above but also to the limitations of depth and rigour in the areas of curriculum, pedagogy and assessment. These categories were utilised in the research but were not explored to their full potential. The choice not to do so was again related to brevity and practicality. One feels that a

research design that provided more attention to, say, pedagogy could have yielded greater insight into the deliberations of teachers and the more nuanced legitimations of practices that may provide more insight into their potential alignment with the practices espoused by the programme management. Research in this area would hopefully provide an opportunity to identify actual legitimation more comprehensively. Aligning practices shows some evidence of legitimation but further investigation into beliefs, ideas, stances, and orientations regarding pedagogical practices of teachers would offer more depth and credibility to my conclusions. The incorporation of a methodology that would allow for follow up interviews that were more structured, or centred around interpretations of relevant teaching and learning approaches and observations of actual pedagogical practice within and outwith the classroom would certainly contribute to that.

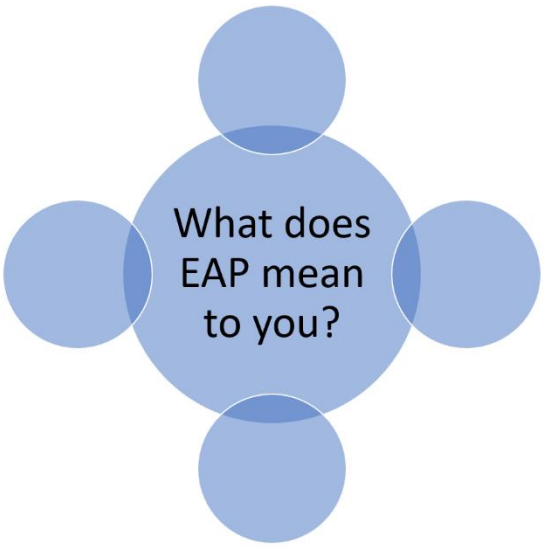
A further limitation that could provide an avenue for future research is in the framework for analysis. I justified the use of Framing, particularly external (F^e), as it seemed to suggest a best-fit with regard to the research question enquiring as to the causal influence of the programme, and as I had perceived a strong external control of curriculum practices (F^e) focused around the final writing assessment in my experience on the programme. It was felt that evidence of strong framing of Epistemic Relations provided more credence to purposive structural conditioning elaborated in the curriculum and other instances. However, one might argue that the analysis was weakened without the explicit inclusion of Classification (C+/-). Not only could an analysis of Classification help describe the strength or weakness of relations between the pre-sessional and other programmes, departments and organisations within and outwith the university, it could also provide insight into views on pedagogical practice with regard to the selection and relationship between course contents and the uncovering of possible insulations between them. This may arguably suggest how possible alignments are made when strong classifications are convincingly enacted. Indeed, those boundaries were elaborated on by both teachers and managers, as in the differences between stances on linguistic descriptions of EAP and skills development but more attention could have been paid to the relationship between *needs* and *ends*, and how contexts are seemingly bounded and knowledge adjusted accordingly. In terms of structural influence, more explicit attention to Classification may give more support to a causal connection

between conditioning and elaboration, as practices of Classification (e.g. definitions of needs) are evident in Framing practices of selection and sequencing of actual course content but not clearly described.

Further to this, a future study that investigates changes in structure such as the placement/replacement of the EAP unit and changes in the orientation of the pre-sessional programme deserves attention as it can further validate conclusions advanced in this thesis and provide further insight into local interpretations of EAP and emergent identities influenced by them. In my current practice, the EAP unit has moved from academic department to academic services back to an academic department. One wonders how such changes influence and transform epistemic-pedagogical practices and identities.

8. Appendices

8.1 Appendix 1: interview prompt diagram



8.2 Appendix 2: example process of thematic analysis (Marco)

Excerpt from Interview 6: Marco

Interviewer: So what does EAP mean to you

Marco:

1. “Uh well I can start by saying how I got into it.

2.I suppose as you have mentioned before, starting the teaching English in general was a kind of experience rather than a plan and uh, after university I went to Venice and I started teaching.

3. Somebody had told me that I would be good at teaching I had no idea what to do and so it went on from there.

4. EAP dates however, from 1996 in my life so this EFL background was in Italy and in Saudi Arabia.

5. When I returned to Italy, well i applied for the university [? .56] but I was also working in Birmingham since 1996, yeah so I… I'm not being very coherent.

6. I moved here in 1991 and after some years I decided it might be nice to move to England and uh that was 1993 I remember.

7. It was sort of you know, I felt rather tired in 1994 after doing my [? 1. 26] and so on. And they said come along and we'll give you a job without an interview or anything.

8. So I said I was too tired and they said oh you should come next year you've got to have an interview. So it was very informal at that point.

9. And there were very few people, one or two people are still here at [? 1. 44] I think started in one year before me.

10. And… **we were working as it were as pioneers it seemed, because it was a new course and it was much more person-oriented [Auth1].** Um, much more fun.

11. They did call it the fun course. It was EAP but very general and no assistance to help on the specific EAP.

12. And we did a topic every week so it was quite a quick turnover. And it was a matter of sort of them enjoying the experience as much as really being serious about what they need in the faculty.

13. I enjoyed that and actually I still have contact one or two people from that time but not since then, because **it has become gradually more serious.**

14. Especially in the past few years so as you've said there are people from other nationalities coming in with their sort of take on EAP. um and so I've seen my direction as becoming more serious rather than not [LoAuth1].

15. But I think the background that i've had over the years has been very positive in that I think they do need that side to EAP and as you know, at a certain point in 2007 8 or 9 something like that, they asked me to do an EAP on the strength of my experience here in [? order that they'd just started? 3. 27]

16. so you know internationalization is something they've talked about but they've only just started in there.

17. Um but they've been a good place to work for because they give you absolute freedom. Nobody comes and judges you, nobody knows exactly what you're doing, they just let you do it and if they think you are capable it's up to you to show you are. 18. And i had to write the whole thing, and little by little they made it more serious that it's compulsory for PhD students, that it's part of this programme where they want to get European funding and recognition from them that they do this kind of thing."

Notes: The yellow highlighted text represents a unit of meaning, in this case *Attitude to change in the learning environment.*

The code [Auth] represents an interpreted theme, Authorship, that arises elsewhere in the transcript. A sub-theme, Loss [LoAuth], refers to a loss of ownership of and influence on the curriculum, pedagogy and assessment of the particular pre-sessional course. Although it is less apparent in this unit of meaning, later analysis indicated that it was related to that theme, as Marco describes loss of influence and control of what he believed was legitimate practice as a Pioneer of the original programme.

8.3 Appendix 3: example product of thematic analysis (Malcolm)

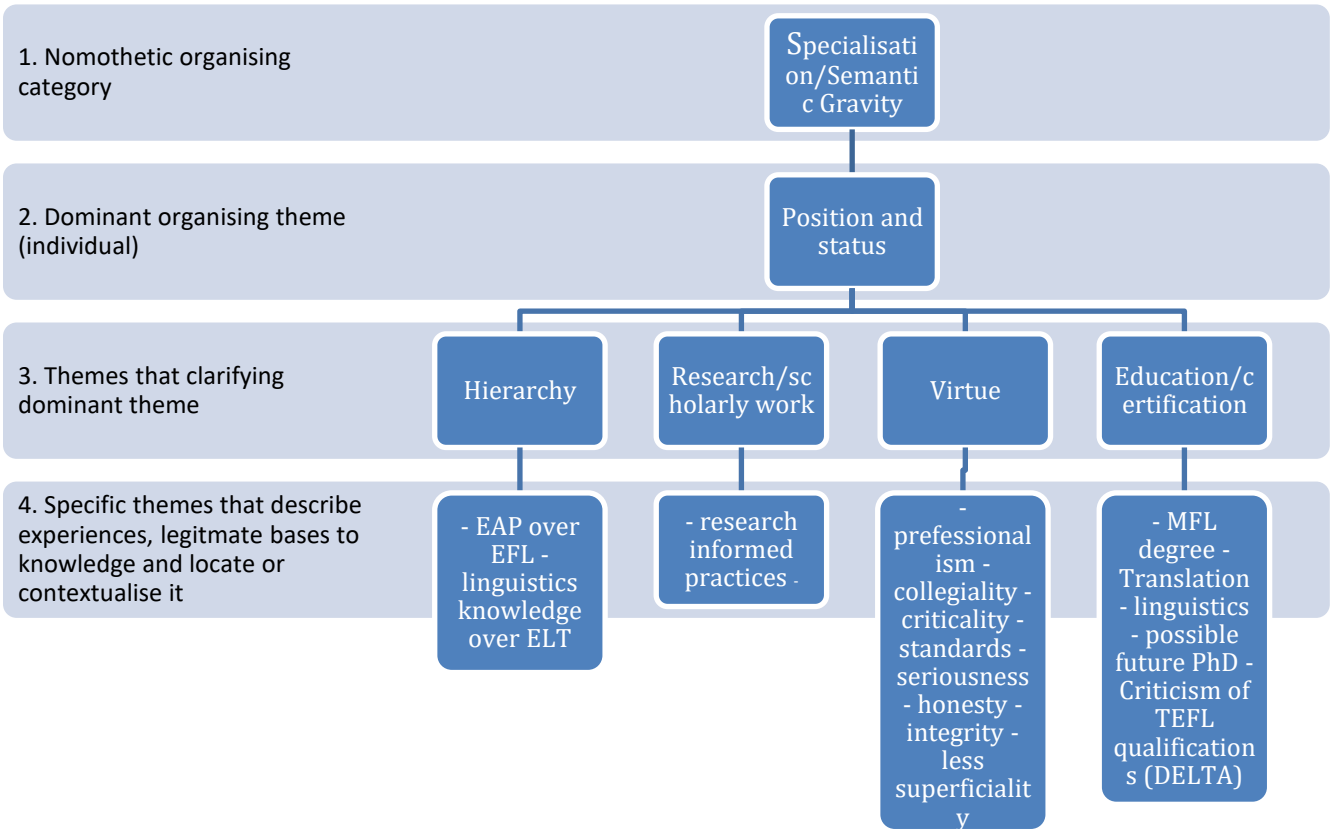


Chart adapted from Patterson and Williams (2002, p. 55)

8.4 Appendix 4: an example of interview transcription

Interview 6: Marco

Interviewer: So what does EAP mean to you

Marco: Uh well I can start by saying how I got into it. I suppose as you have mentioned before, starting the teaching English in general was a kind of experience rather than a plan and uh, after university I went to Venice and I started teaching.

Somebody had told me that I would be good at teaching I had no idea what to do and so it went on from there. EAP dates however, from 1996 in my life so this EFL background was in Italy and in Saudi Arabia.

When I returned to Italy, well i applied for the university [? .56] but I was also working in Birmingham since 1996, yeah so I… I'm not being very coherent. I moved here in 1991 and after some years I decided it might be nice to move to England and uh that was 1993 I remember. It was sort of you know, I felt rather tired in 1994 after doing my [? 1. 26] and so on. And they said come along and we'll give you a job without an interview or anything. So I said I was too tired and they said oh you should come next year you've got to have an interview. So it was very informal at that point.

And there were very few people, one or two people are still here at [? 1. 44] I think started in one year before me. And… we were working as it were as pioneers it seemed, because it was a new course and it was much more person-oriented. Um, much more fun. They did call it the fun course. It was EAP but very general and no assistance to help on the specific EAP. And we did a topic every week so it was quite a quick turnover. And it was a matter of sort of them enjoying the experience as much as really being serious about what they need in the faculty.

I enjoyed that and actually I still have contact one or two people from that time but not since then, because it has become gradually more serious. Especially in the past few years so as you've said there are people from other nationalities coming in with their sort of take on EAP. um and so I've seen my direction as becoming more serious rather than not. But I think the background that i've had over the years has been very positive in that I think they do need that side to EAP and as you know, at a certain point in 2007 8 or 9 something like that, they asked me to do an EAP on the strength of my experience here in [? order that they'd just started? 3. 27] so you know internationalization is something they've talked about but they've only just started in there. Um but they've been a good place to work for because they give you absolute freedom. Nobody comes and judges you, nobody knows exactly what you're doing, they just let you do it and if they think you are capable it's up to you to show you are. And i had to write the whole thing, and little by little they made it more serious that it's compulsory for PhD students, that it's part of this program where they want to get European funding and recognition from them that they do this kind of thing.

So it's now become um recognised and yet I still have that freedom to develop it as analysis rather than a needs a needs analysis, which I'm very grateful for because I think that EAP can be too technical. I wouldn't say it's a matter really of seriousness vs lightness or EFL-ness, it's more you know, that it can tick the form where we think we have to get them to do very technical work.

I don't know if you remember, there was a talk which was extra that day from a black PhD student and he was saying that we force on them or impose on them, and you went thinking, i don't really see it that way I just think OK, we have different identities, EAP identities, is special. But I think that you know we are guiding them, in their life

experience to open up to these other identities if you want to put it that way. Um, so i find that the experience I've had leads me to concentrate on the people, not on the needs, the technical needs. And that pays off even though it can be a bit scary because you never know how far they will latch onto it if you are working with them as they are rather than telling them this is the way it is.

I think this year, I was just talking to someone, that this course has started in the sixth week to pay off in the sense that they are now becoming more academic because they want to be, not because I told them that's what they ought to do. But hey are bringing in phrases - we're doing an outline for an essay and one of the students highlighted phrases which are very difficult, [? highland? 6. 05] who you know as a writer probably. OK so I know something about him. But again it's quite personal because he was working in Arabia at the same time as I was, before he left. And so I know him for that reason. But he says you know these phrases that the Chinese find it very difficult to use are properly apparently arguably not only hedging but also the impersonal language. And so this student highlighted these phrases which worked and said that well ok let's just go along with that, and I pointed it out so the others started doing it of course with less masterfulness because they of course got it wrong. But i mean doing that way, they were choosing themselves to start entering the academic style and of course not doing well but that's backed up by research that in fact native speakers to it much far better than second language learners.

So I'm pleased with that because it's a sign to me that you don't need to be technical about it, you have to expect it as it comes along but not force it. Um, so the way i try to do EAP um, here is because perhaps the experience of doing it one week one subject one week another subject, is to make sure that that week starts with a

perhaps an essay question or a general overview. They've got the reading for the Monday so they're reading concepts before they start the week and then I make sure everything fits in so that by the time they get to Friday, they must have got a set of materials that illustrate and back up and stimulate their thoughts on that particular subject. We did, what did we do, we did leadership one week and no we're doing total quality management.

And I think that sort of frame works again as an ends analysis because they start to work with it and they do role-plays, they do debates, they do case studies which require them to solve problems and suggest their own solutions as well as the writing techniques they focus on, but in the context of the week. So I find myself having to write perhaps paraphrasing I would take a paragraph, if we're doing referencing, from leadership last week, which is a summary of somebody's view on what a leader should be. So they have to quickly paraphrase that, which may be useful in their literature review. So it's always something that they know they can fit into their work during the week. And um that makes it more of a lived experience that they're journeying through the weeks and you can see it, and I have seen it over the years, whether it's because of this or whether it's because of they're just settling in anyway. But ... i would say it's also the merit of approaching them and saying, you know, these kinds of things you know where are we now, or what what do you have to do next. And um, you know picking up on the fact that quite frankly you have got this precision problem, or you've got that problem. But, rather than say to them well, there are these word forms and this is an example, put in noun forms for these, I put the onus on them and say, You're not doing it correctly til you get it right yourself. And I think they do, I think they become more motivated to do it because you are trusting them and you are saying ok, you are capable, see where you can go. And

then you've got one or two of the problem students that you really have to make sure you talk to them you get the right relationship with them, because they take longer.

But um, yeah what else did I put in. Yeah I think that it's a strange feeling but I think that EAP gives that advanced English where you are actually developing yourself with the student and um, I think in my other work by now it's become routine. And you're not really interested in research there, you're not really interested in changing your methods, it's just wearing out year after year, the same… I know my colleagues have the same feeling many people are waiting to retire and just don't want to teach and in a sense, some of them are not really qualified teachers in a normal sense. They've taken it up similar to what I've done. But it therefore gives a certain motivation to us I think to develop and it's it sort of pays off for our sense of development although it's not really a career or recognised externally. And I think internally one feels that .. and it's carried on I think by Europe and the context and the internationalisation that is going on [? finally in Italy is being appreciated? 12.05]

Um yeah so there is that belonging to a sense of community where people are interested really in taking knowledge forward because that is what academic life is i suppose. And you know, writing this article it ends for example; He came to me why don't I do it because I've done all this. And it did clarify there's quite a lot of corroboration for this here and there. And I talked about [? someone Newman 12. 41] because I think that we shouldn't think that we are doing something specialised and unrelated to anything else. He was, I don't know much about him but he was a Protestant who converted to Catholicism because he felt that it provided far more answers and far more depth to the questions about you know, what is the meaning, what am I doing and why am I doing it. And he wrote this pamphlet on what is a university. And going back to that and reading it, it just seems to reflect my view.

When I was at university years ago, we didn't have these exams and things, we didn't have … we had an exam at the end of the year, at the end of the three years, then we were left to it and it was absolutely free and you could go to a lecture if you wanted to, you could go to .. you were supposed to see your tutors and I suppose that was important, but that would be once a week and it would be personal, it would be one-to-one, and so I've always thought that was privileged but when I read Newman talking about it, i thought well not it's not really something that cannot be done across the board, because in fact in EAP when it's general, people are coming in from all sorts of faculties and that is ideal because it means they're free to learn about all of the other people's ideas, fit the ideas together in their own lives if they want. And you're not insisting…

Interviewer: This is your idea of [? 14. 19] is it

Marco: Yeah, it's related to that. I think the end of an EAP course at least in my [? 14. 29] very much are bringing people together to listen to each other in academic settings so that they can then amplify what they're doing because they are quite sophisticated, they're PhD students, they're already writing articles, some of them already in English so I'm not really there to tell them what techniques they can learn, I'm just really there to activate possibilities for them. And so although some of them might not agree with me, I ought to be teaching very technical work, this is, I'm quite open to their point of view as well. But it always seems to be accepted that this course that is there for them can work in this way, and then in fact the person who organises, the professor who organises the PhD students every year comes out with the same idea, quite respective [of] what I've been doing and saying that you know, this is an opportunity for you, and he remembers when he was a PhD student, to

amplify your horizons, to get out of your box and to see things much more interconnectively. And it worked for me.

He… this fits in with something else that I think we find our own way to work out our lives, you know, things seem to corroborate or to work in parallel or to support where we are going if we listen carefully enough. And I do feel that there is a certain sense of [? 16.05] in this because if you do get stuck in as we say that discourse or we get stuck in a technical approach, which is very arid, we are moving in a direction, we're moving others with us uh which cannot be conducive to a real human development. Tomorrow cannot be better if we are merely focused on the mechanics and the technical and the you know, the sense that we have to only be logical without concern about what we are arguing for. You know, so it is in a sense the mission I think that this is in many ways an alternative to the EAP mindset but I think it is a way to make sure that that is not closed completely in EAP or in academic life. I.e. I mean, the sense that uh we are really at a university, or we really want to study, or we really want to do lifelong learning, not because we want a career, not because it makes us technically more functional, but that we want to find answers, you know. And um this is being lost, and it's being lost actually here over the years, to go back to my experience here. Because this is the first year which is very bureaucratic. And it's become like that and being left to our devices, we've been put in our places this year and we've been put into a situation where we must do our role and not question, we don't really have any rapport with managers, and get on with it. And um, within that limit there is a lot of freedom so thank goodness for that. But um it never was bureaucratic, it couldn't be, and this could be a life cycle of an organisation I suppose, the pioneer and then the sort of, you are the people responsible for putting the course together because the manager who is external,

comes in and you're a sort of group who are trying to make it work in a university, which is not really interested in what you're doing, even though they recognise that you're bringing in money for them, they just leave you out there. Now it's become you are part of the university, you know you are structured into and you prove yourselves for us and that you can bring this money in.

And so the whole thing has been taken out of our hands as it were. Now we get on with it. So that's the experience. Certain, being able to pioneer a course, to possess it, and then to realise that we have to find other rationales for being here for our own good. We're no longer essential elements of the course because um, anyone can do it in effect and they're not asking particular people to do it

Interviewer: Do you think that's right that anyone can do it?

Marco: Well, anyone can do… they can find people anywhere. That's what I mean. Ok, yeah I don't believe that uh no, no no. No I do think that the status I have in [? 19.53] is actually well deserved, because I have all this experience and the other people don't who are working with me. And uh so they realise that but you know I don't really feel that I'm special because there's one who's, was a singer and has recorded and so on and brings in all sorts of experience, which is what I think a university should be doing so you know, our [? club? 20.20] as we call it, linguistical, is a place where we have all sorts of experience all sorts of different languages being spoken and it's a very I think a very wonderful uh example before the university. Actually I think gives a lot of life [?20.42] I think it does but for the university and um yeah so. OK.

Interviewer: OK, so coming back to this idea - you had something about interconnectedness. You spoke a little bit about, what about sort of knowledge sharing and - can you elaborate a little bit more about the interconnectedness

Marco: Ok, um alright. Yes I can. I suppose in retrospect it is the quote from Newman which puts it very well about how a university for him in the 19th century was for people to come together and sound off each other so that they keep their minds open and they don't become too specialised, but they recognise the interconnectedness of their disciplines with others. It's also how to deal with the history of EAP as I see it, as allowing this interconnectedness, interconnected relationships with other nationalities, with teachers coming from here, there, with experiences of the teachers [? 22. 08] which will feed into that, the fact that it has been sold to the students by the university as I said as an opportunity for them, especially PhD students, to make sure that they are OK with where other people are coming from, that they don't just concentrate in isolation on their particular interest, but they bring those ideas together and bring knowledges together so that they can see how the holistic view, more than an isolated technical view.

Interviewer: So you talk about this isolated technical view, you talked about the kind of an increasing bureaucracy. How do you think the interconnectedness of you and your peers for example on this program, I mean do you think that's changed over the 20 years that you've worked here?

Marco: Uh.. ok good question. Well you know, if I put it in a very general sense I'll say a bit more about what I mean when I say that society today globally but specifically among us in Europe and America and so on, is to do with a certain battle between a more intellectual view of life where we organise, we calculate, we use our

minds to live you know, as we think we should, without really any sense of why we're doing it or what value is it for me as a person, and you know I think there is a danger and I think that university is always looked up to as a leading force, so it's very much a question that must be addressed at university, that can make our evolution just peter out as it were because it just becomes a matter of more comforts, a matter of more technical ease, a matter of - rather than the key questions as to how do we go forward. And I think that, my take on life is that you can of course make a career, you can of course enter into these sorts of ways of doing things, but they are not the important thing, they're just surface. And what some people have to continue to insist on, whatever the situation is, that there is a deeper more interior way which is one- the only way forward as too clear to vital evolution, but it's also something that has been expected I think from other countries around that world, and I think that there will be no respect let's say for Europe if we don't offer that spiritual let's say development. Because they are [?25. 33] with the mechanics and the mechanical, they will just say well why should Europe be better, why shouldn't America be better, what does it have really to offer us. They come here, they have their very material solutions that they want to go back and in English to [?Greek?] because that will get them a better job, but it's a shame because i think actually, this is the way I look at it, that if an Oriental comes here there's much more to why they're doing it than that. It's not.. Ok I'm talking a little bit about destiny here. But it means that there's a lot more they can get out of being here than that, which is along these lines. It is that there is an interiority to our culture which is asking these questions, has been for since for hundreds of years. Um and they don't have that behind them, they have these ancient civilizations which worked in a certain way but which didn't have this new … let's say for example I personally am thinking about what it means to have

circles and when we're talking about Socratic circles, I'm asking myself because I think that in the past, everything was cyclical and they felt that you lived through your life and perhaps reincarnated and lived again, and OK but the sense of actually going forward and you being responsible for taking it forward is not something that was developed in the East. We have developed it, history as we all know has developed among us. And we see it as much more linear, and that we have to make an effort to do that correctly, and this I think is something that they come over and they don't latch onto. You know it's all very nice history and we've kept it, and the nice architecture and so on, that's what they refer to but what i think is that if you think in cyclical terms, which is reentering into our way of doing technical work, because everything seems to be a circle: you start here, you go there, you go there and then you start again. I doubt the wisdom of that because I think that that is a return in a sense to the way it was done in antique times, what was natural to them and right in that context but which was right because they didn't have that strong ego which would um… which was required to do it along. You know, they had the community, they had the - and they learnt their wisdom and so on as they lived through life, but they didn't need that, they didn't have that onus to, that requirement. Now that we have this strong ego what do we do with it? We're just saying to them, well this is a way to make money or whatever. And I think that's morally very questionable. And can, will lead to disaster in effect. And therefore I do actually see a certain mission [laughs] in my teaching and it has sort of crystalized here because I think for the reasons I given you our - it is a key place where this debate is very, is being fought out.

Interviewer: Fought out?

Marco: Yeah OK, we had a speaker yesterday Scottish you is depreciated because he seems to be very self-satisfied. I have that feeling too, but he's a consultant and he earns a lot of money and he comes in and he tells the businessmen to get out of their box and see things around them, to know themselves, their feelings, work with relationships not with facts. So he's actually saying the same thing, so I just feel it doesn't matter if he is self-satisfied, I don't think he is I think it's just a little bit insecure about all these contradictions that there is this message to communicate to the top people who are basically thinking about how to make money, how to do.. You know. And I asked him at the end of the lecture, OK do you think this message is being taken on by leading businessmen and he said yeah, there is much more… there's books that are coming out on not only new age, but on how to develop your interiority and so on, are finding resonances among in these areas which you would have thought might be lost to it. And so I do think there's a lot of hope there but that's why I say I do think a lot of people are working along these lines in other areas too. We happen to be in the university, I think that's a key area engine for communicating these ideas, but of course there's a whole society out there where it's necessary to argue the case

And um, one key experience I had when I was doing the listening materials for [?BME ...30.55] somebody criticized me, he was the head of EAP in [Stratford upon Avon?] and he came in but they knew he was there, coming to look to see what it was like here, and they accepted that. But what his argument was was that you know, that listening materials are useless because they don't have the technical information that is necessary to show students how to listen; and that is always their point of view and one has always to defend oneself against that point of view. It so happened that he alienated everybody and also the students because he didn't

relate to them, he wasn't getting any.. So you know, that seemed to me to be my defense, I didn't have to say anything. Although I knew he was saying this behind my back because the management was saying well you know we're not going to invite him back et cetera et cetera. So I don't think it is right because I just think it's a matter of not getting out of that box and seeing the wider view. Once you do, you realise that those technical things are there, but they're there - the first thing to do is to make the lesson and the teaching an experience for them. Another thing I want to add actually because now we're onto this theme, is that i think that science is also leading to a dead end, the way they do science where they just see - they have that method and they do an experience, they have an hypothesis, et cetera, is not the living force. It's something which dries you up rather than provides a real uh -

Interviewer: The idea of closing systems as well

Marco: Yes ok, and that's it, that's part of it yes. I agree with you. And I believe that our - we have different [?contraries? 33.16] and in an ancient world they had their way of looking at it which was right for that time, but we have as we're talking now accepted that we have moved on and what was right before cannot be right now. And I think that the science was a stage which is very important and it was specifically Anglo-Saxon, although there were French and Italian and so on working alongside, but I think it's very much something also here in [name removed], with their history of the Industrial Revolution, but it was something that focused the mind and the ego on doing it by itself. So the father of science, Bacon says this, he doesn't want the idols of people like Aristotle where they have the- what's the word, I can't remember the two words that he used, either you stop the bottle up or you [come with the top down? 34.20] This induction and deduction. They don't want deduction they want induction, they want this force, was a force for development let's

say, because the ego now is obliged to find its own answers. Um but if it finds its answers only with this method, it really cannot find anything at all in the end. And i know it appeals to certain people who are very good at it, but it doesn't appeal to me and I would be very..

Interviewer: So hypothetical deductive method isn't it

Marco: Yes, that's right.

Interviewer: The inductive - I think inductive takes you back to when it was called natural philosophy. And the natural philosophy was kind of discovery, even Darwin was a kind of inductive wasn't he, you know a kind of well I'm going to follow this, but it could've gone a different way but he doesn't, he didn't necessarily say something was before he looked at it. It's kind of what I think of EAP sometimes like, we've got these prescriptive ideas about how something should be done but we're not actually looking how it *could* be done. Do you think that happens on a program like this, that there's lots of reasons why we might prescribe rather than allow for emergent ideas about how to do things?

Marco: Good question. Umm - yes. I do think that. But you know what I think - sorry not to answer that question but I'll take it from another angle, it might be interesting to you I don't know. But i always think in this way, i think you mentioned this before, but I think that when you are with certain people there is a certain reason why you are with *those* people, and you have to listen very carefully to what is going on, and to them, and I have said to you before this view is antique let's say, but I'm not saying that the antique way of looking at it was wrong at all, i think it was perfectly right, but it was perhaps the method they were using that can no longer be used, but we have to learn from their philosophy and from their world views. Because they

didn't get it wrong, it's just that we have evolved so we don't understand it. But I think that when you start to use it again, when you start to say OK, wow yes maybe there is a destiny, and we do make our own destiny, but perhaps we are incarnated before and we're coming again and we have certain talents because of what we did and now we need to evolve further so that next time, it might be in certain ways better, and therefore what we come across during our existence is to help us to do that and when you meet certain people, therefore, your question is OK we need to understand ourselves and we need to understand others but in effect, understanding ourselves is the key because when you understand yourself, you understand other people. And it's very difficult to do this, and I think that has been lost now in the Orient and we are the people who are having to take that forward and maybe there will be another sect of people who will do that in the future. But at the moment it's the Anglo-Saxons. And i'm saying that, if you then therefore see that there is this destiny about our relationships with the people we meet here in this EAP course in this present year, it is because we need to listen exactly not only to what they're saying but what is being said behind their words, you know? So you are right. I think it's always in a sense that case that people think we should do things in a certain way and we have to follow their lead. But there's always ways around that, in the sense that if you know that, then you can find your way not to undermine it I mean, but your way forward, and you're bringing others along with you obviously, because a lead, we talked about that in BME, a good leader is one who communicated this kind of value to what he's doing for his followers, the followers feel part of that.

I no longer feel that way here, this is certainly true, that and my managers are setting me a mission that I can go along with. That is certainly gone, that's what I said before. However, I've seen that it's up to me to operate in this way because it's

difficult to get across to you but you might communicate with certain people about on the surface, and you might say alright we now quite like this place because they share my ideas. But in effect, perhaps there's a deeper thing there. Perhaps it is ok, so I've met these people, let's see what I'm supposed to learn from them. And you do learn a lot of unpleasant things about yourself from people, and as soon as you say [snaps] Oh, don't like that, or something and meekly I say, that's because I'm a bit like that. And this is where I need to work on myself. It's like the person yesterday who was considered to be self-satisfied and I know what it means when you are self-satisfied, when you're not really self-satisfied you're really [?bubbling? 39.57] with anxieties and ideas but you haven't got it right for yourself yet. And so you come across as being arrogant and whatever. I know that one can - and so when you see that and think, ah, I know it because it's in *me*, and I criticise it because it's in *me,* that first I've got to work on me and realise that it's unimportant that that person is like that, it's only important for me that he's like that. And therefore I no longer see that person in that way. I see that person, I'm thankful that he's given me information et cetera to show me like a mirror who I am. And yet, and so you go beyond that and see the person also in a deeper way; you no longer look at the surface. You say OK, it's not important so let's see where that person's really coming from. When you see where that person's really coming from, then he speaks to you , it is something that speaks to you from that person, and you begin to understand yourself and that person and you enter into, as you say that science separating and creating systems. It's no longer about that it's you enter into the situation. And this is why I put imagination because I don't mean like the romantic imagination or whatever, what I mean is that we need to develop, we are here actually developing faculties which are no longer the scientific ones but are the ability to experience reality as it speaks to

us. And that actually immediately makes post-modernism and nominalism, all these philosophies where there's no truth, it's just you can make your own truth, is that systemising, making systems, it's no longer that. It's a lived participation with nature and we are a part of a development, an evolution that I believe anyway has been set for us. So when we start, well what could it be, you do get the answers. The answers do come to you and therefore it makes sense to meet certain people, it doesn't - even though the people are completely different from you, it doesn't really matter anymore because you sort of um… created a reason for being together.

OK so I see this approach to EAP very much as a part of that because as you pointed out, I do think it's a sort of battle if you want, against forces which are trying to dry up all this in us and prevent us from evolving, and I do as I said before believe that there is a higher level which is working here, and that we have to be aware of it. When people, nature starts speaking to you in such deep terms, you realise it's not actually nature, it's what is in nature behind nature that is speaking to us, which is you can call spirits, as you like, because they do live in nature. And that's why I say I do see this for example, it's strange when I look around, I do kind of think well where do these people come from, because frequently you see people who physically are very similar and so you think well, in previous incarnations they could have been this. Of course it's a kind of game on the surface until it becomes reality, but I'm convinced that the people who are pioneers on this course were all from Mongolia [laughs] because they all had connections with that, you know a Mongolian was staying in someone's, and they all had that very heavy skin and so on, so it's a hypothesis of course that they were kind of nomadic and were typical pioneers in a way. But you know it's this kind of understanding of, for example, I feel very close to that in effect myself. And there's this work being done on what it means to be a

nomadic, and you know, if you see films about the Mongols they always have this sense of the spirits around them and they have to give off rings of the food, you see them throwing and chanting and so on. And i think that's a kind of what has been put to me in this way, that they belong to a very old tradition, they're now re-finding their shamanistic roots and so on, and the shamans and so on. But the East has had its day, and these practices that are coming out, chauvinistic and so on, indicate that there are spirits who are speaking but they work on a very low level, you know it's kind of decadent because they - talking about the nature spirits, they're trying to get the nature, that's a bit like magic. They're trying to use the powers of nature in order to do things which may not be particularly moral because they're not particularly moral and you think of gypsies for example, that the way they think they come from these sorts of places. They're not particularly moral but they're really family-oriented. They're not really individuals, they live in their families. Ok they don't care about nature as such or doing things as such, they don't think that evolving themselves is important, they just think surviving is important in their way, their special kind of people. So they don't develop nature, but they do feel I think these forces around them and they operate with the, and they're famous for putting curses on you and so on. Why? Because that's their level. And I think it's what a lot of people in Asia were like in the past, but perhaps at a slightly higher level. All these Mongols all these people in Siberia and so on were nomads fighting against the Iranians who were trying to farm and trying to settle. For example I read about those farmers are in fact our spiritual ancestors, because the nomads were always sort of not really involved in human evolution, they were selfish nomads if you like, they just came and attacked, took what they wanted and went away again.

Interviewer: I like there's that idea of , you're talking about the pioneers of this program or EAP in general, that they were the nomads.

Marco: Yeah I think so, we were including myself I have to say. Yeah. I think so yeah.

Interviewer: Right we have to stop there I think, thank you very much.

Marco: Thank you for listening I hope ...

8.5 Appendix 5: an example initial (pre-thematic) analysis (summarising narrative)

Interview 6: Marco

Marco has been teaching for over twenty-five years and EAP since 1994 and has taught in a number of different countries such as Italy (where he currently resides), Saudi Arabia and the UK. Like many of the 'native speakers' (NS) he states that English teaching was not a planned career choice, "an experience rather than a plan." He has been teaching on the program since 1996 which he claims was around the time the program was founded. Marco uses the term "pioneers" to describe himself and others that inaugurated and taught on those early courses. He also set up an EAP course at a university in Italy. Marco claims that in the early years of the program the approach to learning and teaching was more "people orientated" "more fun" something he feels is important for a learning experience as he states throughout the interview. He contrasts those 'fun' years to a more "serious" approach adopted more recently partly influenced by the involvement of (assumedly teachers) "people from other nationalities coming in and "goes on to say that his own approach has got more serious in response. Marco mentions that his current employer's reasons (in Italy) for wanting an EAP program were related to the university's internationalisation efforts. He argues that increased attention to bureaucratic processes may cause us to focus our practice on "technical work" and not the diversity of possible approaches in EAP. Despite this he does comment that he still has a great degree of autonomy which he is very positive about. Interestingly Marco points out here that his experience has lead him to focusing needs away from technical description towards the needs of people or a kind of guided learning towards the development of the individual and whatever they define their learning needs as. In fact he describes the analysis of student needs not as needs analysis at

all but as “ends” analysis something he described in further detail at the teacher CPD event held during the summer. His description of needs suggests “working at the technical level” or technical necessities whereas ends puts the focus on the learner and whether any task or activity is suitable to the ends they have decided upon. This implies that a student can voluntarily engage in, criticise and one imagines shape activities they deem appropriate to their own specific ends. Controversially Marco states that technical needs do not “relate to development of people.” After the British Council teacher observations Marco attended a focus group meeting with the ‘inspectors’ and I asked Marco how it went. He had a relatively negative tone claiming it was “heated” and that they came in “cold” and “procedural” talking about procedures and systems. An example Marco gave was the new Tutorial Record document and how he disagree with another teacher over the specificity of the criteria of what information needed to be entered on the document. The one teacher suggested the critieria was not clear enough leading to confusion as to what to write on the form. In disagreement Marco insisted that it should be the teacher’s discretion as to what is recorded based on what emerges between herself and her student. Marco complained that “human relationships were being undermined by all the procedure and bureaucracy and that management were out of touch with teachers and the everyday work they do. “The university has its work and we have ours.” Again his notion that the student experience and teacher’s work should be centred on developing the individual subject is clearly apparent and that the realization of this project is constrained by arguably incompatible projects. Indeed the very need to get British Council accreditation for the program interfered with many of the teachers’ work and sense of responsibility towards their students. During a meeting, the program manager asked teachers to include lots of pronunciation practice in their

observed classes as “they (The British Council) like that.” Some teachers (those included in this study) inquired about the relevancy of extensive pronunciation practice in EAP.

Returning to the interview, Marco continues to support the idea of developing relationships, developing trust, developing yourself “alongside the student” due to the “advanced” English level thus providing a mutual learning experience. He then turns to the routine nature of his current employment and that he and his colleagues are not interested in developing themselves professionally in that context (“many people are waiting to retire and just don’t want to teach…”). Marco complains that many teachers he works with (in Italy) are not sufficiently qualified and that they entered the profession in much the same way as he did (not as a planned career choice). He goes on to say that teaching English (one presumes EAP) is not recognised as a profession externally (and “one feels that internally”) and is only taken seriously in the context of Bologna and internationalisation. Marco appears to want to develop personally and professionally and feels stifled in his main job. He enjoys teaching on the pre-sessional as it gives him the opportunity to put into practice what he believes his role to be and to experiment with alternative approaches to teaching. He also points to a sense of belonging, to a “community” in which “people are interested in taking knowledge forward.” It is unclear whether he is referring directly to the EAP ‘community’ at the University or to academia. He seems to suggest that EAP is not isolated or should not be contrived in a sense that technical needs or specific assessment objectives direct our work. He returns to the notion of ‘ends’ and how if one views EAP as connected to all fields then a certain “interconnectedness” is achieved. He believes that encouraging students to make connections, cross disciplinary boundaries and enabling their “freedom to learn” is what a university

experience should be all about. He states this referring to his own experience at university and reading, how he was free to learn and not herded into particular disciplines and directions. He then asserts that his role is to “activate possibilities” not to “insist” (“to get out of your box”). ‘Insisting’ technical approaches is how he claims others might see their work on the program. Marco’s idealism continues when discussing how technicism limits “human development” and that our “mission” is to make sure that EAP and academia does not impose such a limit. He then goes on to talk of institutional/organizational constraints on the “mission” due to managerial appropriation and bureaucratization of the program.

“You know, so it is in a sense the mission. I think that this is [one assumes the “human development” rationale behind education] in many ways an alternative to the EAP mindset but I think it is a way to make sure it is not closed completely in EAP or in academic life, i.e. I mean, the sense that uh we are really at a university, or we really want to study, or we really want to do lifelong learning, not because we want a career, not because it makes us technically more functional, but that we want to find answers, you know? And, um this is being lost, and it’s being lost actually here over the years, to go back to my experience here. Because this is the first year which is vey bureaucratic. And it’s become like that and being left to our devices, we’ve been put in our places this year and we’ve been put into a situation where we must do our role and not question. We don’t really have any rapport with managers, and get on with it. And um, within that limit there is a lot of freedom so thank goodness for that. But, um it never was bureaucratic, it couldn’t be. And this is sort of the life cycle of an organization I suppose, the pioneer and then the sort of, you are the people responsible for putting the course together because the manager who is external, comes in and you’re sort of a group who are trying to make it work in a university, which is not really interested in what you are doing, even though they recognize you are bringing in money for them, they just leave you out there. Now It’s become you are part of the university, you know you are structured into and you prove yourselves for us and that you can bring money in. And so the whole thing has been taken out of our hands as it were. Now we get on with it. So that’s the experience. Certain, being able to pioneer a course, to possess it, and then to realize that we have to find other rationales for being here for our own good. We are no longer

essential elements of the course because um, anyone can do it in effect and they're not asking particular people to do it.

What is striking about his observations here is that he feels that he's constrained yet enabled at the same time or rather that he can still at least claim some autonomy under restrictions. He states: "we've been put in our places this year and we've been put into a situation where we must do our role and not question." Despite this Marco claims that teachers have been "left to our own devices" and the university is "not really interested in what we are doing" which in turn he celebrates, "within that limit there is a lot of freedom so thank goodness for that." What is apparent from this excerpt is his sense of loss. He feels that the "mission" has been redirected due to managerial influences, his project as a "pioneer" abandoned by the appropriators. He strongly identifies as a "pioneer" of the program and feels "it has been taken out of our hands" by university bureaucrats which in turn causes him to seek alternative "missions", "other rationales for being here". Interestingly, Marco also indicates a kind of anxiety or consciousness of the precarious nature of his position in stating that one needs to seek other rationales "for our own good". Whether one does or not Marco is clearly suggesting in some way a deliberative transformation in how one identifies with one's "mission".

Marco continues by suggesting first that current recruiting of teachers on the program is less focused on a possession of linguistic knowledge, almost critical in tone; "we are no longer essential elements of the course [assumedly "pioneers" or those with greater EAP experience"] because um, anyone can do it in effect and they are not asking particular people to do it". Secondly, he defends a plurality of knowledges and backgrounds as his previous notion of "interconnectedness" might suggest not to be too "specialized" to "bring ideas and knowledges together". It

appears that there is a conflict in Marco's loss of status as a "specialist" and his educational mission to encourage "interconnectedness." Marco later speaks of a less superficial human development that he refers to as a spiritual development, less material solutions to problems, asking questions of "why" informed in part by reading Newman. He sees human development as overly "cyclical" and "linear" which encourages "technical work". He suggests also the "morally questionable" ego that pursues material gain first and foremost. Marco sees his "mission" in teaching to steer students away from a contrived sense of oneself as learning for material gain, he sees his mission as one that seeks to help develop a person's 'self' but not in the sense of what he calls an "Anglo-Saxon" "scientific" model of ego, of "doing it for yourself" (which he claims is a cultural-historical tradition in the region). He states that one cannot find answers using a scientific method of inquiry. Questions are asked in trying to understand ourselves and listening to others and that there is 'destiny' in those relationships but it is up to us to decide not to let it be imposed. He claims we really understand ourselves with our interactions with others and that how we portray ourselves is not necessarily how we really are. Marco seems to believe in some kind of essentialized self and later essentializes nature suggesting it is governed by "a higher level". Marco goes on to give an interesting analogy relating to his work. He suggests that the pioneers of the program including himself were "nomads" in that they were not "systematic settlers" in the sense that farmers were but fighting "against forces" of settlement. Nomads are using "the powers of nature", they are not individualistic, they are family-orientated, not "evolving themselves", just surviving, "they just came and attacked, took what they wanted and went away again".

The analogy of “nomads” is particularly interesting with regard to Marco as he claims the identification himself as one of those who “pioneered” the program. They assumingly set it up focused on ideas of human development or even ‘fighting the forces of settlement’ but were not ultimately intending to stay on. They seemed to focus on a short term project or series of projects without necessarily establishing any ultimate goal or ‘mission’ that is ‘transcendental’ through each project. Although Marco identifies with ‘nomads’ he does not appear to possess the tendency to ‘move on’. He has returned year after year to work on the program with what seems to be a particular objective or ‘mission’. Rather than the analogy of ‘nomad’ one might describe his tendency to persist with his ideas about teaching and learning as ‘missionary-like’ in his own words. His own term **Pioneer** is quite fitting as it suggests that those with these characteristics are ‘founders’, they build their ideals about EAP from identifying with the foundation of a particular course or program. He talks about how the original program at the university was more about human development and fun and identifies strongly with this in principle and in practice in his current work. In stating that “its out of our hands” Marco seems to resent losing authorship or at least consultation on the direction of the program. Pioneers will challenge and criticise ‘new’ directions and maintain their ideals as to how the program should be. His trenchant position on what university education means and dislike of ‘technicism’ in teaching and learning is idealist and pragmatic but his pragmatism stretches within a limited scope, the definition of “ends” rather than needs. Students must define their own ends not contaminated by imported contrived notions of what they need. Like many of the teachers in the study Marco’s pedagogy is somewhat constructivist in that he allows ‘emergence’ in the classroom, that is, emergent knowledge and also the direction the class makes and attitudes to materials. In being ‘pioneerlike’ he is

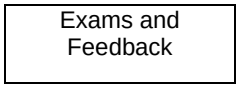
accepting of a democratic education but strongly believes in the ideals formed from those early programs and continues to wish their maintenance, an idealistic mission. His reading and apparent spiritualism seems to influence this.

Marco is hopeful that he can still continue his ‘mission’ despite the constraints of ‘bureaucratization’ of the program but does take into account that organizational ‘mission’ and his own are and will remain in conflict.

8.6 Appendix 6: pre-sessional PG stream curriculum document

10-WEEK ACADEMCIC SKILLS COURSEBOOK	DEVELOPING LISTENING SKILLS & GIVING PRESENTATIONS	*INTEGRATED READING COURSEBOOK	**SPEAKING (SEMINARS)	***WRITING (REFLECTION)	MATERIALS (TO BE FITTED IN WHEN APPROPRIATE)
10.1 Focus: Introduction to Academic English, word classes, noun combinations/head nouns, reading critically (fact vs. opinion), vocabulary, reading longer texts, asking for help	Unit 1: Accents • The Brummie accent, • Appendix A Pronunciation -	Set 1: Happiness in the over 50s		First Week or Academic Culture	10.1.8 The Terminology of academic English 10.1.14 Taking notes from a lecture and writing a summary 10.1.15 Finding Details of a source in the library Giving Oral Presentations (in Developing Listening and Giving Presentations)
10.2 **Focus**: General to specific (text structure and in introductions), vocabulary, definitions, writing a summary of a lecture, seminar skills (1)	Unit 2: Academic Listening Problems	Set 1: Happiness in the over 50s cont.	New challenges	Self-audit (strengths and weaknesses)	
10.3 **Focus:** Academic style, using other people’s work in	Unit 3: Linking words in speech	Set 2: The New Marshmallow Test	Features of academic English	3 key academic skills	

your writing 1: direct quotation, critical comments, voice in academic writing, seminar skills (2)					Lecture Materials (on Canvas) Bank of extra materials for the appropriate week (on Canvas) created by by teachers
10.4 **Focus:** Guessing the meaning of unknown words, noun combinations, comparing quantities, describing changes, transitivity	Unit 4: Deciding When to take notes	Set 3: Navigation and the Sexes	Self-study tips	3 language aspects	
10.5 **Focus**: relative clauses, understanding long sentences, referring words	Unit 5: Word stress and linking	Set 4: How much happiness is there in the world	Time management	Area of dispute in your discipline	
10.6 **Focus:** Situation - Problem-Solution-Evaluation (SPSE), passive voice, transitivity.	Unit 6 Repetition and reformulation	Set 5: A Hard Chair Equals a Hard Heart	plagiarism	Summary of a lecture	
10.7 **Focus**: Using other people's work in your writing 2: direct quotation and paraphrasing, linking paragraphs, topic sentence, using other people's work in your writing 3: referencing rules	Unit 7: Finding out what a lecturer means	Set 6: It Pays Not to Be Too Attractive	Exam stress	3 key ideas for your ARP	
10.8 **Focus**: Organising longer academic texts, signalling structure	Unit 8: A longer lecture	Set 7: Sale of Organs	Future plans to improve your English	Role of technology in your discipline or Group work vs solo study	
10.9 **Focus**: Consolidation, using other people's work in your writing 4: reporting verbs, tenses,	Practising presentations	Set 8: Monkey Dental Flossing			



Source: from 10 week programme materials

8.7 Appendix 7: sample letter of invitation to interview

Hi Xxx

Thanks very much for filling out the spidergram. As you have provided many interesting notes I would like to interview you. The interview will be approximately 45 mins and will simply involve you elaborating on the notes you made. The interview will take place next week or the week after at lunchtime e.g. anytime between 1340 and 1500 (duration 45 mins to 1 hour). As it will be lunchtime (although evenings may also be available) I will pay for your lunch at a venue of your choice somewhere in the campus/sellyoak area.

I do hope you can help and I look forward to your reply

Pawl (EAP PG).

8.8 Appendix 8: consent form

Title of Research Project

An investigation into how EAP teacher practitioner's professional identities on a pre-sessional English for Academic Purposes program at a UK university are formed.

Details of Project

This research will contribute to the literature on teacher professional identities with particular attention to the field of EAP (English for Academic Purposes) in UK higher education. Pre-sessional programmes have expanded greatly over the past 20 years and are extant in most UK higher education institutions. The methodology of the project is focused on the individual narratives of EAP practitioners on a programme at a UK university and how within those narratives they have formed their professional identities. The research seeks to identify how a particular case e.g. the said programme influences the formation of those identities.

You have been chosen as a participant in this project due to your expertise and experience in relation to the practice of EAP in UK higher education and experience working on the pre-sessional course that forms the case for this study. Your participation will provide the researcher with a wealth of data to answer the research questions. Your participation will involve one or more of the following methods of data gathering:

1, Interview: You will be asked questions based on prompts which you will be able to think about prior to interview. These prompts will consist of themes that will highlight your experiences in relation to your professional career(s). The researcher will provide you with a spider-gram with themes such as *Professional learning* with which you will note down your experiences under the heading. The researcher will then select a sample and request a follow up interview in which you will be asked to expand on the notes you made on the spider-gram. Interviews are voluntary and you can withdraw at any time. Interviews will be recorded and the audio will then be stored in a secure file with password access. The interview will be transcribed and transcriptions will be stored in a secure file.

2, Participant observation: The researcher will take field notes on information relevant to the topic and will write a summary based on those notes. These observations will mostly consist of the researcher listening to and you participating in informal discussions that are appropriate to the topic of professional identities. Observations will take place during staff meetings and other gatherings e.g. training sessions. You will be given warning whenever the researcher is present and conducting observations. You also reserve the right not to participate or be included in observations at any point during the data gathering period.

3, Documents analysis: The final method may require that you allow documents which you have produced (e.g. email) or in which they have been included (e.g. meeting minutes) to be used as data. Permission will be asked as to whether those documents can be used and confidentiality assured (e.g. changing of names into pseudonyms).

All information gathered about you will be kept in a secure place for the duration of the research and afterwards. It will then be deleted within 5 years as University rules state.

Contact Details

For further information about the research and methodological/data collection processes, please contact:

Name: Charles Paul Marshall

Email: cpm210@exeter.ac.uk

If you have concerns/questions about the research you would like to discuss with someone else at the University, please contact:

Professor Rupert Wegerif (R.B.Wegerif@exeter.ac.uk)

Professor Vivienne Baumfield (V.Baumfield@exeter.ac.uk)

Confidentiality

Interview tapes, transcripts, observation notes and documents will be held in confidence. They will not be used other than for the purposes described above and third parties will not be allowed access to them (except as may be required by the law). However, if you request it, you will be supplied with a copy of your interview transcript, observation notes that involve you and copies of documents so that you can comment on and edit it as you see fit (please give your email below so that I am able to contact you at a later date). Your data will be held in accordance with the Data Protection Act.

Anonymity

Interview data will be held and used on an anonymous basis, with no mention of your name, as with the organization of which you are a member. When necessary a pseudonym will be used for any particular person as will organizations mentioned.

Consent

I have been fully informed about the aims and purposes of the project.

I understand that:

- there is no compulsion for me to participate in this research project and, if I do choose to participate, I may withdraw at any stage;

- I have the right to refuse permission for the publication of any information about me;
- any information which I give will be used solely for the purposes of this research project, which may include publications or academic conference or seminar presentations;
- all information I give will be treated as confidential;
- I understand that my interviews will be recorded, transcribed and translated for data analysis;
- the researcher(s) will make every effort to preserve my anonymity.

.....……..……..
.....……..……..

(Signature of participant) (Date)

……
……..……

(Printed name of participant) (Email address of participant if they have requested to view a copy of the interview transcript.)

.....…….. .....……..

(Signature of researcher) (Printed name of researcher)

One copy of this form will be kept by the participant; a second copy will be kept by the researcher(s).

Your contact details are kept separately from your interview data.

8.9 Appendix 9: ethical approval form

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

St Luke's Campus Heavitree Road Exeter UK EX1 2LU

http://socialsciences.exeter.ac.uk/education/

CERTIFICATE OF ETHICAL APPROVAL

Title of Project: An investigation into how EAP teacher practitioners' professional identities on a pre-sessional English for Academic Purposes program at a UK university are formed

Researcher(s) name: Charles Paul Marshall

Supervisor(s): Professor Vivienne Marie Baumfield; Professor Rupert Wegerif

This project has been approved for the period

From: 19th July 2016 To: 7th July 2017

Ethics Committee approval reference: D/15/16/52

Signature:

Date: 18th July 2016

(Dr Philip Durrant, Chair, Graduate School of Education Ethics Committee)

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